Twelfth Edition

CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

A Psychological Approach

Curt R. Bartol | Anne M. Bartol

Criminal Behavior

A Psychological Approach

TWELFTH EDITION

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Preface

In this text we focus on criminal behavior and antisocial behavior (because antisocial behavior is not always criminal) from a psychological perspective. More specifically, adults and juveniles who violate the law or who act antisocially are embedded in and continually influenced by multiple systems within their psychosocial environment. This includes the individuals, their families, peers, friends, schools, neighborhoods, community, culture, and society as a whole. Meaningful theory, well-executed research, and skillful application of knowledge to the "crime problem" require an understanding of these many levels that influence a person's life course.

The psychological study of crime has taken a decidedly developmental approach, while retaining its interest in cognitive-based explanations for antisocial behavior. In recent years, neuropsychologists have offered many new insights. Scholars from various academic disciplines have engaged in pathways-to-crime research, and these pathways may include biological and neuropsychological factors. A very common conclusion is that there are multiple developmental pathways to criminal offending; some people begin to offend very early, while others begin offending in adulthood. In addition, a variety of risk factors that enable antisocial behavior have been identified, and many protective factors that insulate the individual from such behavior have been discovered. We have listed the various risk and protective factors early in the book and refer to them throughout.

We do not consider all offenders psychologically flawed, and only some have diagnosable mental illnesses or disorders. Persons with serious mental disorders sometimes commit crimes, but most do not, and crimes that are committed by people with mental illness are typically minor offenses. Many offenders do have substance abuse problems, and these may co-occur with mental disorders. In addition, emotionally healthy people break the law, and sometimes emotionally healthy people end up on probation or in jails and prisons. Like earlier editions of this text, the twelfth edition views the criminal offender as existing on a continuum, ranging from the occasional offender who offends at some point during the life course, usually during adolescence, to the serious, repetitive offender who usually begins a criminal career at a very early age, or the one-time, serious offender.

The book reviews contemporary research, theory, and practice concerning the psychology of crime as completely and accurately as possible. The very long list of references at the end of the book should attest to its comprehensive nature. Nevertheless, it is impossible to do justice to the wide swath of behavior that is defined as crime, nor to the many models and approaches used in studying it. We have selected representative crimes and representative research. If your favorite crime, theory, model, or prevention or treatment program is not found here, we hope you will still appreciate what is offered.

An early chapter sets the stage by defining crime and describing how it is measured. It is important to stress that crime rates in the United States have gone down for most serious offenses, something that rarely comes to public attention. However, crime rates do go up in some areas. Furthermore, some crimes are never reported by victims for many reasons. In addition, crimes committed by those in powerful positions in society rarely are included in the various statistics intended to measure crime.

The book is organized from broad to specific content. Early chapters discuss individual and social risk factors, developmental principles, and the psychology of aggression, including its neurobiological basis. We include a complete chapter on psychopathy, because it remains arguably one of the most heavily researched topics in the psychology of crime. Not all psychopaths commit crime, however, a point that is often not understood. The specific crimes covered in the latter part of the book are both very common ones and crimes that are rare but attract media and research attention because of their serious nature.

New to this Edition

The twelfth edition was completed with the help of extensive reviews of the previous edition by professionals in this field. Some changes reflect new theories and models as well as ongoing recent psychological research on specific topics and offenses. Other changes reflect contemporary concerns, such as rises in hate crimes and domestic terrorism, cyberattacks, and mass killings across a wide spectrum of situations. Every chapter includes updated citations and illustrations. Many topics have been expanded, and some have been deleted.

- Chapter 16 has been deleted, and substance abuse issues have been integrated at various points throughout the book (e.g., juvenile and mental illness chapters).
- There is more focus on bias or hate crimes, political crimes, and human trafficking.
- There is increased coverage of contemporary issues relating to sexual assault, such as investigation of campus incidents, assaults in immigration detention centers, changes in statutes of limitations for victims filing civil suits.
- There is more focus on the objectification of women, such as via sexual violence portrayed in media.
- There is expanded coverage of intimate partner violence, including within law enforcement and military families.
- An expanded section on cyberbullying includes research on bullies, a dominant model for prediction, and approaches to prevention.
- There is more focus on gun violence, gun control, and related laws and court decisions.
- There is also more attention directed at mass killings and active shooter incidents, and increased attention to threat assessment.
- We have emphasized the importance of copycat violence, such as school shooting and mass killings.
- Recent and upcoming court decisions on death penalty, along with the role of psychologists in examining competency for execution are highlighted.
- There is continued but expanded focus on adolescent and young adult development.
- We have introduced the concept of emerging adulthood as it relates to youthful offenders and young adults.
- Economic and violent crimes against older adults are covered in more detail.
- Racial justice and ethnic issues are addressed, particularly in sections on crime and victimization data, service to victims, law enforcement responses, jury selection, and death penalty material.
- There is more attention to cybercrimes, including growth of ransomware attacks.
- New theories, models, and treatment programs are highlighted as relevant (e.g., Theory of Mind; psychopathy TriPM model and dark triad model; BGCM cyberbullying model; anger management treatment for juveniles; gender-responsive programs). Some of these are covered in pedagogical boxes as well as in text.
- In general, there are more contemporary issues, research, and treatment boxes. All boxes include questions for discussion.
- Terrorism chapter is substantially revised to include more attention to domestic terrorism.
- Immigration-related issues (e.g., victimization, government policies) are integrated into various chapters.
- More attention is directed at neuropsychological factors, especially self-regulation, executive function, and neuroplasticity. There is also more emphasis on protective factors that shield

children from serious antisocial behavior (community safety, parental monitoring, quality education and health care) and risk factors that promote it (peer rejection, faulty parenting, community violence, lack of social programs and safety net).

- There is more focus on mental health in corrections along with safety in jails and prisons.
- There is extended coverage of psychological concepts such as resilience, moral disengagement, and tactics like "nerve management" (e.g., in burglary) and neutralization (white collar and political crime).

Criminal Behavior is designed to be a core text in undergraduate and graduate courses in criminal behavior, criminology, the psychology of crime, crime and delinquency, and forensic psychology. The material contained in this book was classroom-tested for over 30 years. Its strong emphasis on psychological theory, concepts, and research distinguishes it from other fine textbooks on crime. Although we focus on psychology's contributions to the study of crime, we are respectful of contributions from other disciplines. Theory and research from political scientists, sociologists, economists, and legal and criminal justice scholars are recognized in many chapters.

The book's major goal is to encourage an appreciation of the many complex issues surrounding criminal behavior by citing relevant, contemporary research. However, we hope also that readers will be encouraged to consider and act on social problems that co-occur with crime and antisocial behavior. These include but are not limited to inadequate support for educational programs in many communities; inattention to health hazards, particularly for young children and adolescents; the spreading of bias and hate, often by public figures; sexual exploitation of minors; malfeasance by various political and corporate figures; and the lack of adequate mental health services. Though we have touched on these and similar topics in various chapters throughout the book, we hope readers are committed to making our world a better place and will continue to be.

Once again, we have benefited from the encouragement and help of many individuals in completing this very long project. And once again we cherish our main sources of emotional support—Gina, Ian, Soraya, Jim, Kai, Madeleine, Darya, and Shannon. They are always there for us, and we continue to be awed by their goodness, their wit, their fun-loving spirit, the love they display, and their many accomplishments in so many different realms.

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1 Introduction to Criminal Behavior

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Emphasize that such behavior has multiple causes, manifestations, and developmental pathways.
- Identify the different perspectives of human nature that underlie the theoretical development and research of criminal behavior.
- Introduce various theories that may help explain crime.
- Describe the three major disciplinary approaches in criminology: sociological, psychological, and psychiatric.
- Point out that the study of criminal behavior and delinquency, from a psychological perspective, has shifted from a personality toward a more cognitive and developmental focus.
- Define criminal behavior and juvenile delinquency.
- Introduce the reader to the various ways of measuring crime.

Crime intrigues people. Sometimes it attracts us, sometimes it repels us, and occasionally, it does both at once. It can amuse, as is evident from the popularity of humorous crime podcasts. Many people chuckled, also, at a YouTube video several years back that featured a burglar sprawled and napping on a bed in the victims' home, next to a bag containing the jewelry he had stolen. Presumably, no one was seriously injured by the burglar's conduct, but the homeowners likely suffered emotional distress and faced inconveniences that accompany being victims of a crime. Although readers will cite some exceptions, you are likely to agree that most crimes leave victims in its wake; most crimes harm psychologically.

Crime can frighten, especially if we believe that what happened to one victim might happen to us or those we love. News of a child abduction or even an attempted one places parents at heightened alert. Crime can also anger, as when an inebriated driver is responsible for a pedestrian death, or when people are deprived of their life savings by fraudulent schemes. Crime angers when someone who holds the public trust embezzles money or a person in power commits sexual assaults.

Crime that is politically motivated can terrify and outrage. Pipe bombs sent by mail to public officials, shots fired at politicians practicing for a softball game, and cyberattacks on voting systems have been among the politically motivated crimes in the news in recent years. Also in recent years, the public has become sensitized

to crimes committed *by* high-ranking political figures and their associates: perjury, money laundering, fraud, bribe-taking, and illegal campaign activities are examples.

What is crime? For the moment (and only for the moment) we put aside the reality that some behaviors that are crimes probably should not be, and some behaviors that are not crimes probably should be. We put aside, also, the reality that many people who commit crime are never caught, some who are caught are not truly guilty, and those who are caught are not all treated equally. We return to this point at the end of the chapter.

Legally, crime is defined as a conduct or failure to act in violation of the law forbidding or commanding it, and for which a range of possible penalties exist upon conviction. Criminal behavior, then, is behavior in violation of the criminal code. To be convicted of crime, a person must have acted intentionally and without justification or excuse. For example, even an intentional killing may be justified under certain circumstances, as in defense of one's life. Although there is a very narrow range of offenses that do not require criminal intent (called strict liability offenses), the vast majority of crimes require it. Obviously, this legal definition encompasses a great variety of acts, ranging from murder to petty offenses.

While interest in crime has always been high, understanding why it occurs and what to do about it has always been a problem. Public officials, politicians, various experts, and many people in the general public continue to offer simple and incomplete solutions for obliterating crime, particularly violent and street crime: more police officers, video cameras and state-of-the-art surveillance equipment, armed teachers and more guns, sturdy locks, self-defense classes, stiff penalties, speedy imprisonment, or capital punishment. Some of these approaches may be effective in the short term, but the overall problem of crime persists, despite the fact that crime rates run in cycles, rising during some years, falling in others. Solutions that attack what are believed to be root causes of crime—such as reducing economic inequality, improving educational opportunities, or offering substance abuse treatment—have considerable merit, but they require public commitment, energy, and financial resources.

Our inability to prevent crime is also partly because we have trouble understanding criminal behavior and identifying and agreeing upon its multiple causes. Because crime is complex, explanations of crime require complicated, involved answers. Psychological research indicates that most people have limited tolerance for complexity and ambiguity. We apparently want simple, straightforward answers, no matter how complex the issue. Parents become impatient when psychologists answer questions about child rearing by saying, "It depends—on the situation, on the parents' reactions to it, on any number of possible influences." Today, the preference for simplicity is aided by the vast array of information available in the media, including the Internet and social media. Search engines provide instant access to a multitude of both reputable and questionable sources. Discerning students are well served by this information explosion; they can find up-to-date research on virtually all topics covered in this book, for example. However, many people acquire information—but not necessarily knowledge—by clicking links, entering chat rooms, reading blogs and accompanying comments, and following friends and "friends" and friends of friends who may or may not be providing legitimate data. Today, it is fair to say that many people get news almost exclusively from social media platforms, which may be appropriated by unknown sources. Thus, the selective and careful use of information technology is a crucial skill for all students to acquire.

Criminal behavior may be seen as a vastly complex, sometimes difficult-to-understand phenomenon. Our focus is the *psychological* perspective, although other viewpoints are also described. However, it is important to stress that there is no all-encompassing psychological explanation for crime, any more than there is a sociological, anthropological, psychiatric, economic, or historic one. In fact, it is unlikely that sociology, psychology, or any other discipline can formulate basic "truths" about crime without help from other disciplines and

well-designed research. Criminology—the scientific study of crime—needs all the interdisciplinary help it can get to explain and control criminal behavior. To review accurately and adequately the plethora of studies and theories from each relevant discipline is far beyond the scope of this text, however. Our primary goal is to review and integrate recent scholarship and research in the psychology of crime, compare it with traditional approaches, and discuss strategies that have been offered to prevent and modify criminal behavior. We cannot begin to accomplish this task without first calling attention to theoretical questions that underlie any study of human behavior, including criminal behavior.

Theories of Crime

In everyday conversation, the term "theory" is used loosely. It may refer to personal experiences, observations, traditional beliefs, a set of opinions, or a collection of abstract thoughts. Almost everyone has personal theories about human behavior, and these extend to criminal behavior. "If his parents had raised him right, he wouldn't be in jail." Some people have a personal theory that the world is a just place, where one gets what one deserves. "Just-worlders," as these individuals are called, believe that things do not happen to people without a reason that is closely related to their own actions; for example, individuals who experience financial difficulties probably brought these on themselves. In 2008–2009, when many homeowners in the United States were facing foreclosure because they could not afford high mortgage payments, a just-worlder would be likely to say this was more their own fault than the fault of bank officers who enticed them into paying high interest rates.

In reference to crime, just-worlders may believe both that a burglar deserved a severe penalty and that the victims did not protect their property sufficiently. Again, just world is the belief that the world is just and that people get what they deserve. Because the world is a just place, the battered spouse must have provoked a beating. The man who sent in a $500 deposit to claim his million-dollar prize should have known better: if it's too good to be true, it isn't.

The above beliefs represent individual "theories" or assumptions about how the world works. However, psychologists have also developed a somewhat more elaborate *scientific theory* based on just-world ideas, and they have developed scales to measure one's just-world orientation (Lerner, 1980; Lerner & Miller, 1978). A variety of hypotheses—sometimes discussed under the umbrella term **just-world hypothesis**—have been proposed and tested. For example, people identified as just-worlders on the basis of their scores on the scales have been shown to favor capital punishment and to be nonsupportive of many social programs intended to reduce economic disparity between social groups (Sutton & Douglas, 2005).

Interestingly, research on just-world theory has identified two tracks: belief in a general just-world—described above—and belief in a personal just-world (Dalbert, 1999; Sutton & Douglas, 2005). Belief in a personal just-world ("I usually get what I deserve") is considered adaptive and helpful in coping with dire circumstances in one's life. For example, Dalbert and Filke (2007) found that prisoners with a high personal just-world orientation evaluated their prison experiences more positively and reported better overall well-being than those without such an orientation. Belief in a general just-world, however, seems to be far more problematic because it is associated with less compassion for others and even a derogation of victims of crime.

Scientific theories like those just described are based on logic and research, but they vary widely in complexity. A **scientific theory** is "a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena" (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 9). A scientific theory of crime, therefore, should provide

Scientific theory
A set of interrelated concepts, definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena.

a general explanation that encompasses and *systematically* connects many different social, economic, and psychological variables to criminal behavior, and it should be supported by well-executed, methodologically sound research. Moreover, the terms in any scientific theory must be as precise as possible, and their meaning and usage clear and unambiguous, so that it can be meaningfully tested by observation and analysis. The process of theory testing is called **theory verification**. If the theory is not verified—indeed, if any of its propositions is not verified—the end result is **falsification** (Popper, 1968).

Theory verification
A process whereby a scientific theory is tested through observation and analysis. If the process falsifies the theory, the theory must be revised to account for the observed events.

Falsification
The end result if any proposition of a theory is not verified.

The primary purpose of theories of crime is to identify the causes or precursors of criminal behavior, so that criminal behavior can be reduced, or at least controlled. Some theories are broad and encompassing, whereas others are narrow and specific. Basically, theories of criminal behavior are summary statements of a collection of research findings. Perhaps more importantly, they provide direction for further research. If one component of a theory is falsified or not supported, the theory is not necessarily rejected outright, however. It can be modified and retested. In addition, each theory of crime has implications for policy or decisions made by society to prevent crime.

Over the past few decades, many researchers have been interested in proposing models to accompany various theories. A **model** is a graphic representation of a theory or a concept, designed to enhance its understanding. Throughout the text you will encounter different models pertaining to criminal and delinquent behavior.

Model
A graphic representation of a theory or a concept.

Models are relatively new, but theories of crime have been around for centuries. During the 18th century, the Italian philosopher Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794) developed a theory that human behavior is fundamentally driven by a choice made by weighing the amount of pleasure gained against the amount of pain or punishment expected. Beccaria argued that in order to reduce or stop criminal offending in any given society, the punishment should be swift, certain, and severe enough to deter people from the criminal (pleasure-seeking) act. If people realized in advance that severe punishment would be forthcoming, and coming soon, regardless of their social status or privileges, they would choose not to engage in illegal behavior. This theoretical thinking, which emphasizes free will as the hallmark of human behavior, has become known as **classical theory**. Both criminal and civil law are rooted in the belief that individuals are masters of their fate, the possessors of free will and freedom of choice. Many of today's approaches to crime prevention are consistent with classical theory, which in its modern form is also known as **deterrence theory** (Nagin, 2007). For example, surveillance cameras that are ubiquitous on public streets and places of business assume that individuals choose to commit crime but may be persuaded not to by the threat of being discovered. Likewise, a harsh sentence given to someone who has committed a political crime might discourage someone else from doing the same thing. However, even if people are not deterred by the prospect of getting caught or receiving a long sentence, they must still be punished, because crime was an expression of their free will.

Classical theory
Theory of human behavior that emphasizes free will as a core concept.

Deterrence theory
Modern version of classical theory, it proposes that people will avoid committing crime if the possibility of punishment is great enough.

Another thread of theoretical thought originated with **positivist theory**, which is closely aligned with the idea of determinism. From that view, free will cannot be the major explanation for our behavior. Antecedents—prior experiences or influences—*determine* how we will act. The earliest positive theories of crime considered biological antecedents, such as one's sex, race, or even the size of the brain. An early theorist from the positivist perspective, Cesare Lombroso (1876), conducted elaborate measurements on the skulls of both dead and live prisoners and drew conclusions about their criminal tendencies. Later, positivists saw social antecedents, such as negative early life experiences or lack of educational opportunity, as the culprits. According to the positivist school, human behavior is governed by causal laws, and free will is undermined. Many contemporary theories of criminology are positivist because they search for causes beyond free will. Furthermore, many approaches to crime prevention are consistent with a positivist orientation: they try to

Positivist theory
Theory that argues prior experiences or influences determine present behavior.

"fix" the antecedents of criminal activity, such as by providing support services for youth believed to be at risk of engaging in crime.

In summary, the classical view of crime holds that the decision to violate the law is largely a result of free will. The positivist or deterministic perspective argues that most criminal behavior is a result of social, psychological, and even biological influences. It does not deny the importance of free will, and it does not suggest that individuals should not be held responsible for their actions. However, it maintains that these actions can be explained by more than "free will." This latter perspective, then, seeks to identify causes, predict and prevent criminal behavior, and rehabilitate (or habilitate) offenders.

Theoretical Perspectives on Human Nature

All theories of crime have underlying assumptions about or perspectives on human nature. Three major ones can be identified. The **conformity perspective** views humans as creatures of conformity who want to do the "right" thing. To a large extent, this assumption represents the foundation of the humanistic perspectives in psychology. Human beings are basically "good" people trying to live to their fullest potential. Similarly, the branch of psychology called "positive psychology" focuses on studying the individual characteristics that make life worth living, such as contentment and intimacy (Peterson, 2006; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Thus, positive psychology is very much in tune with a conformity perspective.

Conformity perspective
The theoretical position that humans are born basically good and generally try to do the right and just thing.

An excellent example of the conformity perspective in criminology is **strain theory**, which originated in the work of sociologist Robert K. Merton (1957) and continues today in the theory of Robert Agnew (1992, 2006) and his followers. Merton's original strain theory argued that humans are fundamentally conforming beings who are strongly influenced by the values and attitudes of the society in which they live. In short, most members of a given society desire what the other members of the society desire. In many societies and cultures, the accumulation of wealth or status is all-important, representing symbols that all members should strive for. Unfortunately, access to these goals is not equally available. While some have the education, social network, personal contacts, and family influence to attain them, others are deprived of the opportunity. Thus, Merton's strain theory predicted that crime and delinquency would occur when there is a perceived discrepancy between the materialistic values and goals cherished and held in high esteem by a society and the availability of the legitimate means for reaching these goals. Under these conditions, a strain between the goals of wealth and power and the means for reaching them develops. Groups and individuals experiencing a high level of this strain are forced to decide whether to violate norms and laws to attain some of this sought-after wealth or power or give up on their dream and go through the motions, withdraw, or rebel. Note that although the original strain theory was formulated on American society, it can be applied on a global basis.

Strain theory
A prominent sociological explanation for crime based on Robert Merton's theory that crime and delinquency occur when there is a perceived discrepancy between the materialistic values and goals cherished and held in high esteem by a society and the availability of the legitimate means for reaching these goals.

Following Merton's seminal work, other strain theorists emphasized that crimes of the rich and powerful also can be explained by strain theory. Even though these individuals have greater access to the legitimate means of reaching goals, they have a continuing need to accumulate even greater wealth and power and maintain their privileged status in society (Messner & Rosenfeld, 1994). Thus, an already wealthy person might enter into illegal schemes to hide income or evade taxes to accomplish this objective.

In developing his General Strain Theory (1992), Agnew used the word *strain* in a slightly different way, seeing strains as events and conditions that are disliked by individuals. The inability to achieve one's goals was only one such condition; others were losing something of value or being treated negatively by others (2006). General Strain Theory, which has attracted much research and commentary, is continually being tested and evaluated.

Nonconformist perspective
The theoretical perspective that humans will naturally try to get away with anything they can, including illegal conduct, unless social controls are imposed.

A second perspective—the **nonconformist perspective**—assumes that human beings are basically undisciplined creatures who, without the constraints of the rules and regulations of a given society, would flout society's conventions and commit crime indiscriminately. This perspective sees humans as fundamentally unruly, needing to be held in check. For example, the biological and neurobiological theories discussed in Chapter 3 identify genetic or other biological features or deficiencies in some individuals that predispose them to antisocial behavior like aggressive or violent actions. In recent years, some criminologists have emphasized the importance of biological influences on behavior, not as exclusive determinants of behavior but rather as factors that should be taken into consideration (DeLisi, 2009). They may be present at birth or appear during one's early formative years. It is important to point out that a nonconformity perspective does not blame people for their imperfection. As readers will learn in Chapter 3, many theorists now believe that certain behaviors, such as aggressive behavior, have their genesis in malnutrition and exposure to harmful elements in the environment. Importantly, though, deficiencies can be prevented, corrected, or overcome.

Social control theory
A theory proposed by Travis Hirschi that contends that crime and delinquency occur when an individual's ties to the conventional order or normative standards are weak or largely nonexistent.

General Theory of Crime
Proposes that crime and delinquency can be explained largely by deficits in self-control and self-regulation. Also referred to as self-control theory.

Another good illustration of the nonconformist perspective is Travis Hirschi's (1969) social control theory, which is discussed in several chapters. **Social control theory** contends that crime and delinquency occur when an individual's ties to the conventional order or normative standards are weak or largely nonexistent. In other words, the socialization that usually holds one's basic human nature in check is incomplete or faulty. This position perceives human nature as fundamentally "bad," "antisocial," or at least "imperfect." These innate tendencies must be *controlled* by society. Years after developing social control theory, Hirschi teamed with Michael Gottfredson to develop a **General Theory of Crime** (GTC; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), also referred to as **self-control theory (SCT)**. It suggests that a deficit of self-control or self-regulation is the key factor in explaining crime and delinquency. One controversial aspect of the theory is its contention that self-control is a stable trait that is fully in place in childhood, usually by the age of 8, and is not likely to change thereafter. Many researchers have tested this aspect of SCT and have found that self-control can develop at later ages (e.g., Arnett, 2000; Burt, Sweeten, & Simons, 2014; Zimmermann & Iwanski, 2014).

Learning perspective
The theoretical position that humans are born basically neutral and behaviorally a blank slate. What they become as individuals depends on their learning experiences rather than innate predispositions.

Social learning theory
A theory of human behavior based on learning from watching others in the social environment. This leads to an individual's development of his or her own perceptions, thoughts, expectancies, competencies, and values.

Differential association theory
Formulated by Sutherland, a theory of crime that states that criminal behavior is primarily due to obtaining values or messages from others, including but not limited to those who engage in crime. The critical factors include with whom a person associates, how early, for how long, how frequently, and how personally meaningful the associations are.

The third perspective—the **learning perspective**—sees human beings as born neutral (neither inherently conforming nor unruly) and subject to developmental changes throughout the life course. This perspective argues that humans learn virtually all their behavior, beliefs, and tendencies from the social environment. The learning perspective is exemplified most comprehensively by **social learning theory**, a main topic in Chapter 4, and the **differential association theory** of sociologist Edwin H. Sutherland (1947). Social learning theory emphasizes such concepts as imitation of models and reinforcements one gains from one's behavior. According to differential association theory, criminal behavior is learned, as is all social behavior, through social interactions with other people. It is not the result of emotional disturbance, mental illness, or innate qualities of "goodness" or "badness." Rather, people learn to be criminal as a result of the many examples and messages they get from others who were also taught to be criminal. The conventional wisdom that bad company promotes bad behavior, therefore, finds validity in this theory.

Emerging adulthood
Period between adolescence and adulthood when individuals may not have reached the psychological maturity associated by society with adulthood.

From the mid-20th century to the present, many criminologists have embraced a developmental approach, viewing crime and other antisocial activity as behavior that begins in early childhood and proceeds to and sometimes through one's adult years. Developmental psychologists as a group identify periods in human development across the life course, sometimes conceived of as stages. Those interested in the study of antisocial behavior often examine these stages as they relate to crime. Over the past decade, **emerging adulthood** has been identified as a period covering the time between adolescence and adulthood—roughly ages 18 to the late 20s, with a particular focus on 18–25 (Arnett, 2000, 2014). Emerging

TABLE 1–1 Perspectives of Human Nature

Perspective of Behavior	Theory Examples	Humans are...
Conformity perspective	Strain Theory (Merton) General Strain (Agnew)	Basically good; strongly influenced by the values and attitudes of society
Nonconformist perspective	Social Control Theory (Hirschi) Biological Theories of Crime General Theory of Crime (Hirschi and Gottfredson)	Basically undisciplined; individual's ties to social order are weak; innate tendencies must be controlled by society; individual lack of self-control; individual is not at fault
Learning perspective	Differential Association Theory (Sutherland) Social Learning Theory (Rotter, Bandura)	Born neutral; behavior is learned through social interactions with other people; changes over the life span affect behavior; risk and protective factors affect one's life progression

adulthood is a time when people are generally expected to be independent from parental and other institutional controls but are still searching for self-identity. Thus, they may be carefree and exploring their options but also may be struggling to achieve adult status. As we discuss later in the book, emerging adulthood has prompted considerable research relating to antisocial behavior.

The learning perspective is also exemplified in the work of developmental criminologists, who study the life paths or "pathways" people take that lead to criminal behavior. For example, some begin antisocial activity at very early ages, while others begin in adolescence or later. Developmental criminologists identify risk factors to be addressed and protective factors to be encouraged. Some have learned that girls and women, as a group, take pathways that are quite different from those taken by boys and men, as a group, though researchers differ on the extent to which these differences occur.

Table 1–1 summarizes the three perspectives—conformity, nonconformist, and learning—and provides illustrations of each. Developmental criminology cannot be placed exclusively in any of the three categories, although it would seem to be most at home in the learning perspective as we suggest. Nevertheless, aspects of each perspective can be detected in the research and writing of developmental criminologists (e.g., Le Blanc & Loeber, 1998; Farrington, Ttofi, & Coid, 2009; Moffitt, 1993a, b; Odgers, Moffitt et al., 2008; Patterson, 1982).

Disciplinary Perspectives in Criminology

Criminology is the multidisciplinary study of crime. As noted above, several theories we cited were framed by sociologists. Over the years, the study of crime has been dominated by sociology, psychology, and psychiatry, but in recent years more disciplines and subdisciplines have been involved. These include, but are not limited to, anthropology, biology, neurology, political science, and economics.

Criminology
The multidisciplinary study of crime.

Although our main concern in this text is with psychological principles, concepts, theory, and research relevant to criminal behavior, considerable attention is placed on the research knowledge of the other disciplines, particularly sociology, psychiatry, and biology. In fact, some psychologists today have extensive backgrounds in biology and the workings of the brain, and many specialize in the rapidly expanding fields of biopsychology and neuropsychology. It is not easy to make sharp demarcations between disciplines, because they often overlap in focus, theories, and practice. It is fair to say that all try to develop, examine, and evaluate strategies and interventions that have the potential to prevent or reduce criminal behavior.

In addition, what distinguishes a given theory as sociological, psychological, or psychiatric is sometimes simply the stated professional affiliation of its proponent. Furthermore,

TABLE 1–2 The Three Major Disciplinary Perspectives in Criminology

Perspective	Disciplinary Influence	FOCUS
Sociological criminology	Sociology	Examines relationships of demographic and group variables to crime: focuses on the structure of society and the culture of groups and how these influence criminal behavior
Psychological criminology	Psychology	Focuses on individual criminal behavior; the science of the behavior, emotional, psychoneurological, and mental processes of the offender
Psychiatric criminology	Psychiatry	The contemporary perspective examines the interplay between psychoneurological determinants of behavior and the social environment; traditional perspectives look for the unconscious and biological determinants of criminal behavior

alignments are not clear cut, because theorists and researchers today often work hand in hand with those from other disciplines: they obtain grants together, conduct studies, teach together, form consulting agencies, and even write books together. In the relatively new and rapidly advancing subfield of cybercriminology, for example, scholars in psychology, sociology, computer science, and economics—among other fields—have amassed work on the many forms of cybercrime (Jaishankar, 2011; Stalans & Finn, 2016).

Finally, condensing any major discipline into a few pages hardly does it justice. To obtain a more adequate overview, the interested reader should consult texts and articles within those disciplines. Table 1–2 summarizes the three dominant disciplinary perspectives.

Sociological Criminology

Sociological criminology
The branch of criminology that examines the demographic, group, and societal variables related to crime.

Sociological criminology has a rich tradition in examining the relationships of demographic and group variables to crime. Variables such as age, race, gender, socioeconomic status, and ethnic-cultural affiliation have been shown to have significant relationships with certain categories and patterns of crimes, as well as victimization. Sociological criminology, for example, has allowed us to conclude that juveniles as a group are overrepresented in nonviolent property offenses. Young black males from disadvantaged backgrounds are overrepresented as both perpetrators and victims of homicide. White males are overrepresented in political and corporate crimes. The many reasons for these relationships are reflected in the various perspectives and research findings that are covered in the book. Sociological criminology also probes the situational or environmental factors that are most conducive to criminal action, such as the time, place, kind of weapons used, and the circumstances surrounding the crime. Scholars from this perspective often study how crimes, such as robbery and burglary, emerge in urban areas characterized by "social disorganization." Social disorganization refers to the extent to which unfavorable conditions—unemployment, deteriorating infrastructures, unoccupied housing, illegal activities—exist in a community.

Another major contribution of sociological criminology is the attention it directs to topics that reflect unequal distribution of power in society. This often takes the form of examining how crime is defined and how laws are enforced. The sale of "street" drugs has been monitored more closely than the sale of "suite" drugs, although they may be equally potent. The actions of corporate officials—for example, allowing environmental and workplace hazards that produce serious harm—are often not defined as crimes. Political crime, such as corruption, bribery, and abuse of power, is studied by sociologists much more than by other disciplines, although psychologists have begun to explore this area more in recent years. Sociological criminology also has a stronger tradition of addressing the underlying social conditions that may encourage criminal behavior, such as inequities in educational

and employment opportunities. Conflict theories in sociology are particularly influential in questioning how crime is defined, who is subject to punishment, and in attempting to draw attention to the crimes of the rich and powerful.

Psychological Criminology

Psychology is the science of behavior and mental processes. **Psychological criminology**, then, is the science of the behavior and mental processes of the person who commits crime. While sociological criminology focuses primarily on groups and society as a whole, and how they influence criminal activity, psychological criminology focuses on individual criminal behavior—how it is acquired, evoked, maintained, and modified.

Psychological criminology
The branch of criminology that focuses primarily on how individual factors lead to the acquisition and maintenance of criminal and other antisocial behavior.

In the psychology of crime, both social and personality influences on criminal behavior are considered, along with the mental processes that mediate that behavior. Personality refers to all the biological/neurological influences, psychological traits, and cognitive features of the human being that psychologists have identified as important in the mediation and control of behavior. Recently, although interest in personality differences among offenders continues, psychological criminology has shifted its focus in several ways. First, it has taken a more cognitive approach to studying criminal behavior. Second, it has paid more attention to biological/neurological factors. Third, it has adopted a developmental approach to studying criminal behavior among both individuals and groups.

Cognitive Approach

Cognitions refer to the attitudes, beliefs, values, and thoughts that people hold about the social environment, interrelations, human nature, and themselves. In serious criminal offenders, these cognitions are often distorted. Beliefs that children must be severely physically disciplined or that victims are not really hurt by fraud or burglary are good examples of cognitions that may lead to criminal activity. Prejudice is also a cognition that involves distortions of social reality. It includes erroneous generalizations and oversimplification about others. Hate or bias crimes—highlighted in Box 1–1—are generally rooted in prejudice and cognitive distortions held by perpetrators. Many serial rapists also distort social reality to the point where they may assault only victims who they perceive "deserve it." Some child sex offenders even persuade themselves that they are not harming their victims, and white-collar offenders sometimes justify their crimes as what they have to do in order to stay in business. The importance of offender cognitions in understanding criminal behavior will be stressed throughout the book.

Cognitions
The internal processes that enable humans to imagine, to gain knowledge, to reason, and to evaluate. The attitudes, beliefs, values, and thoughts that a person holds about the environment, relationships, and him- or herself.

Biological/Neurological Approach

Many criminologists are recognizing that advances in the broad biological and neurological sciences are finding significant links between biology (including neuropsychology) and human behavior (Barnes, Beaver, & Boutwell, 2011; Bush, 2017; Raine, 2013; Wright & Boisvert, 2009). The biological/neurological study of criminal behavior often focuses on aggression and violent behavior. For example, some researchers find that biological, genetic, or neuropsychological factors make a significant contribution to aggression and violence. A traumatic brain injury (TBI), such as one that might occur in a war zone or a traffic accident, may produce personality changes, including increased aggressive behavior (Gurley & Marcus, 2008). In later chapters, we will learn that antisocial behavior can be reduced by practices and programs designed to improve neuropsychological functioning after a TBI has happened as well as prevent neuropsychological impairment early in life.

Developmental Approach

Learning how criminal behavior begins and progresses is extremely important. A **developmental approach** examines the changes and influences across a person's lifetime that may contribute to the formation of antisocial and criminal

Developmental approach
Examines the changes and influences (risk factors) across a person's lifetime that contribute to the formation of antisocial and criminal behavior or, alternately, that protect individuals with many risk factors in their lives.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 1–1 HATE OR BIAS CRIMES

Crimes committed against individuals out of bias, hatred, or racial and ethnic prejudice are nothing new; they are well documented in the history of virtually every nation. What is relatively new in the United States is the effort to keep track of such crimes and impose harsh penalties on those who commit them. This has been done with varying degrees of success. Bias crimes are widely underreported, not often prosecuted, and seldom punished.

Nevertheless, toward the end of the 20th century, Congress and many states began to address the crucial problem of crimes—especially violent crimes—committed out of hatred, prejudice, or bias against someone because of their race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity. Eventually, characteristics such as gender, physical or mental disability, advanced age, or military status were added to the list of protected categories. Laws were passed requiring the gathering of statistics on these offenses and/or allowing enhanced sentences for someone convicted of a hate or bias crime. The first such federal law, the **Hate Crime Statistics Act** of 1990, required the collection of data on violent attacks, intimidation, arson, or property damage that are directed at people because of their race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity. The law was amended in 1994 to include crimes motivated by bias against persons with disabilities, and in late 2009 to include crimes of prejudice based on gender or gender identity (Langton & Planty, 2011).

The statistics themselves only touch the surface of the problem. In 2016, for example, 88% of the agencies required to report bias or hate crimes said that zero such crimes occurred in their jurisdiction. In the following year, however, an additional 1,000 agencies reported such crimes, suggesting that hate crimes were on the increase or that officials were more attuned to compiling such crime data, or likely both.

Altogether, law enforcement reported 7,175 bias crimes in 2017, which was up from 6,121 the previous year (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). Also noteworthy is the fact that these crimes increased 30% from 2015 to the end of 2017. Most common bias crime categories were motivated by bias against race/ethnicity/ancestry, religion, and sexual orientation. (See Figure 1–1.) The majority (about 5,000) were crimes against persons.

Relatedly, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) has reported significant increases in hate groups in the United States. The SPLC identified 602 hate groups in the year 2000; in 2018, the number was placed at 953 (www.splcenter.org). Known hate groups include neo-Nazis, Klansmen, white nationalists, white supremacists, neo-Confederates, racist skinheads, black separatists, and border vigilantes, among others. Names of groups such as the Proud Boys, Patriot Prayer, Rise Above Movement (RAM), and Identity Evropa appear in scholarly literature as well as online.

Hate groups are those whose beliefs or practices attack or malign an entire class of people, such as immigrants or members of a given race, ethnicity, or sexual orientation or gender identity. The activities of hate groups are not necessarily criminal; in fact, they are more likely to involve rallies, marches, meetings, and distributing leaflets rather than perpetrating violence directly.

However, people who commit hate crimes are sympathetic to hate messages even though they may not belong to an organized group. The man who murdered 77 people and wounded hundreds of others in Norway in 2011 saw himself as a leader of a far-right group that seeks to preserve the dominance of the white race, though the group denied that he was a leader or a member. The one who killed nine people at a prayer meeting at the historic Mother Emmanuel AME church in Charleston, South Carolina, in 2015 had made comments about wanting to start a race war. The gunman who killed 11 people and wounded four at a Jewish temple in Pittsburgh in October of 2018 told arresting officers that all Jews should be killed. The person who sent pipe bombs to political figures and prominent supporters of liberal causes, also in October 2018, owned a van plastered with violent, racist, and misogynist images. The shooter who killed 50 people in New Zealand in 2019 was an avowed white supremacist, as was the man who in 2017 rammed his car into crowds of peaceful protestors in Charlottesville, Virginia, killing a young woman.

Readers can undoubtedly cite other examples. Psychological concepts that might help us to understand why individuals would perpetrate these offenses are discussed in Chapter 4.

Questions for Discussion

1. The terms bias crime and hate crime are used interchangeably in the literature, as we often do here. Legal terminology is now more likely to use the term bias crime. Groups are invariably referred to as hate groups, not bias groups. What are the subtle differences between these terms? Is one or the other preferable?
2. What might account for the fact that 88% of agencies reported zero hate crimes in 2016?
3. Victims of hate crime, such as assaults, do not often report their victimization to law enforcement. Discuss reasons for this.
4. Are there both pros and cons of naming specific "hate groups," as we do here?
5. Obtain the FBI's most recent hate or bias crime statistics and discuss what you learn about the distinctions within categories. For example, which race, which religion, which sexual orientation is most victimized? ■

behavior. These are usually called "risk factors." Examples are poor nutrition, the loss of a parent, early school failure, or substandard housing. However, the developmental approach also searches for "protective factors," or influences that provide individuals with a buffer against the risk factors. A caring adult mentor and good social skills are examples of protective factors. Another protective factor is a person's own resilience, a characteristic that enables her or him to bounce back or to survive in the face of what may seem to be insurmountable odds. If we are able to identify the changes and influences that occur across the developmental pathways of life that divert a person from becoming caring, sensitive, and prosocial, as well as those that steer a person away from a life of persistent and serious antisocial behavior, we gain invaluable information about how to prevent and change delinquent and criminal behavior.

Hate Crime Statistics Act
A 1990 federal statute that directs the FBI to collect data on all crimes motivated by hatred of or bias against victims based on their racial, ethnic, religious, or sexual orientation. Other characteristics (e.g., physical or mental disability) were later added.

Trait Approach In the past, psychologists assumed that they could best understand human behavior by searching for stable, consistent personality dispositions or traits that exerted widely generalized effects on behavior. A **trait** or **disposition** is a relatively stable and enduring tendency to behave in a particular way, and it distinguishes one person from another. For example, one person may be extrovert and have a consistent tendency to socialize and meet others, while another may be shy and introvert and demonstrate a tendency to socialize only with very close friends. In recent years, researchers (e.g., Frick & White, 2008) have given considerable attention to some traits—collectively termed callous-unemotional traits—that are often associated with psychopaths, individuals to be discussed in Chapter 7. Callous-unemotional traits are characterized by a lack of empathy and concern for the welfare of others, and they often lead to a persistent and aggressive pattern of antisocial behavior. As noted above, self-control is another trait that has received considerable attention in the criminological world.

Trait
Relatively stable and enduring tendency to behave in a particular way across time and place. Traits are believed by some psychologists to be the basic building blocks of personality.

Disposition
In personality theory, a term that signifies internal or personality determinants of human behavior. Dispositional theorists look to inner conflicts, beliefs, drives, personal needs, traits, or attitudes to explain behavior.

Trait theories hold that people show consistent behavior across time and place, and that these behaviors characterize personality. Many psychologists studying crime, therefore, assumed they should search for the personality traits or variables underlying criminal behavior. They paid less attention to the person's environment or situation. Presumably, once personality variables were identified, it would be possible to determine and predict which individual was most likely to engage in criminal behavior.

The search for any *single* personality type of the murderer, rapist, abuser, or burglar has not been fruitful, however. Contemporary perspectives in the psychology of crime still include personality or behavior traits in their explanations of crime, as we will see in our discussion of callous-unemotional traits, but they also include cognitions and neuropsychological and developmental factors in these explanations. Thus, while trait psychology standing alone has lost favor, some aspects of this approach have survived.

Psychiatric Criminology

The terms *psychology* and *psychiatry* are often confused by the layperson and even by professionals and scholars in other disciplines. Many psychiatrists, like psychologists, work in a variety of settings that bring them into contact with persons accused of or convicted of crime. They assess defendants, provide expert testimony in court, and offer treatment in the community or in correctional facilities. Psychiatrists and psychologists who are closely associated with the courts and other legal arenas are often referred to as forensic psychiatrists or forensic psychologists.

Psychiatric concepts and theories are often believed to be accepted tenets in the field of psychology. However, the two professions often see things quite differently and approach explanations of criminal behavior along a different course. Part of this difference is due to the dissimilarity in the educational requirements for the two professions. Unlike psychologists, who have earned a PhD, a PsyD, or an EdD and who often complete specialized training in research and some area of psychology, psychiatrists first earn a medical degree (MD or a DO) and complete a medical internship, as other physicians do. Then, during an average four-year residency program in psychiatry, they receive specific training in psychiatry, often focusing on the diagnosis and treatment of individuals in forensic settings, such as court clinics or mental hospitals with special units for people with mental disorders who are accused of crime. Understandably, this medical training encourages a biochemical and neurological approach to explanations of human behavior, and this is often reflected in the psychiatric theories of criminal behavior.

By contrast, psychologists who are interested in being certified and licensed as a clinical or counseling psychologist receive a one-year internship focusing on clinical training, which includes methods and techniques for the diagnosis and treatment of various psychological disorders. This clinical training is sometimes followed by a one- to three-year postdoctoral program, and sometimes longer, focusing on both research and practice. The emphasis of this training is *usually* far more on the cognitive (thought processes), developmental, and learned behavior of human action and less on the biochemical or neurological influences. As we saw above, however, the biological/neuropsychological approach is receiving much more attention in the science of behavior, and increasingly more psychologists today pursue training that is more focused in that direction. Clinical neuropsychologists, for example, receive extensive training in the neurological and cognitive aspects of injury and disease.

Psychiatrists are medical doctors and, by definition, are able to prescribe drugs, most often psychoactive drugs. Psychoactive drugs represent a group of drugs that have significant effects on psychological processes, such as emotions and mental states of well-being. Currently, the great majority of states in the United States do not extend such prescription privileges to psychologists. Only five states do. In 2002, New Mexico became the first state to allow psychologists with specified training to prescribe psychoactive drugs (drugs designed to treat psychological problems). Louisiana became the second state, in 2004; those qualified to prescribe are called "medical psychologists." In 2014, Illinois became the third state to extend limited prescription privileges to authorized clinical psychologists with advanced specialized training, and Iowa and Idaho enacted similar laws in 2016 and 2017, respectively. Psychologists in the military and in some federal agencies also have prescription privileges. Twelve states have rejected such privileges, however, and at this point there appears to be a lull in additional efforts to gain them. The powerful medical establishment has often fought these prescription privileges, saying they would lead to abuse and would decrease the quality of patient care. Even psychologists themselves disagree on this issue, but surveys suggest that most are in favor of extending privileges to those who want them and are suitably trained, particularly because this would increase the availability of mental health services for individuals who might not otherwise access them (Ax et al., 2007;

Baird, 2007). Nevertheless, some worry that this could lead to a heavier reliance on medication for the treatment of mental or behavioral disorders than is warranted.

Psychiatric criminology
The branch of criminology that focuses on individual aspects of behavior, particularly internal forces and unconscious drives.

In past years, **psychiatric criminology** has *traditionally* followed the Freudian, psychoanalytic, or psychodynamic tradition. The father of the psychoanalytical theory of human behavior was the physician-neurologist Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), whose followers are called Freudians. Many contemporary psychoanalysts subscribe to a modified version of the orthodox Freudian position and are therefore called neo-Freudians. Still other psychoanalysts follow the tenets of Alfred Adler and Carl Jung, who broke away from Freud and developed different theories about the human condition. A very influential psychoanalyst in more recent times is Erik Erikson, who developed a theory of development that included eight sequential stages. According to Erikson, ego identity is gradually achieved by facing positive goals and negative risks during eight stages across the life span. The degree of achievement in ego identity—or the progress one has made in reaching the various stages—may influence the tendency to commit crime.

Contemporary psychiatrists interested in the study of criminal behavior are less likely to be psychoanalytic in orientation, however. Many are research based and work in teams with psychologists and other mental health professionals. Psychiatrists, with some exceptions (e.g., Szasz, 1961, and his followers), are heavily influenced by the medical model of mental illness. Most subscribe to diagnostic categories outlined in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 5th edition (*DSM-5*) (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) or a similar categorical scheme, the *International Classification of Disease* (*ICD*), published by the World Health Organization and now in its 11th edition. As we will discuss in later chapters, some diagnoses are associated with specific types of crimes, but it should not be presumed that persons with these mental disorders are more crime-prone than those not so diagnosed. Furthermore, when crime is committed by individuals with mental disorders, it is likely that—for most—other risk factors such as substance abuse or past violent behavior prior to mental disorder were present (Peterson, Skeem, Kennealy, Bray, & Zvonkovic, 2014). Researchers have estimated that less than 10% of the crime committed by individuals with mental disorders was a product of their illness (Peterson et al., 2014).

Defining and Measuring Crime

As defined at the beginning of the chapter, crime is intentional behavior that violates a criminal code, intentional in that it did not occur accidentally or without justification or excuse. Since crime encompasses so many types of behavior, should we restrict ourselves to a legal definition and study only those individuals who have been convicted of behaviors legally defined as crime? Or should we include individuals who indulge in antisocial behaviors but have not been detected by the criminal justice system? Perhaps our study should include persons predisposed to be criminal—if such persons can be identified.

As a review of criminology textbooks and literature attests, there is no universal agreement as to what group or groups should be targeted for study. If we abide strictly by the legal definition of crime and base research and discussion only on those people who have committed crimes, do we consider only those who have been convicted and incarcerated or are serving a sentence in the community, or do we include those who may have broken the criminal law but were only arrested, not convicted? While some of these individuals are "truly criminal," an undetermined number of others were arrested but were not truly guilty. And, as is becoming more apparent in recent years, the innocent are sometimes convicted and sent to prison. On the basis of new DNA evidence, for example, as of early 2019, 365 prisoners have been exonerated after being wrongfully convicted (Innocence Project, 2019). Twenty of these individuals had been sentenced to death. And, how can we include

individuals who violate the law but escape detection or those who come to the attention of law enforcement officials but are never arrested or charged because they receive favorable treatment? Finally, many actions that qualify as crimes are not handled by the criminal justice system. As but one example, financial exploitation and even physical abuse of older adults are often referred to social service agencies rather than to police.

In sum, trying to study crime and criminal behavior presents many problems for social scientists. The subjects of study are most typically captive, such as prisoners or delinquents in institutions. They are not necessarily representative of the true criminal population. Likewise, the universe of crime itself defies any attempt at determining "how much" occurs. As we see below, although various methods have been used to do this, none provides sufficient information.

With respect to obtaining data on the incidence, prevalence, and characteristics of crime, there are many pitfalls. Crime is usually measured in one of three ways, and none is perfect:

1. Official police reports of reported crime and arrests, such as those tabulated and forwarded to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for publication in its annual national statistical report on crime, the **Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)** and its accompanying **National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS)**.
2. Self-report studies, whereby members of a sample population are asked what offenses they have committed and how often.
3. National or regional victimization studies, which sample a population of households or businesses asking respondents how often they have been victims of specified crimes.

Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)
The FBI's system of gathering data from law enforcement agencies on the crimes that come to their attention and on arrests. See also **NIBRS.**

National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS)
The FBI's system of collecting *detailed* data from law enforcement agencies on known crimes and arrests.

We provide a brief review of each of these methods, along with their strengths and shortcomings, below.

Uniform Crime Reporting System

The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) **Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)**, compiled since 1930, is the most-cited source of U.S. crime statistics. The UCR Program publishes an annual document containing accounts of crimes known to police and information on arrests received on a voluntary basis from local and state law enforcement agencies throughout the United States. Monthly reports also are available online. The UCR data are available on the FBI website (www.fbi.gov). The UCR program consists of four data collections: (1) the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS); (2) the Summary Reporting System (SRS); (3) the Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted (LEOKA) Program; and (4) the Hate Crime Statistics Program. The UCR program also manages the new National Use-of-Force Data Collection. Federal law enforcement agencies do not report through the traditional UCR Program, but they do through the NIBRS, to be described below.

The UCR Program is the only major data source permitting a comparison of national data broken down by age, sex, race, and offense. Its main component is the SRS, which provides basic statistics on crimes that are of most concern. However, the UCR program is retiring the SRS and will transition those data to an NIBRS-only system by January 1, 2021. LEOKA, Hate Crime Statistics, and Use-of-Force Data will remain.

The UCR provides a variety of information relating to crimes that come to the attention of police, and the city and region where the crime was committed. Arrest data include the age, gender, and race of persons arrested. Crimes are divided into two major groups, which until recently were referred to as Part I and Part II crimes. Although that designation has been de-emphasized in the latest FBI reports, we continue to use it periodically, including in some tables, because it is a convenient way to distinguish the offenses and the data that are gathered for each group. The crimes in the first group are sometimes called index crimes.

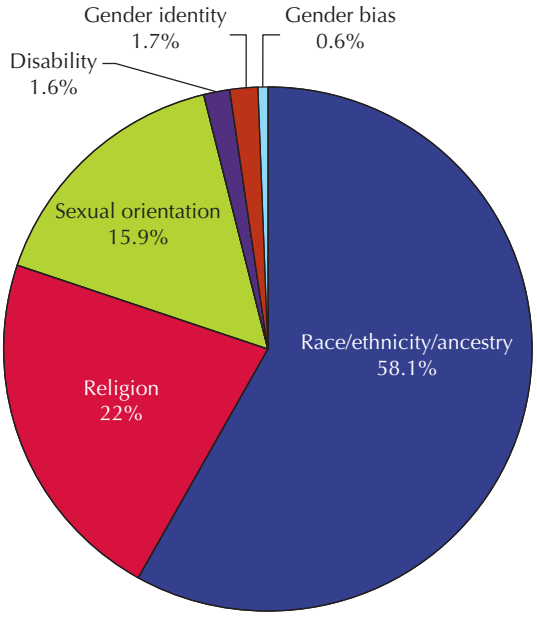

FIGURE 1–1

Bias-Motivated Offenses Percent Distribution, 2017

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (2018a).

They are divided into violent and property offenses. (See Table 1–3 for definitions of these eight crimes as well as other common crimes.)

Violent crime comprises four offenses: murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. As noted in Table 1–3, the definition of rape has been broadened to specify particular actions and to include males as victims. The former definition—called the "legacy definition"—referred to "forcible rape" (to distinguish it from statutory rape) and applied only when females were the victims. During the transition period, some law enforcement agencies still used the legacy definition in reporting crimes, but this practice was stopped in 2017. It is important to keep this in mind when assessing UCR data related to this crime, because rape statistics prior to 2017 give a limited view of that crime.

The property crimes are burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. The primary objective of the offender in property crime is the taking or destruction of money or property. Arson is included in property crime because it involves the destruction of property, but it may result in the loss of life or serious injury. It should be noted that only arsons that were known to be willfully or maliciously set are included; fires of suspicious origins are not.

For these eight crimes, the UCR provides information on the crime known to police (reported crime or crimes they have observed in progress), as well as arrests. Only arrest data are provided for other crimes, such as those included in Table 1–3. In order to appear in the UCR as one of the eight, a crime must, at a minimum, meet the following requirements:

- Be experienced by the victim or observed by someone else
- Be defined as a crime by the victim or the observer
- In some way become known to a law enforcement agency as a crime
- Be defined by that law enforcement agency as a crime
- Be accurately recorded by the law enforcement agency
- Be reported to the FBI compilation center

It should be emphasized that the UCR provides *crime rate* data on only these eight crimes. The crime rate is the percentage of crime known to police per 100,000 population. For example, in 2017, the murder rate was 5.3, meaning there were 5.3 murders known to police for every 100,000 population. Because the UCR keeps track of trends in offending, the FBI was able to report that the 2017 murder figure represented a 2% decrease since 2008, but a 17% increase since 2013. The total violent crime rate, however, represented a

TABLE 1–3 Definitions of Violent and Various Common Crimes in the Uniform Crime Reports

Violent Crimes	Definitions
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	The willful (nonnegligent) killing of one human being by another
Rape*	Penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim. This includes the offenses of rape, sodomy, and sexual assault with an object. Fondling, and statutory rape are included in a separate category, Crimes Against Persons, Other.
Robbery	The taking or attempting to take anything of value from the care, custody, or control of a person or persons by force or threat of force or violence and/or by putting the victim in fear
Aggravated assault	An unlawful attack by one person on another for the purpose of inflicting severe or aggravated bodily injury; attempts to inflict injury are also included
Property Crimes	**Definitions**
Burglary	The unlawful entry into any structure to commit a felony or theft
Larceny-theft	The unlawful taking, carrying, leading, or riding away with of property from the possession or constructive possession of another; includes crimes such as shoplifting, pocket picking, purse snatching, thefts from motor vehicles, and bicycle thefts
Arson	Any willful or malicious burning or attempt to burn, with or without intent to defraud, a dwelling house, public building, motor vehicle or aircraft, or personal property of another
Motor vehicle theft	Theft or attempted theft of a motor vehicle, defined as a self-propelled vehicle that runs on land surfaces, not rails. Includes sport utility vehicles, automobiles, trucks, buses, motorcycles, motor scooters, all-terrain vehicles, and snowmobiles.
Other Common Offenses**	**Definitions**
Simple assault	Assault and attempted assault in which no weapon is used and which does not result in serious or aggravated injury to victim
Forgery and counterfeiting	Making, altering, uttering, or possessing, with intent to defraud, anything false in the semblance of that which is true
Fraud	Fraudulent conversion and obtaining money or property by false pretenses
Embezzlement	Misappropriation or misapplication of money entrusted to one's care, custody, or control
Stolen property	Buying, receiving, and possessing stolen property, including attempts to do so
Offenses against the family and children	Unlawful nonviolent acts by a family member that threaten the physical, mental, or economic well-being or morals of another family member; does not include assault or sex offenses
Sex offenses	Statutory rape, fondling, exhibitionism
Drug abuse violations	State and/or local offenses relating to the unlawful possession, sale, use, growing, and manufacture of drugs
Gambling	Promoting, permitting, or engaging in illegal gambling
Vandalism	Willful or malicious destruction, injury, disfigurement, or defacement of any public or private property, real or personal, without the consent of the owner or persons having custody or control

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (2018a). *Crime in the United States 2017*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

*This is the new definition of rape, which was gradually phased in beginning in 2012. The previous definition, which is now referred to as the "legacy definition," was called forcible rape (to distinguish it from statutory rape) and was limited to rape of females. The legacy definition is no longer in use as of 2017.

**This is not an inclusive list.

10% decrease since 2008, but a 6.8% increase since 2013. Although there have been upticks in recent years for some violent crimes, rates overall are going down. For example, the decrease in crime since 2004 is found for all major crimes, a fact that often does not come to public attention. The decrease in crime is even more noticeable when we compare recent data to statistics from the early 1990s, a high-crime period in the United States.

For all offenses other than the eight listed above, only arrest data are included in the UCR. For example, if a victim reports a simple assault but no perpetrator is located, that assault would not be included in the *crime rate*. However, the *arrest* of one or more individuals for that simple assault would appear in the UCR. Note that an *aggravated* assault would be included in the violent crime rate.

On a regular yearly basis, if we look at crimes known to police, the property crime of larceny-theft, which usually comprises approximately 60% of the Part I crimes, is the most frequently occurring of the eight offenses (see Figure 1–2). The violent crime of murder occurs the least frequently, accounting for only 0.1% of the total for these eight crimes. In addition, again looking at crimes known to police, recent data indicate that in 2017 both violent and property crimes were down compared to a decade ago.

These are, of course, national figures. If we examine UCR breakdowns for different regions or metropolitan areas, we see variations in crime rates and trends.

The UCR also reports the **clearance rate** of all eight major crime categories. An offense is cleared—one might say solved—when at least one person is arrested, charged with the commission of the offense, and turned over for prosecution. An offense may also be cleared by exceptional means when something happens to an offender outside the control of the reporting law enforcement agency, such as when a person about to be arrested commits suicide. In 2017, 45.6% of violent crimes in the United States and 17.6% of property offenses were cleared by arrest or exceptional means. Usually, murder has the highest clearance rate. In 2017, law enforcement agencies cleared about two-thirds of all murders; by contrast, burglary and motor vehicle theft have low clearance rates, usually less than 15%.

Clearance rate
The proportion of reported crimes that have been "solved" through the arrest and turning over of at least one person for prosecution. Crimes also may be cleared through exceptional means such as the death of the person about to be arrested.

Finally, arrest data should be distinguished from reported crime and clearance data. One crime may result in the arrest of five individuals, for example, or the arrest of one individual may clear or solve many crimes. An arrest is recorded for each separate instance in which

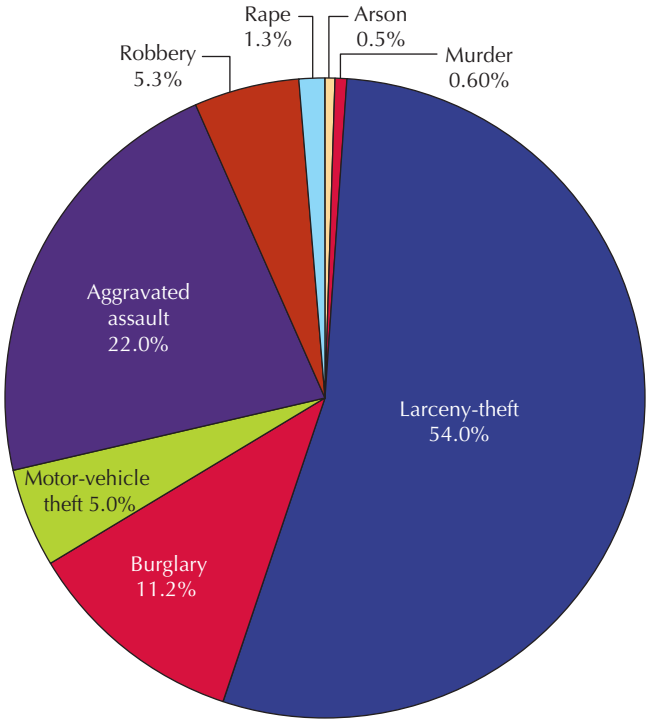

FIGURE 1–2
Percent Distribution of Violent and Property Crimes, 2017
Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (2018a).

a person is arrested, cited, or summoned for an offense, meaning that an actual physical taking into custody is not required. If a person turns himself in to police, this is counted as an arrest. In recent years, the highest number of arrests was for drug abuse violations and larceny-theft. Like crime rates, recent arrest trends show decreases in arrests of both juveniles and adults for violent crime and property crime.

Dark figure
The number of crimes that go unreported in official crime data reports.

Hierarchy rule
In the UCR program, the rule that requires that only the most serious crime in a series be reported in the crime statistics. The exception is arson, which is always reported.

UCR Problems Although it is not disputed that the crimes measured by the UCR have declined since the 1990s, it is also recognized that official statistics have always underestimated most criminal offenses. The overall number of criminal offenses that go undetected or are unknown by law enforcement agencies, known as the **dark figure**, is difficult to estimate. In addition, official data like the UCR program are routinely criticized for errors and omissions, so the data can be misleading. One of the most frequently mentioned problems is the **hierarchy rule**, which stipulates that when a number of offenses have been committed during a series, only the most serious offense is included in the UCR data. For example, if a person breaks into your apartment, steals money, kicks your cat, kills your roommate, and runs off in your car, only the murder will appear in the UCR. The exception to the hierarchy rule is arson, which is always reported even if accompanied by a violent offense (e.g., murder). If the person set the apartment house on fire before leaving, both the arson and the murder would be included in the crime rate.

The compilation center also relies on the accuracy and compliance of local and state agencies to report crime statistics. When definitions of crimes change—such as the definition of rape described above—there is bound to be at least some temporary confusion in reporting instances. UCR data also cannot take into account early discretionary decision making by law enforcement officers, such as a decision not to "found" a crime when it is reported by a member of the public or a decision not to arrest an individual. In addition, the major crime categories emphasize street crime to the neglect of the equally serious "white-collar" crime, which includes a wide variety of offenses such as corporate, political, and professional crimes. Fraud, bribery, and perjury, for example, are not Part I crimes. Very often they are federal offenses and thus would not appear in the UCR. They are not reported to, and not investigated by, local and state law enforcement agencies. Finally, many crimes that fall under the general category of cybercrime or Internet-facilitated crime (see Box 1–2) do not appear in the UCR, primarily because many are federal offenses but also because they simply are not detected by the law enforcement community.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 1–2 THE PROBLEM OF INTERNET-FACILITATED CRIME

As noted in the text, the crime rate overall, including the violent crime rate, has declined since the mid-1990s. Some specific crimes, though, are on the increase. Included in this group are nontraditional crimes associated with technology, which often are not reflected in crime statistics. Attempts to obtain an accurate account of the crime picture are hampered by the limitations inherent in gathering information about these crimes. For example, authorities can only estimate the number of individuals whose credit card data have been compromised, or whose health data, including Social Security numbers, have been obtained illegally as a result of computer hacking.

Facilitated by the Internet, people across the globe have engaged in criminal activities across a wide range,

including terrorist threats, fraudulent schemes, hacking, cyberstalking, distribution of child pornography, and human trafficking, to name but a few. As noted in the chapter, criminologists representing different disciplinary perspectives have engaged in a new subfield to address the prevalence of these crimes as well as explain why and how they are committed. They also note that not all of these activities are defined as crimes or accepted as crime by the general population. Examples are some forms of hacking and trafficking in some illicit drugs.

Some of the crimes listed above (e.g., cyberstalking, distributing and accessing child pornography, hacking, and human trafficking) will be covered later in the book as we discuss psychological concepts that might help to explain them. Relevant to the measurement of crime covered in this chapter, however, it is important to be aware that these offenses are not adequately represented in crime statistics.

Questions for Discussion

1. Considering the global nature of the Internet, is it at all possible to "measure" Internet-facilitated crime with the methods covered in this chapter? Is one method more likely to obtain reliable results?
2. Considering the difficulty measuring Internet-facilitated crime, how do we know it is on the increase?
3. Obtain three different definitions of cyberhacking. Should all forms of cyberhacking be defined as crime?

The National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) During the late 1970s, the law enforcement community called for the expanded use of the UCR and more detailed information on crime than the summary statistics offered in the UCR. In response, the NIBRS was initiated as a supplement to the UCR. Today, most states submit data through the NIBRS on a voluntary basis. Federal law enforcement agencies are required to report crime data through NIBRS.

The NIBRS has many advantages over a summary system, and as noted above it will shortly replace the SRS completely. It reports details on each single crime incident—as well as on separate offenses within the same incident—including information on victims, known offenders, relationships between victims and offenders, arrestees, and property involved in crimes. NIBRS also provides the circumstances and context for crimes, such as location, time of day, and whether the incident was cleared. The goal of the FBI is to enhance the NIBRS substantially before the beginning of the year 2021, when it will completely phase out the SRS. Thus, the NIBRS is set to become the national data source for crime in the United States at that time.

Currently, through NIBRS, the FBI collects data on two categories of offenses: Group A, which includes 46 serious offense categories such as arson, assault, homicide, fraud, embezzlement, larceny-theft, and sex offenses; and Group B, which includes 11 less serious offenses, such as passing bad checks, driving under the influence of alcohol, engaging in disorderly conduct, drunkenness, nonviolent family offenses, and liquor law violations (see Table 1–4 for a list of Group A offenses). There is always danger in labeling crimes as serious or not serious, however. Just from the above list, it is likely that readers may challenge some of the categorizations. The important thing to keep in mind is that the extent of the data gathered by the FBI differs according to the group in which the crime falls. In the *Group A Incident Report* information, a crime is viewed along with all its aspects. For example, the report of a crime includes information about the victim, weapon, location of the crime, alcohol/drug influence, type of criminal activity, relationship of victim to alleged offender, residence of victims and arrestees (if someone was arrested), and a description of property and its value. Presumably, this added information is an indispensable tool for law enforcement agencies and researchers because it provides them with detailed data about when and where specific types of crime take place, what forms they take, and the characteristics of their victims and perpetrators. Reporting for Group B offenses is less detailed, reflecting the lesser degree of seriousness of these crimes.

TABLE 1–4 National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) Group A Offenses

Arson	*Homicide offenses*
Assault offenses	• Murder/nonnegligent manslaughter
• Aggravated assault	• Negligent manslaughter
• Simple assault	• Justifiable homicide
Intimidation	*Kidnapping/abduction*
Bribery	*Larceny-theft offenses*
Burglary/breaking and entering	• Pocket picking
Counterfeiting/forgery	• Purse snatching
Destruction/damage/vandalism of property	• Shoplifting
Drug/narcotic offenses	• Theft from building
• Drug/narcotic violations	• Theft from coin-operated machines
• Drug/equipment violations	• Theft from motor vehicle
Embezzlement	• Theft of motor vehicle parts/accessories
Extortion/blackmail	*Motor vehicle theft*
Fraud offenses	*Pornography/obscene materials*
• False pretenses/swindle/confidence game	*Prostitution offenses*
• Credit card/ATM fraud	• Prostitution
• Impersonation	• Assisting or promoting prostitution
• Welfare fraud	*Robbery*
• Wire fraud	*Sex offenses, forcible*
Gambling offenses	• Rape
• Betting/wagering	• Sodomy
• Operating/promoting/assisting gambling	• Sexual assault with an object
• Gambling equipment violations	• Fondling
• Sports tampering	*Sex offenses, nonforcible*
	Stolen property offenses
	Weapon law violations

Source: Based on information from *The National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, Annual Report, 1992* (Quantico, VA: FBI Academy, 1992), p. 22.

Self-Report Studies

Many researchers believe that self-report (SR) studies provide a more accurate estimate of actual offenses than do UCR or NIBRS statistics, which are based on data provided by law enforcement. In self-report research, people report their own criminal or otherwise anti-social activity to researchers. Although respondents may inflate or deflate reports of their own criminal activity, proponents of this research strategy maintain that self-report offers a better approximation of criminal activity. Early SR surveys found that many people broke laws but were never caught. For example, Wallerstein and Wyle (1947) found that 91% of nearly 1,700 respondents admitted they had committed one or more offenses for which they might have received jail or prison sentences, with the average number of offenses for each person being 18. No one in the sample had served an actual prison sentence.

Short and Nye (1957) administered questionnaires to 3,000 high school students and found that, across all socioeconomic classes, they, too, reported high incidences of unlawful behavior, although most of it was minor and not all qualified as crime. One item included in their measure of delinquency was disobedience to parents; another referred to skipping school without a legitimate excuse. In the years since these earliest studies, researchers have added more serious items and generally have learned that violations of the law are common across all levels of society, though serious offending is less common.

Most SR investigations focus on delinquency rather than adult offending, however, and current studies focus primarily on risk-taking behaviors that are associated with physical or mental health. A study that is receiving extensive research attention is the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, which collected initial data on some 19,000 students in grades 7–12 at 132 schools. The self-reported information related to a variety of health issues, including those associated with criminal activity (e.g., illegal drug possession and use). A subgroup of the original participants, about 15,000, was recontacted as young adults. Several different studies were developed from the data obtained from this survey and will be discussed throughout the book under separate studies.

Another noteworthy example is the Pittsburgh Youth Study (Loeber, Farrington, et al., 1998) which began as a longitudinal study with a sample of approximately 1,500 boys who were first, fourth, and seventh graders. Over the years, researchers followed the boys as they entered adolescence and early adulthood. A companion study with a smaller sample of girls, the Pittsburgh Girls Study, also was conducted. Both longitudinal studies relied on self-report data as well as official records and amassed a large data bank that produced additional research. A similar study, the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (PHDCN), began in the 1990s (Sampson, 2012). Numerous studies have been published using data obtained from this project, which followed more than 6,000 children, adolescents, and young adults (e.g., Hawkins et al., 2009; Kirk & Hardy, 2014; Piquero et al., 2003). These projects will be discussed in more detail in later chapters.

A federally funded study on dating behavior (Mumford & Taylor, 2014) also used self-report methodology. A nationwide sample of 667 youths aged 12–18 who dated during the past year responded online to questions about their relationships. The researchers found high levels of violence as well as psychological abuse in dating relationships, with a majority of both boys and girls describing themselves as both victims and perpetrators of abusive behavior. The abuse was primarily psychological—such as insults—but nearly 20% of the respondents said they were victims of physical and sexual abuse in their relationships.

Studies of self-reported criminal activity are often conducted with adults who are incarcerated. Researchers ask inmates about the extent of their past offending, and some of these studies will be cited throughout the book. Not all respondents are convicted individuals, however. In an early study of employee theft, for example, researchers found that about one-third of employees who returned surveys admitted to stealing from their employers (Hollinger, 1986). An early self-report survey of income tax evasion found 10% of the respondents admitting to cheating on their taxes (Tittle, 1980). College students also are often queried about their criminal behavior, including drug use and sexual assaults. These studies will be discussed later in the book as well.

Self-report data are gathered either through interviews (personal or telephone) or questionnaires. Increasingly more are now collected online, which raises additional questions about validity. Although a larger sample of respondents can be obtained, online responding presents challenges to quality control or, in research terminology, reliability and validity. Nevertheless, some online survey services have achieved sufficient respectability that they are commonly used by contemporary scholars.

Although we must be careful about drawing far-reaching conclusions based on the information from SR research, the most reputable studies, like the PYS and the PHDCN, acknowledge their limitations and include reliability checks in their methodology—such as by cross-checking the information against other sources. At this point, SR studies do suggest that minor criminal activity is not unusual among youth, but that the number of individuals involved in serious crimes is relatively small. However, those who do engage in serious criminal activity commit many crimes. Moreover, persistent, repetitive offenders do not specialize in any one crime (such as larceny) but show considerable versatility, committing a wide variety of offenses, violent as well as nonviolent.

Monitoring the Future (MTF)
A self-report survey administered to high school students nationwide focusing on drug use and abuse.

Drug Use Self-Report Surveys Several nationwide self-report surveys collect data specifically on drug use and abuse in the United States. The major surveys are the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH), formerly called the *National Household Survey on Drug Abuse (NHSDA)*; **Monitoring the Future (MTF)**; and the *Arrestees Drug Abuse Monitoring Program (ADAM and ADAM II)*.

NSDUH is an ongoing survey of a random sample of the noninstitutionalized population of the United States, 12 years old or older. The survey, sponsored by the federal government, is conducted by a private research firm that collects and analyzes the data and issues annual reports. Approximately 70,000 individuals across the United States are asked about their use of tobacco, alcohol, illicit drugs, and their mental health. Mental health questions are included in recognition that substance use and mental health are often related. Visited in their homes, those surveyed enter responses into a computer, and the answers are coded and amassed with other data shortly thereafter. Confidentiality is assured and is guaranteed by federal law. The survey is intended to provide accurate data, track trends in drug and substance use, assess their consequences, and identify groups at risk for use and abuse. Data from the NSDUH are available on the Internet and are used extensively by academic researchers, journalists, and government agencies as well as organizations dedicated to the prevention of substance abuse. The 2013 survey, for example, found that about 24.6 million people were current illicit drug users, including 2.2 million adolescents aged 12–17. One in 10 adolescents reported a major depressive episode in the past year, and 1 in 5 adults said they had a mental illness.

MTF is a nationwide survey of high school students in the United States conducted at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan and sponsored by research grants from the National Institute of Drug Abuse. Each year, since 1991, about 50,000 students in the 8th, 10th, and 12th grades are surveyed. MTF also conducts a follow-up survey of a sample of each graduating class for a number of years after their initial participation, so that college students and young adults are represented in the data. The mission of MTF is to predict future trends of drug abuse based on current youth drug use. Current data indicated that 1 in 20 college students reported that they got high or near high daily on marijuana, indicating that marijuana remains the second-highest substance used by young people besides alcohol (Johnston, O'Malley, Miech, Bachman, & Schulenberg, 2015).

The ADAM II is a continuation of a National Institute of Justice program—ADAM—that collected data from adult males and females who were arrested in 35 sites in the United States between 2000 and 2003, when it was terminated for lack of funding. In 2007, ADAM II, sponsored by the federal Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP), took up the data collection, focusing on 10 sites. The ADAM II utilizes both urinalysis and self-report data to identify the level of recent drug use by the arrestees. The individuals arrested provide information about the types of drugs they use as well as how they obtained them. The urinalysis provides a validity check on the openness of the arrestees in providing information about their drug abuse. Urine specimens are analyzed for the presence of 10 drugs. The ADAM projects, both ADAM and ADAM II, offer invaluable insight into drug use of persons arrested in representative areas of the country.

Victimization Surveys

National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)
A government-sponsored survey of victims of crime, intended to collect data from the victim's perspective on crimes both reported and not reported to police.

Additional sources of data on offending are victimization surveys, in which victims provide information on the crimes committed against them. The main source of victimization data on crime is the **National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)**, originally called the National Crime Survey (NCS). Workers for the Bureau of the Census interview a large national sample of households (145,508 in 2017). In 2017, 239,541 persons completed an

interview. First interviews are typically in person, while subsequent interviews are in person or by phone. The same households are interviewed every 6 months for a period of 3 years, and during each session they are asked about crime they have experienced over the past 6 months. Persons living in group quarters such as dormitories, rooming houses, and religious group dwellings are included, but persons in institutions or in military barracks are not. Crimes committed against children below age 12 are not counted for privacy reasons and because the designers of the survey believe that younger respondents, compared with adults, are not as likely to provide accurate information. Additionally, because young children may be victims of crime within their own households, the topic would be too sensitive to broach. The NCVS provides the largest national forum for victims to describe the impact of crime and characteristics of violent offenders. Its reports, including detailed information about the methodology used to conduct the interviews and analyze the data, are available on the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) website, www.bjs.gov. (See also Morgan & Truman, 2018.)

The survey is designed to measure the extent to which households and individuals are victims of violent crimes like rape and other sexual assaults, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault as well as property crimes like household burglary, motor vehicle theft, and theft. It also provides many details about the victims (such as age, race, sex, marital status, education, income, and whether the victim and the offender were related to each other) and about the crimes themselves. Recent versions of the NCVS also ask respondents whether they perceived they were victims of a hate crime. Among other things, the NCVS interviewer wants to know the following about all victimization:

- Exactly what happened
- When and where the offense occurred
- Whether any injury or loss was suffered
- Whether the crime was reported to the police and if not, why
- The victim's perception of the offender's gender, race, and age

According to the latest NCVS (Morgan & Truman, 2018), violent victimization decreased substantially (74%) between 1993 and 2017, but violent victimization incidents over the 2-year-period 2015–2017 increased. The increase was attributed primarily to a rise in simple assault. Property crime victimizations have decreased over the same 2-year period. The number of persons age 12 or over who were victims of violent crime was 3.1 million, which was up 17% from 2015. The portions of persons who were victims of violent crime also increased, up from 0.98% in 2015 to 1.14% in 2017.

Almost half of violent victimizations (45%) and slightly over one-third of property victimizations (36%) were reported to police. Interestingly, although most rapes or sexual assaults were not reported to police, the percentage that were reported rose from 23% in 2016 to 40% in 2017. Criminologists have long observed that victims do not report crimes to police for many different reasons. The significant increase in sexual assault reporting is notable and could be attributed to increasing attention given to widespread problems of sexual assault and increasing support for victims. Nevertheless, many victims of all crimes, both violent and property, remain reluctant to reveal their victimization. (See Box 1–3 for more on this issue.)

The NCVS data over the years consistently show demographic differences in victimization rates. Race and ethnicity differences are stark. Blacks and American Indians or Alaskan Natives are victims of violent crime at rates greater than those of whites and persons of other races (Rennison & Rand, 2003; Morgan & Truman, 2018; Truman, 2011). Males and females have similar rates of violent and property victimization, though females are more likely to report sexual assaults. Persons age 12–24 sustain violent victimization at rates higher than individuals of all other ages, with the 18–25 age group being especially

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 1–3 IMMIGRANTS AND VICTIMIZATION: SHOULD THEY TRUST THE GOVERNMENT?

- Tanya arrived in the United States in 2010 under a work visa that has since expired. She has worked steadily in the food industry in the years she has been in the country, has no criminal record, and does not associate with anyone who has. Yesterday, when she arrived from work she found that her apartment had been burglarized and cash and personal possessions had been taken. Tanya does not report the crime to police.
- Hans was brought to the United States at age 10 by his parents, who crossed the Northern border in a nonauthorized spot. The small family lived with relatives who were legal residents and worked for subsistence wages. Though Hans went to school, neither he nor his parents became U.S. citizens. Now, at age 20, Hans has been sexually assaulted by his boss, who told him he would be fired if he told anyone. His parents want him to report the crime, but he refuses to do so, fearful that he and his parents will be deported.
- Lucia received asylum in the United States after fleeing a repressive regime in her native country along with her two young children. She applied for citizenship and has been studying to pass her citizenship exam. The man she is living with has assaulted her for several months, but she feels unable to leave or to report him to police.

It has long been recognized that most crimes do not come to the attention of police. Victimization data—both government sponsored and gathered by independent researchers—have helped to uncover some of that hidden crime. Nevertheless, many victims do not want to reveal their victimization to anyone. There are many reasons for this, ranging from fear of the offender to self-blame for the victimization.

In recent years it is widely believed that immigrants, both documented and undocumented, are particularly reluctant to report crime victimization. Although some of their reasons are the same as those of nonimmigrant victims, other factors are at work as well. They include the fear of being deported, concerns about being separated from their children or other loved ones, mistrust of government or organized social services, and language barriers.

Questions for Discussion

1. In 2018, the Trump administration planned to include a citizenship question to the 2020 census. Federal district courts blocked this attempt. In February 2019 the U.S. Supreme Court "fast-tracked" the case and disallowed the question, noting that the administration did not adequately explain its reasons. How would adding such a question have affected the data obtained in the census?
2. It is notable that in natural disasters, such as hurricanes and floods, authorities often tell people seeking shelter that they will not be asked about their citizenship status or turned over to authorities if they are found to be in the country illegally. Should there be similar guarantees when it comes to crime victimization?
3. Compare and contrast the three hypothetical situations outlined above. What are Tanya, Hans, and Lucia likely to encounter if they report their victimization to police? Go beyond answering, "It depends," in discussing the question. Are they more likely to report to someone interviewing for the NCVS? To a private researcher?
4. To whom are crime victims most likely to report their victimization? ■

vulnerable. However, we also know that much abuse suffered by certain populations—such as younger children, older adults, transgender individuals, undocumented immigrants, persons with intellectual disabilities—is hidden. Interestingly, the latest NCVS found that persons with disabilities as a group experienced more violent victimization than those without, and persons with cognitive disability experienced the highest rate among all with disabilities (Morgan & Truman, 2018).

The latest NCVS provides a wealth of information of use to researchers, students, policymakers, and the general public. Although we include only a few of its highlights here, we refer to it again in later chapters as specific offenses are discussed.

Relationship patterns are also important in understanding victimization, particularly violent victimization. Females are most often victimized by someone they know, while males are more likely to be victimized by strangers (Rennison & Rand, 2003; Morgan & Truman, 2018; Truman, 2011). Female victims report that most offenders are friends and acquaintances, followed by intimate partners or former intimates (Catalano, 2013). By contrast, male victims report that strangers are the most likely perpetrators, followed by friends or acquaintances. Very few males report being victimized by intimate partners. These patterns have been consistent, varying slightly from survey to survey.

As suggested above, a good amount of victimization occurs at the hands of intimate partners. In 2000, Rennison and Welchans noted that every year about one million violent crimes are committed against persons by their current or former spouses, boyfriends, or girlfriends. This **intimate partner violence (IPV)** is committed primarily against women. Black women are subject to intimate partner violence at a rate 35% higher than white women and approximately 2.5 times higher than the rate for women of other races. However, women in many ethnic groups are reluctant to report such violence, as we will learn in Chapter 9. In addition, spouses or partners of abusers who work in law enforcement or professional sports or are otherwise in the public eye may resist bringing attention to their victimization.

Intimate partner violence (IPV)
Crimes committed against persons by their current or former spouses, boyfriends, or girlfriends.

The NCVS, similar to all national surveys, has its problems in accurately portraying victimization data. In addition to reluctance to reveal being victimized, some individuals may not be truthful or may recall incidents that occurred outside the time period being studied. Other people are not represented in the data because they are homeless or live in institutional settings that may not be reached by the researchers (Rennison & Welchans, 2000).

Despite their shortcomings, victimization surveys are considered a good source of information about crime incidents, independent of data collected by law enforcement agencies throughout the country. Often the offending trends reported through NCVS data procedures differ substantially from those found in police data (Ohlin & Tonry, 1989). Although we have focused on the government-conducted NCVS to illustrate victimization data, be aware that independent researchers also survey victims of crime, often with grants from government agencies or private foundations. One noteworthy example is the National Violence Against Women Survey, conducted by the Center for Policy Research (Tjaden, 1997), which included an examination of the extent and nature of violence and stalking in American society. That survey and updated versions will be covered later in the text.

Juvenile Delinquency

The definitions of crime and the methods of gathering crime data discussed above relate to both adults and juveniles. Like adult crime, juvenile crime overall has decreased since the 1990s. As we will learn in Chapter 6, which is devoted exclusively to juvenile delinquency, juveniles do commit a disproportionate amount of crime, but it is not necessarily the most serious offenses. The school shootings by juveniles that are depicted in the media are tragic, but they are atypical. Furthermore, crimes committed by juveniles may be treated very differently from those committed by adults. In addition to the focus on delinquency in Chapter 6, we include special sections devoted to juvenile offenders and victims in other chapters. At this point, however, it is important to mention a few other preliminary distinctions.

Status offenses
A class of illegal behavior that only persons with certain characteristics or status can commit. Used almost exclusively to refer to the behavior of juveniles. Examples include running away from home, violating curfew, buying alcohol, or skipping school.

First, not all offenses committed by juveniles are technically crimes. Some behaviors—referred to as juvenile **status offenses**—are forbidden only to juveniles because of their age. The prime examples are running away from home, curfew violations, underage drinking,

skipping school on a regular basis (truancy), and—in some states—"incorrigibility." Many criminologists argue that juvenile status offenses should not be criminalized in the same way that true crimes are for various reasons. For example, status offenses label children delinquents for behavior that is not harmful to others, and they are often indicative of problems in the child's environment (e.g., the runaway child may be running away from victimization). Other criminologists argue that it is important to keep track of status offenders in order to provide them with help that they may need; additionally, some, though not all, status offenders commit "real crimes" like burglary and theft. What to do with status offenders is a controversial area, as we will see in Chapter 6.

Another distinction between adult and juvenile criminal behavior is that data gathering on juvenile offending is even more imperfect than data gathering on adult crime. The nature and extent of delinquent behavior—both what is reported and what is unreported to law enforcement agencies—is essentially an unknown area (Krisberg, 1995). Nonetheless, information from a variety of sources, including the UCR, self-report studies, court records, and data from juvenile corrections, provides us some insight into the nature and extent of juvenile offending.

Third, much of the crime (and status offenses) committed by juveniles may be regarded as a "rite of passage" to adulthood. Self-report data indicate that offending among juveniles is more widespread than among adults but—as with adult offending—most people eventually stop. In the case of juveniles, most stop committing crime once they reach adulthood and have a stake in prosocial behavior. Juveniles may act out in high school or slightly beyond, but then they get full-time jobs, go to college, enter into significant relationships, get married, or join the military. It is common to assert, then, that most juveniles age out of crime. From a psychological perspective, however, we need to be particularly concerned with two groups of juveniles: those who continue offending, particularly serious offending, well into their adult years; and those who commit a very serious crime during their juvenile years. The former group typically demonstrated problem behavior very early in their lives. The latter group—those who commit a one-time, very serious offense—receives extensive media attention (e.g., juvenile school shooters or juvenile murderers), but this type of one-time offending is rare. Continued serious offending, though, is more problematic. Many if not most theories of crime describe antisocial behavior as having its origins in childhood. Over the past few decades, developmental psychologists in particular have conducted extensive research on children and adolescents who begin offending early and continue into adulthood. This is the main topic of Chapter 2.

Recap: Defining Crime and Delinquency

A major challenge faced by the authors in preparing this book has been striking the balance between antisocial behavior and criminal behavior, or between antisocial individuals and legally defined criminals. Some scholars have long argued (e.g., Sellin, 1970; Tappan, 1947)—and the law agrees—that one who engages in undetected criminal activity is not a criminal in the strictest or operational sense, because a criminal is by definition one who has been detected, arrested, and convicted. From a psychological point of view, however, we encounter problems when we limit ourselves to studying persons legally defined as criminals or behavior legally defined as crime. Legal classifications are determined by that which society, at some point in time, considers socially harmful. It may or may not also be considered morally wrong. Therefore, because each society has a different and changing set of values, what may be judged a criminal act in one may not meet the criteria in another, or even in the same society at a later time. Many states in the United States differ significantly in their criminal codes and are continually revising them. This is illustrated

by the patchwork of marijuana legislation: some states allow the drug for medicinal purposes, some have decriminalized its possession in small amounts, and increasingly more are allowing it to be purchased legally for recreational use. Federal law, though, does not acknowledge any legalization of marijuana, so people can be prosecuted for offenses involving marijuana under federal statutes. As an example, a person transporting the drug in even small amounts across state lines can be charged with a federal offense, even if both of those states decriminalized its possession.

Illegal gambling, prostitution, and dissemination of obscene material are examples of other activities that generate ever-changing statutes. In recent years, use of handheld cell phones or text messaging while driving has been banned in some jurisdictions, often under distracted driving laws. Criminal penalties, usually in the form of fines, are sometimes prescribed. Although we do not condone text messaging while driving, we are not interested in focusing on the psychology of the text messager. The more serious crimes, those we are most concerned with in this text, are more likely to be universally recognized as unacceptable. Nevertheless, we also pay attention to offenses that may not be seen as serious, but that can have psychological implications for offenders and victims. Shoplifting and minor fraud are examples.

Furthermore, members of every society (and consequently every society's legal system) perceive and process violators of the criminal code with some disparity, so that the offender's background, economic circumstances, social status, personality, motivation, sex, age, race, ethnicity, and legal counsel, as well as the circumstances surrounding the offense, may all affect the criminal justice process. Few of us would dispute the observation that selective enforcement of the law is a reality. It is highly likely that individuals who have been arrested, convicted, and punished represent a distinctly different sample from those who participate in illegal activity but avoid detection, arrest, conviction, or punishment.

Approximately one-fifth of those arrested go to trial, according to Sarbin (1979), who describes the legal process of becoming labeled a criminal. First, the agents of social control (usually the police) identify the individual as a suspect. Next, they may decide that the suspect should be arrested. Third, the arrested party may be charged with a crime, at which point he or she becomes a defendant. Fourth, the defendant may plead guilty or be tried and convicted, at which point he or she becomes an offender (a felon or a misdemeanant, depending on the seriousness of the crime). Finally, the offender may be incarcerated in a correctional facility and be labeled a convict, inmate, prisoner, or criminal. Alternatively, the offender may be placed on probation, effectively serving a sentence in the community. At each step in the process, there is a funneling effect that shows that fewer and fewer individuals reach each subsequent step in the criminal justice process. This funneling process is prominently displayed in numerous criminal justice texts to illustrate how the system operates.

It is generally acknowledged, therefore, that individuals sentenced to jail or prison are not representative of the "true" criminal population, because many true criminals go undetected and/or unpunished. Furthermore, as we have long suspected but only recently documented with the increasing availability of DNA evidence or reinvestigation of cases, convicted persons are not even necessarily true criminals. Yet, researchers studying the "criminal mind" often use as participants individuals who have reached the final stage of the legal process—inmates in correctional institutions or, less often, convicted offenders serving their sentences in the community. Consequently, if we discuss only legally determined criminals, we will be neglecting a considerable segment of the population that actually breaks the law. To some extent, we have little choice but to do just that. Because this book is based on research, the kinds and amounts of available empirical data dictate to a great extent what will be covered.

Additionally, if we discuss only behavior that is legally defined as crime, we omit a sizable segment of behavior that is clearly relevant to our concerns. For example, a vast body

of psychological research deals with topics like aggression and antisocial behavior. Because of their implications for the eventual development of behavior that is legally defined as crime, we will be covering these areas in the text.

The great majority of crime in the United States and other countries is not violent. In 2017, the highest numbers of arrests were for drug abuse violations, driving under the influence, and larceny-theft. The great majority of persons arrested are not serious offenders (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). Psychological criminology, however, is most concerned about the minority. Therefore, the main focus of the book is the persistent, repetitive *offender*—or the persistent, repetitive antisocial *behavior*—whether detected or undetected by the criminal justice system. In other words, in this text, we concentrate on the individual who has frequently committed serious crimes or antisocial acts over an extended period of time (at least several years). Nevertheless, we also spend time on the one-time serious offender—the mass murderer, for example, or the juvenile offender who commits a heinous crime.

Antisocial behavior
Clinical term reserved for serious habitual behavior, especially that involving direct harm to others.

For all of the above reasons, many psychologists and other mental health professionals prefer the term *antisocial behavior* to *crime* or *criminal behavior* to refer to the more serious habitual actions that violate personal rights, laws, and/or widely held social norms. **Antisocial behavior** includes both the legal designation delinquency and criminal behavior, and the actions that violate standards of society but are undetected by law enforcement. Although arrest *may be* a valid indicator of antisocial behavior, it isn't enough. Many antisocial behaviors—probably most—go undetected or escape the attention of law enforcement. Consequently, we use antisocial behavior frequently throughout the text, especially when discussing the development of behavior that has not yet been legally designated delinquent or criminal behavior but is likely to lead to such designation. Many psychologists also use the term "externalizing behavior" to refer to antisocial behavior, but—depending on the context—the term often has surplus meaning. For example, when some psychologists use the term, they intend to include a spectrum of behaviors such as delinquency, hyperactivity, acting out, hostility, aggression, and attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder. We prefer to use the more straightforward term "antisocial behavior" throughout the book. However, we will also cover—separately and in some detail—the other concepts often included in the term externalizing behavior.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Crime intrigues people, harms people, angers people, and sometimes amuses and entertains. Overall, despite media accounts of sensational crimes, crime in the United States has fallen in the early years of the 21st century. This is good news, but it does not imply that efforts to reduce it further are not needed, nor can crime rates of the future be predicted with confidence. There is a continuing need to study and prevent behavior that is defined as criminal, but this is a complex undertaking. It involves theorizing, data gathering, and the development of strategies for its prevention and control as well as treatment of individuals who engage in criminal activity.

This chapter introduces readers to the major theoretical viewpoints on crime and the dominant methods used to measure it. We have also discussed the difficulty in defining criminal behavior for purposes of examining it from a psychological perspective. Although criminology is an interdisciplinary enterprise, one that benefits from input from various disciplines, the approach in this text is predominantly psychological, with research and theory in that field emphasized throughout the book.

Theories of crime can be divided into classical and positivist schools. The classical school emphasizes free will as the primary cause of crime: unless they are robbed of their free will (as by having a serious mental disorder), people choose to commit criminal behavior. The positivist school looks for determinants or influences over and above free will. According to those who adopt a positivist approach, people still choose to commit crime, but their choice is influenced by numerous predetermining factors. These may be in the social environment, such as a crime-ridden neighborhood or a deviant peer group, or within the individual, such as lack of empathy. Psychologists studying criminal behavior have focused primarily on the learning and developmental experiences of people who commit crime, but in recent years some have focused on biological influences, including traumatic brain injuries or exposure to environmental contaminants. Developmental psychologists have studied the pathways various individuals take as they engage in and desist from antisocial behavior. All of these themes will be developed in the chapters ahead.

We reviewed the dominant methods of measuring crime, emphasizing that each has its strengths and weaknesses. The U.S. government's major measures—the summary system of the UCR and the NIBRS—are readily available in monthly reports, but the former will be phased out by early 2021. Data obtained through NIBRS are rich in details about criminal incidents, victims, persons arrested, property damaged, and much more.

Crime rates have decreased dramatically since the high-crime era of the early and mid-1990s, but this is no reason for complacency. Victimization rates, measured by the NCVS as well as by nongovernmental surveys, have decreased overall, but violent victimization has increased slightly, particularly attributed to a rise in simple assaults. Victimization data continually indicate, however, that most crimes are never reported to police. Likewise, self-report data, in which people report their own offending, indicate that much criminal behavior is never unearthed. Thus, the "dark figure" of crime remains a reality. Early self-report studies focused primarily on behavior of juveniles, but contemporary self-report research tends to focus heavily on substance use and, to a lesser extent, violence in interpersonal relationships. Official, victimization, and self-report data sources like the above will be revisited throughout the text as they relate to specific crimes.

Finally, we addressed briefly the topic of juvenile delinquency, which is given its own chapter later in the text. Antisocial behavior by juveniles is not unusual and has at times been exaggerated in media accounts. Though juveniles are responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime, most of the crime they commit is nonviolent. Nevertheless, violent and other serious crime by juveniles remains a concern and will be addressed in later chapters.

KEY CONCEPTS

Antisocial behavior, 28
Classical theory, 4
Clearance rate, 17
Cognitions, 9
Conformity perspective, 5
Criminology, 7
Dark figure, 18
Deterrence theory, 4
Developmental approach, 9
Differential association theory, 6
Dispositions or traits, 10
Emerging adulthood, 6
Falsification, 4
General Theory of Crime, 6
Hate Crime Statistics Act, 10
Hierarchy rule, 18
Intimate partner violence (IPV), 25
Just-world hypothesis, 3
Learning perspective, 6
Monitoring the Future (MTF), 22
National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), 22
National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), 14
Nonconformist perspective, 6
Positivist theory, 4
Psychiatric criminology, 13
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Scientific theory, 3
Self-control theory (SCT), 6
Social control theory, 6
Social learning theory, 6
Sociological criminology, 8
Status offenses, 25
Strain theory, 5
Theory verification, 4
Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), 14

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Briefly explain the difference between psychological criminology and sociological criminology. How do these differ from a psychiatric approach to the study of criminal behavior?
2. Provide examples of crime control or crime prevention policies—other than those mentioned in the chapter—that are consistent with (a) classical theories of crime and (b) positivist theories.
3. Define and provide examples of the conformity, nonconformist, and learning perspectives of human nature.
4. Identify and provide one example of each of the three predominant methods of measuring crime.
5. How does the NIBRS differ from the UCR's Summary Report Statistics (SRS)?
6. List the strengths and weaknesses of self-report surveys.
7. What are status offenses and how do they differ from other juvenile offenses?
8. Compare and contrast the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports and the National Crime Victimization Survey, focusing on (a) how the data are obtained and (b) what type of information is available from each.

2

Origins of Criminal Behavior: Developmental Risk and Protective Factors

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Introduce cumulative risk and developmental cascade models.
- Identify psychological, family, and social-environmental developmental risk factors that lead to delinquency and crime.
- Demonstrate how early preschool experiences can lead to future antisocial behavior.
- Emphasize the influence of peer rejection on child and youth behavior.
- Identify protective factors that help reduce or eliminate delinquency and crime.
- Discuss attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), conduct disorder (CD), and oppositional defiant disorder (ODD) as possible contributors to delinquent and criminal behavior.

As a preschooler, Trent was the child most known for shoving other children, stepping on their toes, and refusing to comply with the instructions of his teachers. In grade school, he became the classroom bully; at age 8, he began to steal—from other children, from storekeepers, from teachers, and from his parents. By middle school, he was experimenting with alcohol and other drugs. He was suspended from high school on four separate occasions, all related to violent behavior, and he dropped out at 16. Trent was convicted of robbery at age 19.

Antisocial behavior, including criminal behavior, in adults can often be traced to their childhoods. If we look back at the childhoods of chronic offenders, for example, we typically see signs portending problems in adulthood, although this is not invariably so. As noted in Chapter 1, many theories of criminology propose that the roots of serious criminal behavior appear in childhood or early adolescence. This highlights the importance of identifying both factors that put children at risk of becoming antisocial and those that might protect otherwise vulnerable children from this fate.

Each person follows a **developmental pathway**, the characteristics of which often can be identified at a very early age. The developmental perspective views the life course of all humans as following a path (or trajectory) that may be littered with risk factors. "**Risk factors** are established predictors of undesirable outcomes,

Developmental pathways
In the study of criminal behavior, these are the various tracks individuals follow that lead to antisocial behavior. Researchers began by identifying two pathways but have now found evidence of more.

Risk factors
Characteristics or experiences that place children at risk of antisocial or criminal activity.

where there is evidence suggesting a higher-than-usual probability of a future problem" (Masten, 2014, p. 13). Some risk factors can be described as experiences that are common in the background of many repeat offenders, such as school failure, abuse of alcohol, antisocial peers, or childhood victimization. Some experts believe that the more risks a person is exposed to, the greater the probability that person will participate in antisocial behavior throughout his or her lifetime (Wasserman & Seracini, 2001). In studies of both adult and juvenile offenders, researchers have identified a number of distinct pathways, which we will cover in later chapters. For example, some children follow a pathway leading to serious delinquency and crime, while others follow one that may lead to only minor juvenile offending that stops as they approach adulthood. Some children display antisocial behavior early; others wait until adolescence. For some children, there is no offending at all.

Protective factors
Personal characteristics or experiences that can shield children and adolescents from serious antisocial behavior.

Contemporary researchers also stress the value of a nurturing environment to protect children against the onslaught of potential risk factors in their lives (Biglan, Flay, Embry, & Sandler, 2012). They identify **protective factors**, which are characteristics or experiences that can shield children from serious antisocial behavior. Warm and caring parents or caretakers and a high-quality educational experience are examples. In general, a nurturing and healthy environment minimizes biologically and socially toxic conditions that influence healthy development (Biglan et al., 2012).

The risk factors we are most concerned with in this chapter are some of the more prominent family and psychological risk factors that play a key role in the early development of criminal behavior. *Family risk factors* include faulty or inadequate parenting, sibling influences, the effects of poverty, and child maltreatment or abuse. Examples of *psychological risk factors* are inadequate cognitive and language ability, lack of empathy, poor interpersonal and social skills, and behavioral disorders. Psychological risk factors that are more biologically based, such as a troublesome temperament or prenatal exposure to neurotoxins, will be discussed in Chapter 3. Note that a different category of risk factors, those associated with the social environment, are topics of later chapters in the book. *Social environmental factors* include inadequate schools, toxic environments, and natural disasters. (See Table 2–1 for many additional examples.) It is important that we learn about these risk factors and consider how they influence the developmental pathway, especially during the early stages of development. Early identification will help improve the effectiveness of prevention and intervention programs designed to eliminate or, at least, reduce delinquent and criminal behavior.

We must be careful not to imply that all criminal behavior has its origins in childhood, however. Researchers who study developmental pathways emphasize that some individuals begin their criminal offending in adulthood (Farrington, Ttofi, & Coid, 2009), and that this may or may not be precipitated by childhood experiences. For example, some researchers have documented a pathway consisting of adult-onset female offenders whose criminal careers began when they engaged in dysfunctional relationships with male offenders (Salisbury & Van Voorhis, 2009). Nonetheless, risk factors are so often present in the childhoods of both juvenile and adult offenders that we must give them careful attention. It should be emphasized, though, that *it is unlikely that any single risk factor, by itself, causes antisocial, aggressive, or violent behavior*. This leads us to a discussion of two main models used to explain how risk factors might operate.

Cumulative Risk Model

Researchers are beginning to understand that exposure to *multiple risk factors* is most likely to increase the probability that a child, adolescent, or adult develops antisocial behavior and other maladaptive behaviors (Evans, Li, & Whipple, 2013). "Probably the most

TABLE 2–1 Developmental Risk Factors for Delinquent and Criminal Behavior

Psychological/Behavioral Risk Factors
• Academic failure
• Animal cruelty
• Association with antisocial or aggressive peers
• Attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD)
• Cognitive and language deficiencies
• Early peer rejection
• Excessive aggression toward peers
• Inability to form meaningful, close, trusting relationships
• Inadequate interpersonal skills
• Lack of attachment and empathy
• Poor self-regulation or impulse control
Parental and Family Risk Factors
• Abusive or neglectful parenting
• Antisocial family members
• Divorce (accompanied by interparental conflict, financial strain, school changes)
• Domestic or intimate partner violence
• Parent–child conflict
• Parental drug and/or alcohol problems or addiction
• Parental psychopathology
• Permissive or lax parental style
• Parental incarceration
• Poverty and its effects
Social-Environmental Risk Factors*
• Exposure to toxic environment (contaminated air, water, etc.)
• Ineffective or inadequate schools (including preschool)
• Lack of adequate health coverage
• Mass violence
• Natural disasters
• Neighborhood violence
• School violence
• Terrorism
• War
Neurobiological and Prenatal Risk Factors**
• Brain development abnormalities
• Difficult temperament
• Exposure to nicotine, alcohol, and other drugs
• Exposure to toxic materials
• Genetic risks, such as being related to people with serious cognitive, psychological, or emotional disorders
• Low birth weight
• Prenatal and postnatal malnutrition
• Traumatic brain injury

*These factors are not discussed in this chapter, but topics will be covered in later chapters.

**To be discussed in Chapter 3.

important reason for the widespread use of multiple risk factor metrics in developmental psychology today is the robust finding that multiple relative to single risk exposures have worse developmental consequences" (Evans et al., 2013, p. 1343). For example, living in poverty is a recognized risk factor, but poverty alone does not "cause" antisocial behavior. Most poor children are not antisocial. However, living in poverty can encompass a spectrum of other risk factors ranging from environmental risk factors (e.g., substandard housing and education, exposure to chemical toxins, high-crime neighborhoods) to psychological and family risk factors, such as malnutrition, exposure to violence, parental substance

abuse, parental discord, and separation or divorce. Note that these factors also can occur in the lives of children from economically advantaged families. "All these factors affect a child's development and the confluence of risk factors has been shown to have higher explanatory power compared to individual risk factors considered in isolation" (Doan, Dich, & Evans, 2014, p. 1402).

Cumulative risk model
Suggests that an accumulation of risk factors and insufficient protective factors lead to antisocial and criminal activity in children and adolescents.

The **cumulative risk (CR) model** is favored by some developmental researchers, who believe that this accumulation of risk factors in the absence of sufficient protective factors results in negative behavioral, emotional, and cognitive outcomes (Doan, Fuller-Rowell, & Evans, 2012; Rutter, 1979). Furthermore, the CR model predicts that the greater the number of risks experienced by a child or adolescent, the greater the prevalence of mental health problems, cognitive deficits, and behavioral problems (Whitson, Bernard, & Kaufman, 2013). It is the number of different risk factors experienced that is important. As mentioned by Evans et al. (2013), "Because of its simplicity (simply count the number of risk factors), the CR metric is readily understood and easily communicated to laypersons and policymakers" (p. 1386). In addition, some researchers prefer to represent cumulative risk as an index. As noted by Wade and his associates (2016), for example, "*Cumulative risk indices* have been constructed to test the idea that development is affected by the accumulation of environmental risks rather than the level of a single and specific risk" (italics in original quote, p. 12). There is a good amount of empirical evidence that these indices are useful for identifying social risks that affect developmental patterns, including antisocial behavior (Wade et al., 2018). The total number of risks identified and added essentially forms the index. Because multiple risk exposure nearly always has greater impact than singular risk exposure, identification of children who encounter multiple risks during early development is likely to reveal those most in need of intervention services (Evans et al., 2013). As noted by Masten (2014), risk factors do not usually occur in isolation in the lives of children, but most often "occur in batches or pile up overtime" (p. 14).

As stated above, protective factors can dampen the effect of risk factors. For example, supportive caregivers and healthy school environments are protective factors. Many children raised in poverty or in high-crime neighborhoods, even when other risk factors are present, have become successful adults with the help of loving parents and encouraging teachers or other mentors. Consequently, researchers have focused on exploring the effectiveness of protective factors in mitigating or eliminating the negative influences of risk factors in recent years (Whitson et al., 2013). (Table 2–2 provides a list of protective factors.)

Developmental Cascade Model

Dynamic cascade model
Both the accumulation of risk factors and their interaction lead to criminal activity, in the absence of protective factors.

A similar but slightly more complicated model is the **developmental cascade model** (also known as the **dynamic cascade model**), which was first introduced by several developmental psychologists but perhaps most prominently by Kenneth Dodge et al. (2008) and Ann Masten (2006, 2014). Like the cumulative risk model, it has significantly changed the way researchers look at the causes of antisocial behavior, and most particularly aggression and violent behavior. Although the developmental cascade model could be considered a form of cumulative risk model because it also emphasizes the influence of multiple risks, it is distinct in that it underscores the importance of the *interaction* among risk factors and their effect on outcomes over the course of development (see Table 2–3). "Developmental cascades refer to the idea that function in one area or level of a system can spread to another level or domain as a result of the dynamic interplay across levels and functional domains" (Masten, 2014, p. 79). The developmental cascade model assumes that development in one domain will shape development in other domains—one problem leads to another. For example, developmental research has consistently shown that a pattern of disruptive or

TABLE 2–2 Developmental Protective Factors for Prevention and Treatment of Delinquent and Criminal Behavior

Psychological/Behavioral Protective Factors
• Close relationships with nonaggressive, prosocial friends
• Effective interpersonal and social skills
• Effective self-regulation and emotional control skills
• Healthy levels of self-esteem
• High capacity for optimism and hope
• Normal intelligence and problem-solving skills
• Perseverance
• Pride in ethnic and cultural identity
• School satisfaction
• Sense of meaning, purpose
• Spirituality
• Strong motivation to achieve
Family Protective Factors
• Authoritative parental style
• Close family relationships
• Loving, warm, supportive parenting
• Parental monitoring
• Prosocial siblings
Environmental Protective Factors
• Close relationships with capable adults (e.g., teachers, coaches, mentors)
• Community cohesion
• Clean environment (air, water, etc.)
• Effective and safe schools
• Effective neighborhood support systems
Neurobiological and Prenatal Protective Factors*
• Brain plasticity
• Easy temperament
• Healthy nutrition, especially during infancy and early childhood
• Healthy prenatal and postnatal environment

*To be discussed in Chapter 3.

TABLE 2–3 Key Aspects of Cumulative Risk and Developmental Cascade Models

Cumulative Risk Model	Developmental Cascade Model
Also called multiple risk model	Also called dynamic cascade model
Predicts negative emotional and mental health outcomes in the lifespan	Predicts negative behavioral outcomes in the lifespan but also predicts positive outcomes
Additive approach in assessing overall effects of risks in development	Interactive approach in assessing effects of risks in developmental pathways
Focuses on the harmful environmental, psychological, and social influences that heighten the risk of maladaptive development	Focuses on the development of competence and resilience to reduce maladaptive development
Emphasizes identification of children confronted by multiple risk factors and development of way to reduce those factors	Emphasizes well-timed and targeted interventions designed to promote positive cascades through development of competence and resilience

aggressive behavior in first grade often interferes with social competence and academic performance in later grades. The term domain in this context refers to specific aspects of developmental growth and change, such as language development, cognitive and intellectual growth, social-emotional regulation, and neurological maturation.

According to the cascade model, the person's developmental skills or deficits enhance, affect, or determine the next skill or deficit along a life-course trajectory. The term "snowballing" could also be used to describe the cascading effect. The cascade and the cumulative models both argue that early negative experiences can alter a child's developmental trajectory and interfere with the accomplishment of normal developmental milestones, such as the formation of peer relationships, interpersonal skills, academic achievement, and cognitive development (Lynne-Landsman, Bradshaw, & Ialongo, 2010). However, the developmental cascade model also focuses heavily on the development and enhancement of protective factors. While it is recognized that there may be an accumulation of risk factors in an individual's life, there also may be an accumulation or combination of protective factors. For example, effective parenting, combined with a safe, adequate school environment and the development of interpersonal skills can be especially effective in neutralizing a variety of risk factors.

Although the cascade model initially focused on children from low-income families, it now is applied across the economic spectrum. To illustrate, the model may start with children who are born into a family where parents are absent or uncaring or may lack parenting skills. In an effort to control their young children, they resort to harsh or inconsistent discipline. Harsh and inconsistent parental disciplinary strategies have a high risk of preventing the child from acquiring social and cognitive skills that are necessary for school social and academic success. "These skill deficits include vocabulary deficits, poor social problem solving, hostile attributional biases, and emotion recognition deficits" (Dodge et al., 2008, p. 1921). Note that the above can occur regardless of the parents' economic situation.

Lacking the necessary social and academic skills to achieve during the early school years, the child begins to show conduct problems soon after entry into school, signaling the early start of antisocial behavior across the life course. Next in the cascade is school social and academic failure as a result of disinterest in school, which may or may not be accompanied by conduct disorder, which we discuss later in the chapter. Rejection by prosocial peers—a factor also to be covered shortly—sets in during this time. As the youth approaches early adolescence, parental monitoring of his or her activities and whereabouts is virtually nonexistent, accelerating academic failure and poor relationships with nondelinquent peers. Consequently, deviant peer associates become important and highly influential, and this often leads to persistent antisocial and violent behavior.

The Dodge et al. research team was also able to determine that girls follow largely similar developmental pathways as boys. The researchers did recognize that males are more likely than females to become seriously violent due to biological and socialization differences. However, they found little evidence to support the view that females as a group, when they do engage in violent behavior, take a different developmental path from males. In other words, they did not find a gender-specific developmental pathway. The pathway was similar, but the type of antisocial behavior displayed was not.

After describing the dynamic cascade model, Dodge and his associates (2008) conclude with this crucial and cautionary statement:

> An important implication of the current findings is that it is premature to conclude that an early-starting antisocial 5-year-old is unequivocally destined for a life-persistent path toward violent outcomes. Although the risk is substantial, it is by no means certain. The findings reported here indicate that trajectories can be deflected at each subsequent era in development, through interactions with peers, school, and parents along the way (p. 1922).

Both the cumulative risk and developmental cascade models provide targets for intervention and prevention at specific periods in development, and both stress the importance of protective factors such as a supportive extended family. Teaching effective parenting skills or offering after-school drop-in centers are examples of intervention proposed by the

cumulative risk model. Broader interventions might include government funding of education from pre-K through 12. However, because new risks arise with each developmental period, prevention and intervention cannot be deemed completed until the child passes through adolescence.

The developmental cascade model, while recognizing the importance of effective, positive parenting, also strongly emphasizes the importance of developing cognitive competence (often measured by academic achievement or intellectual ability) and resilience (Masten & Cicchetti, 2010). Competence in this context refers to the capacity to adapt and successfully achieve developmental tasks and challenges. In commenting about competence, Masten and Cicchetti write, "effectiveness in one domain of competence in one period of life becomes the scaffold on which later competence in newly emerging domains develop: in other words, *competence begets competence*" (p. 492, italics in the original quote). Success in early developmental tasks of childhood is likely to foster competence in subsequent developmental tasks.

Resilience

Some people, despite an accumulation and interaction of risk factors in their lives, manage to emerge from severe adversity to lead a meaningful, prosocial, and productive life. One of the key concepts for explaining this developmental path is **resilience**, a protective factor that is highly relevant to both models discussed above.

Resilience
A crucial protective factor in the individual that resists the influence of multiple risk factors.

The concept of resilience emerged when many mental health professionals and researchers noticed that there are always children who develop well, despite experiencing traumatic, disadvantaged, or abusive childhoods. Teachers often know of such children who grow up in abusive, maladaptive households or under aversive living conditions but nevertheless do well at school academically and socially (Masten, 2014). Biographies and memoirs relate these stories as well. We read about the athlete who lost a limb but nonetheless runs a marathon; the girl kidnapped and held hostage who later becomes a prominent victim's advocate. Resilience is generally defined as "successful coping with or overcoming risk and adversity, the development of competence in the face of severe stress and hardship, and success in developmental tasks or meeting societal expectations" (McKnight & Loper, 2002, p. 188). Basically, resilience is the ability to bounce back quickly and adaptively from negative emotional experiences and adversity.

At a minimum, three conditions must be met before a child or adolescent can be called resilient (Hamby, Grych, & Banyard, 2018). We can state them concisely as *significant threats, positive adaptation*, and *sufficient protective factors*.

First, the individual must have been exposed to or have experienced significant threats or severe adversity, ranging from a single event, such as the death of a parent or sibling, to an accumulation of ongoing negative experiences, such as physical, mental, and/or sexual abuse. Second, the child must demonstrate the achievement of positive adaptation despite the major assaults on the developmental process (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). "Adaptation can include the achievement of developmental milestones, the absence of psychological distress, and indicators of better than average well-being or thriving" (Sabrina & Banyard, 2015, p. 338). The third condition involves the factors that enable the child to avoid or recover from adverse or traumatic experiences. These are the protective factors mentioned above. Essentially, protective factors insulate or shield the individual from the adverse and damaging effects of risk factors and encourage the development of resilience in those individuals who experience significant adversity.

It should also be noted that resilience does not eradicate risk, but it allows an individual to adjust to it successfully. Resilient children or adolescents do not evade the negative

aspects associated with risks, but—with the help of protective factors—they are able to confront risk head-on and adapt in the face of such adversity.

The topic of resilience is important because a significant number of children who are at risk to engage in serious, persistent delinquency or antisocial behavior are able to become prosocial, adjusted, productive adults. In addition, there is increasing evidence that, although resilience may be subject to developmental fluctuations, at-risk children who exhibit resilience at one stage of their lives often exhibit it across their entire life span (Luthar et al., 2000; Masten, 2014). Thus, while risk factors remain an important concern, protective factors are equally important. They protect children and adolescents from a wide range of risk factors. They also help build resilience in children, adolescents, and adults who have experienced a variety of risk factors. Protective factors are also core ingredients in the application of psychotherapy and rehabilitation efforts directed at juvenile offenders.

In this and the next two chapters we will focus on the many early risk factors most often confronted by children and youth in their daily lives. In addition, we will address some of the protective factors that have the power to reduce the impact of these cumulative risk factors.

Family Risk and Protective Factors

The family, particularly the nuclear family, has long been identified in criminology literature as a crucial factor in a child or adolescent's prosocial and antisocial behavior. Contemporary social science researchers have examined more closely the process variables (e.g., quality of parenting) rather than the structural variables (e.g., single-parent households). It is well recognized that the family has a critically important role in providing a healthy environment for children and adolescents (see, generally, Biglan et al., 2012 for an excellent review of this literature). Much of this attention is directed at identifying aversive events, such as abuse, criticism, insults, and coercive interactions among parents and children and among family members as a group. Once the events have been identified, treatment programs or interventions are attempted, with the goal of establishing a nurturing family environment. As Biglan et al. note, "Reducing aversive conditions such as harsh and inconsistent discipline and parental rejection is a core component of virtually every experimentally evaluated parenting intervention" (p. 259). Despite the emphasis on process variables, though, some structural variables continue to be highlighted in the literature, as we see below.

Poverty and Its Effects

It is difficult to lead off with poverty, because the poor too often get blamed for society's ills. Yet the association between economic strain within a family and childhood development leading to crime is too robust to ignore. It must be continually emphasized, however, that to be poor is not to be criminal. Furthermore, many juvenile offenders and adult criminals, even those who commit violent offenses, are far from economically deprived. In addition, the harm done by so-called "white-collar" crime is extensive.

Poverty refers to a situation in which the basic resources to maintain an average standard of living within a specific geographic region are lacking. This typically includes the absence of sufficient income to meet basic necessities of life. Approximately 20% of children in the United States live in families that have incomes that fall below the federal poverty line, defined in 2019 as $25,000 for a family of four (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2019). Among all children under 18 in the United States, 41% are low-income children (Koball & Jiang, 2018). Another 19% are poor. Black, Hispanic, and Native American children are disproportionately in these categories (Koball & Jiang, 2018).

The research literature is substantial in underscoring the adverse effects of poverty on child development. As summarized by Blair and Raver (2012), "It is well established that the material and psychosocial contexts of poverty adversely affect multiple aspects of development in children" (p. 310), even including cognitive functioning (Hubbs-Tait, Nation, Krebs, & Bellinger, 2005). The overall effects of poverty on human development are often severe. Moreover, the effects at one stage can hinder development at later stages (Yoshikawa et al., 2012). In other words, poverty can produce negative cascading effects from one stage of development to another. There is also little doubt that poverty has a strong connection to persistent, violent offending, as measured by official, victimization, and self-report data on both adult and juvenile offenders. The connection between poverty and nonviolent offending is not quite as strong, but still existent. Accumulating research evidence indicates that poverty is one of the most robust predictors of adolescent violence for both males and females (Beyers, Bates, Pettit, & Dodge, 2003; Shaw & Shelleby, 2014; Stouthamer-Loeber, Loeber, Wei, Farrington, & Wikström, 2002), and the indigence of defendants processed in criminal courts is well documented.

However, we must be extremely cautious both in interpreting these data and in making decisions about how to prevent future offending. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that this strong connection holds whether we are referring to victims or offenders. Children and youth living under dire economic conditions are more likely to be victims as well as offenders. Preschool children living in a low-income family characterized by poor housing and unemployment are especially at high risk to become delinquent and/or to become victimized (Dodge, 1993b; Farrington, 1991). Adults living in substandard housing are more likely to be victims of crime than those living in more advantageous conditions.

The exact nature of the relationship between poverty and violence is not well understood. This is because poverty is intertwined with a large number of influences that are called poverty cofactors (Yoshikawa, et al., 2012). For example, Hubbs-Tait et al. (2005) emphasize that the consistently reported connection between low income and crime is most likely linked to the panoply of circumstances that usually accompany poverty, which fits in with both the cumulative risks and developmental cascade models. Poverty is often accompanied not only by inequities in resources but also by discrimination, racism, family disruption, unsafe living conditions, poor nutrition, joblessness, social isolation, and limited social support systems (Evans, 2004; Hill, Soriano, Chen, & LaFromboise, 1994; Masten, 2014; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1994). Youth living in poverty are more likely to attend inadequate schools, to drop out of school, to be unemployed, to be victimized, and to be a witness to a variety of violent events. They live in social environments with low-quality health care, "greater exposure to pesticides, higher noise levels, fewer open spaces in which to play, and greater exposure to lead and other neurotoxicants" (Hubbs-Tait et al., 2005, p. 73). Therefore, many risk factors other than one's economic situation come into play.

Poverty influences the family in many ways, not the least of which is the impact on parents' behavior toward children. For instance, the stress that accompanies poverty and financial strain is believed to diminish parents' capacity for supportive and consistent parenting (Blair & Raver, 2012; Dodge, Greenberg, Malone, and Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2008; Hammond & Yung, 1994). This situation may lead to coercive and highly aggressive methods of child control. Living in conditions where lack of social support, lack of resources, and lack of opportunity are prevalent make it difficult for some parents to avoid harsh and inconsistent discipline with their young children. Coercive methods of child control are more direct, immediate, and easy to administer. They require less time and energy to administer, compared with parenting that emphasizes sensitivity, interpersonal skills, and patient understanding. It is much "easier" to slap a child than it is to utilize more thoughtful parenting strategies, but the consequences of slapping can be severe. A pattern of slapping or hitting a child to punish or to maintain control promotes a

negative self-concept in the child. Furthermore, parenting that utilizes aggressive and violent tactics often provides models and a violent context that can carry the cycle of violence into the next generation. Living in a disadvantaged environment accompanied by physical punishment may also lead to the belief that economic survival and social status depend greatly on being aggressive and violent to others.

Important caveats must be repeated in any discussion of serious delinquency and economic status, however. First, the connection between low socioeconomic class and delinquency does not mean that poverty causes or inevitably leads to serious, chronic offending. The great majority of poor children and adults are law-abiding citizens, and children and adults from families of high economic status do engage in serious delinquency and crime. Both self-report and victimization data indicate that sexual assault, serious drug use, theft, and fraud are perpetrated by juveniles and adults across the economic spectrum. Second, in many communities, children who are economically disadvantaged are disproportionately targeted by the criminal justice system. They are more likely to be taken into custody by police, referred to juvenile courts, and adjudicated delinquent. Thus, they appear in the government statistics that serve as the official measures of crime covered in Chapter 1. Additionally, children of the poor are taken into a system that may itself promote delinquent behavior or adult crime, particularly when they are institutionalized with other offenders. Victimization in these facilities is common as well. Children from more economically advantaged families, by contrast, are more likely to be handled informally, provided with legal assistance, or placed by their parents in private facilities for the treatment of their problem behavior (Chesney-Lind, 2002; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 1998; Schwartz, 1989).

Despite the multiple risk factors that accompany growing up impoverished, it is common for many young people to succeed in life even in the face of socioeconomic disadvantage (Masten, 2014). The success stories often tend to be a reflection of their resilience, a concept discussed above. Resilience depends on the presence of protective factors in an individual's life, such as her or his cognitive skills, maturation, self-regulation ability, as well as skilled parental or caregiver care and organized, supportive neighborhoods. Spirituality and religious beliefs often play a critical role for disadvantaged families, as they are often a source of comfort, hope, and meaning (Howell et al., 2018).

Single-Parent Households

According to the last completed census figures, over 12 million American families with children are maintained by only one parent (Vespa, Lewis, & Kreider, 2013). In 2012, 28% of all children in the United States lived with one parent; 88% of these children were with their mothers. Early studies based on official data found that delinquents were more likely than nondelinquents to come from homes where parents were divorced or separated (Eaton & Polk, 1961; Glueck & Glueck, 1950; Monahan, 1957; Rodman & Grams, 1967). This led to conclusions that the single-parent home—or the "broken home" as it was then called—could be blamed for much delinquency and thus could be considered a risk factor. Beginning in the 1970s, when self-report data indicated that delinquent behavior was widespread, criminologists began to question these conclusions. Today, as noted above, researchers are more likely to examine accompanying factors such as the quality of the relationship between the child and the custodial parent, the quality of the relationship between the child and the noncustodial parent if the parent remains in the child's life, the family's economic status, and the degree of emotional support provided to the family by other adults, such as extended family members or community surrogates.

A wide variety of circumstances can lead to a single-parent home. The home may have started that way, as when an unmarried woman gives birth to or adopts a child. Additionally, two-parent homes may be "broken" by a wide variety of circumstances—death, desertion,

divorce, or separation. Such separations do not affect all families the same way. Furthermore, the separation may not be at the instigation of the parents (e.g., military deployment, lengthy hospitalization, incarceration). In addition, there is evidence that children from single-parent homes that are relatively conflict-free are less likely to be delinquent than children from conflict-ridden "intact" homes. The composition of the home (e.g., grandparents, stepparent, relatives, significant others, or friends) also must be considered. The "nontraditional" family has become a fixture in today's society. Many researchers define family as individuals related by blood or by legal arrangements (i.e., adoptions, legal guardianships). Others point out that a family can consist of individuals who live together in long-term committed relationships—either as friends or as sexual partners—along with their children and other relatives.

While the relationship between single-parent homes and delinquency continues to be commonly reported, we are far from explaining it—and it may be pointless to try. If the single-parent home is a risk factor, it is probably influenced by other interacting variables and a host of other risk factors. Rather than concentrating on the *structure* of the family, a focus on the *process* (what happens within the family) is far more desirable. As Flynn (1983, p. 13) asserts, "One point is indisputably clear in the literature: A stable, secure, and mutually supportive family is exceedingly important in delinquency prevention." However family is defined, it should include at least one competent, caring adult with primary responsibility for the well-being of the child.

Parental Styles and Practices

Parental styles and practices pertain to the ways in which parents or caregivers interact with their children. Some parental (or caregiver) styles and practices appear to be more likely than others to lead to delinquency, and thus can be called risk factors. **Parental practices** are strategies employed by parents to achieve specific academic, social, or athletic goals across different contexts and situations (Hart, Nelson, Robinson, Olsen, & McNeilly-Choque, 1998). That is, when parents use parenting practices, their focus is on affecting some particular aspect of the child (Mounts, 2002). Giving a child a weekly allowance with the hope of teaching her to manage money is an example of a practice. Reading with children, attending their sports events, or serving as room parents in school are other examples. Parenting practices have a direct effect on the development of specific child behaviors (from table manners to academic performance) and characteristics (such as acquisition of particular values or high self-esteem).

Parental practices
Methods employed by parents to meet some specific goal they would like to have their children achieve.

While parental practices refer to parental behavioral patterns, **parental styles** refer to parent–child interactions characterized by parental *attitudes* toward the child and the emotional climate of the parent–child relationship (Baumrind, 1991a; Mounts, 2002). Behaviors such as gestures, tone of voice, or the spontaneous expression of emotion are examples of parental style. For example, responsive parent–child interactions are described as warm, playful, accepting, and engaging. Studies reveal that a responsive parenting style often leads to social competence, peer acceptance, and less antisocial behavior (Hart et al., 1998). As emphasized by Gallitto (2014), "It is through sensitive and responsive parenting behavior that parents fulfill the child's basic needs for physical proximity, interpersonal relatedness, and intimacy, which are essential to the promotion of children's emotional, social, and intellectual growth" (p. 1).

Parental styles
Seemingly nongoal-directed approaches displayed by parents, although the goals may be implicit.

Four Types of Parental Styles

Diana Baumrind (1991a) identified four parental styles that are still recognized today as useful in describing parent–child interactions: (1) authoritarian; (2) permissive; (3) authoritative; and (4) neglecting (see Table 2–4). Those parents who use an **authoritarian style** try to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior

Authoritarian style
The approach to parenting that sets a very rigid structure on the family setting and allows little decision making by the child.

TABLE 2–4 Summary of Baumrind's Parental Styles

Style	Intent or Emphasis
Authoritarian	To shape and control child's life
Permissive	No control and extremely few restrictions
Authoritative	To be rational and apply reasonable restrictions
Neglecting	Detached and unengaged in child's life

of their children in accordance with some preestablished, absolute standard. The authoritarian household has numerous rules and regulations that must be rigidly observed, often without question or explanation. Authoritarian parents discourage any verbal exchanges that imply equality between parent and child; the parent is the authority in all important matters, as well as many unimportant ones. Authoritarian parents expect their children to be obedient and unquestioningly respectful of authority. These parents are often referred to as "running a tight ship." Deviations and transgressions are met with punitive, forceful measures, which may or may not include physical punishment.

Permissive style
A relaxed parenting style characterized by few demands, controls, or limits.

Parents who adopt a **permissive style** display tolerant, nonpunitive, accepting attitudes toward their children's behavior, including expressions of aggressive and sexual impulses. Permissive parents generally avoid asserting authority or imposing social controls or restrictions on the child's behavior. In this type of family, parents see themselves as "resource persons" to be consulted if needed. Permissive parents allow children to set their own time schedule for eating, sleeping, watching television, playing video games, leaving the home, and meeting with friends, and they employ little parental monitoring. They are, in essence, ineffectual in their socializing roles. While this may seem a harsh appraisal, and while these parents may suggest that children learn from their own mistakes, research indicates that permissiveness is not the recommended approach (Jackson & Foshee, 1998).

Authoritative style
The approach to parenting that sets firm rules yet encourages the development of autonomy in the child.

In the **authoritative style**, parents try to direct their children's activities in a rational, issue-oriented manner. There are frequent decision-making exchanges and a general spirit of open communication between parents and children. The hallmark of the family led by authoritative parents is reasoned discussion punctuated with social controls. Authoritative parents expect age-related "mature" behavior from the child, and they apply firm, consistent enforcement of family rules and standards. At the same time, they encourage independence and individuality. "Authoritative parents are engaged and accepting, but also expect responsible behavior and achievement from their children" (Masten, 2014, p. 206). Because of similarities between the terms authoritative and authoritarian, some prefer to use the word "wise" rather than authoritative (Duckworth, 2016).

Neglecting style
Style of parenting in which parents are detached and uninvolved in child's activities.

Finally, in the **neglecting style**, parents demonstrate detachment and very little involvement in their children's life or activities. They are neither demanding nor responsive. "They do not structure or monitor, and are not supportive, but may be actively rejecting or else neglect their childrearing responsibilities altogether" (Baumrind, 1991b, p. 62). Basically, the parent or parents respond minimally to either the child's needs or the child's behavior (Brenner & Fox, 1999). They are far more than permissive; they simply have no interest in controlling the child's behavior or monitoring the child's activities. In its extreme form, this style of parenting qualifies as child neglect. It should come as no surprise that Hoeve et al. (2007) found neglecting parenting was one of the strongest risk factors identified with delinquency and a life of crime. Baumrind (1991b) found that adolescents from unengaged families were far more likely than their adolescent peers to be antisocial, lacking self-regulation, social responsibility, and cognitive competence.

Baumrind's parenting types are not without their problems. Many parents, for example, vacillate between permissiveness and authoritativeness, and some vary their styles according to the age of the child. Authoritative parents may allow their children to set their own

eating and sleeping schedules and choose their modes of dress but may demand extensive input into decisions related to school, careers, or work. Likewise, some parents may be generally permissive in style, but suddenly erupt into anger and demand that their children abide by a newly announced rule. Despite its shortcomings, "Baumrind's conceptualization of parenting style has produced a remarkably consistent picture of the type of parenting conducive to the successful socialization of children into the...culture of the United States" (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 487). In essence, almost all research on parenting styles indicates that the authoritative (or wise) approach is the one most likely to promote healthy development of children and adolescents (Steinberg, 2001). (See Box 2–1 for more on parenting styles.)

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 2–1 PARENTING IN POP CULTURE

At some point in the mid to late 20th century, "parenting" became a common verb, as a multitude of books and popular articles on how to "parent" became available. In the 21st century, these were followed by chat rooms, blogs, social media groups, and even apps, all advising adults how to "parent" effectively. In popular culture, certain terms began to appear describing parents who adopted various styles and strategies. Here are a few examples:

- *Helicopter parents*—These are the overly solicitous, hovering adults who try to oversee every detail of their children's lives, such as by excessive monitoring of their children's activities. Helicopter parents hover not only during childhood and adolescence, but sometimes even carry on into their offspring's early adulthood. The helicopter parent may inquire into every activity or conversation engaged in by the child (e.g., lunchtime talk at school) and eavesdrop whenever possible. He might call a prospective employer after a job interview. She might contact the college dining hall to inquire about the quality of food served to her son. Although many parents do some of the above, a pattern of continual hovering distinguishes those who earn the sobriquet "helicopter parent." This approach is sometimes called *attachment parenting*.
- *Tiger parents*—These parents adopt a "tough love" approach. Tiger parents first gained public attention after law professor Amy Chua published a memoir, "Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother," in 2011. The tiger parent is very strict and places extremely high demands on the child, particularly as they relate to academics, but also as they relate to music, artistic, or sports activities. Tiger parents have been criticized for demanding excessive amounts of practice hours on the basketball court or at the piano, for example, to the exclusion of involvement in social activities.
- *Snowplow, lawnmower, or bulldozer parents*—These are parents who attain things for their children by using their influence, sometimes illegally. They may, for example, pressure a teacher to change a grade or a theater director to give their child a starring role. These parents essentially try to remove obstacles in their children's way rather than encourage them to overcome them. They were highlighted in 2019 with the college admissions scandal, when it was learned that prominent parents used illegal methods such as paying others to take college entrance exams for their children or bribing college officials to grant admissions.
- *Intensive parenting*—Here, the parent spends an unusual amount of her or his time in activities with the child. Watching movies together, eating all meals together, monitoring homework, chatting with the child's friends. Although these activities in themselves are commendable, engaging in them excessively may be questionable. Intensive parenting makes for very tired parents and may discourage independence on the child's part. It is also expensive, because it often includes signing the child up for multiple experiences, such as special lessons, camps, or trips.
- *Mindful parenting*—With this approach, parents are encouraged to slow down or relax, even in the midst of stressful or chaotic family situations. Mindful parenting classes teach guided meditation and breathing techniques that are meant to reduce the stress in their own as well as their children's lives. Adults who practice mindful parenting do not demand perfection of themselves or their children but use simple strategies, such as giving full attention to what a child is saying or changing a family routine in order to, say, allow time to prepare school lunches the night before.
- *Free-range parenting*—Quite different from the above approaches, this is a concept that gained favor among some

(*continued*)

parents, perhaps even in direct opposition to helicopter parenting. In free-range parenting, parents encourage their children to roam—obviously with limits—in order to encourage their independence and self-reliance. They allow their children to walk to and from parks and playgrounds or to play freely in the neighborhood. They also avoid overscheduling the children or organizing their activities.

Questions for Discussion

1. In 2015, two parents in Maryland who supported free-range parenting were charged with neglect after their children (ages 10 and 6) were found walking home from a park, picked up by police, and held by Child Protective Services. Should these parents have been charged with neglect? What additional information do you need to answer? Are there pros and cons to free-range parenting?
2. Three years later, in 2018, the state of Utah became the first in the nation to pass a "Free-range parenting" law so that Utah parents would not be charged in the way that the Maryland parents were. To do this, the Utah legislature changed the definition of neglect. How should neglect be defined?
3. Do the types of parenting described above (e.g., helicopter, tiger, etc.) fit well into Baumrind's styles discussed in the chapter? What about Snyder and Patterson's styles?
4. How might someone justify each one of these approaches? Are they realistic? To what extent does research in psychology support them? ■

Enmeshed style
A parental style in which the parent takes extraordinary control of the child's life including imposing rigid rules and seeing even trivial, minor behaviors as problematic. Typically results in harsh punishment but inconsistent discipline. Opposite of **lax style.**

Lax style
A parental style that does not respond sufficiently to problematic or antisocial behavior in children but rather allows it to occur without disciplinary action. Opposite of the **enmeshed style** and similar to the **permissive.**

Enmeshed and Lax Parental Styles James Snyder and Gerald Patterson (1987) conclude that two parental styles contribute directly or indirectly to delinquency. They label the two styles "enmeshed" and "lax," and these are very similar to Baumrind's authoritarian and permissive styles. In the **enmeshed style** parents see an unusually large number of minor behaviors as problematic, and they use ineffective, authoritarian strategies to deal with them. "These parents don't ignore even very trivial excessive behaviors. They issue more and poorer commands, use verbal threats, disapproval, and cajoling more frequently, but fail to consistently and effectively back up these verbal reprimands with nonviolent, nonphysical punishment" (Snyder & Patterson, 1987, p. 221). The ineffective use of coercive punishment sets up a reverberating pattern of family interactions "which elicits, maintains, and exacerbates the aggressive behavior of all family members" (p. 221). When one or more family members in this coercive interaction act aversively, other family members react the same way, escalating the exchange. Cathy reacts strongly to her brother Jarred's loud music by suddenly screaming at him to turn it off. He curses her. Cathy bangs violently on his door. Jarred screams louder. The father screams at both and order them to desist. Cathy screams louder and proceeds to kick in her brother's door. She throws a vase at him, just missing. He runs after her, throwing a book. Eventually, the child or children sometimes wins this escalating confrontation when parents give in to demands, reinforcing this highly aversive interpersonal strategy. For example, father kicks a chair and orders the brother to turn the loud music off. Thus, parents and children teach each other that this harsh tactic works in social interactions, a pattern that soon extends to members outside the family.

Enmeshed parents also sometimes dispense authoritarian, harsh punishment, although it is inconsistent and ineffective. However, they probably do not have the energy to apply punishments to each and every behavior they perceive as problematic. Consequently, there are many instances where aversive behavior goes unpunished, such as in the preceding example. This pattern results in an intermittent, inconsistent punishment schedule that, in the long run, does little to discourage antisocial behavior.

The **lax style** employs strategies that are the opposite of the above. According to Snyder and Patterson (1987), lax parents are not sufficiently attuned to what constitutes problematic or antisocial behavior in children. Consequently, they allow much of it to slip by without disciplinary actions. For a variety of reasons, they fail to recognize or accept the fact that their children are involved in deviant, antisocial, or even violent actions. They simply

do not believe it is happening, or they convince themselves that there is very little they can do about it. Lax parents may pretend they are unaware that their son is hosting a drug fest in the back field or fail to see the danger in the weaponry he is collecting.

It appears that overcontrolling parental behaviors—those associated with enmeshed and authoritarian styles—are closely connected to the development of aggression and antisocial behavior in children and adolescents (Blitstein, Murray, Lytle, Birnhaum, & Perry, 2005; Ruchkin, 2002). By contrast, an authoritative style has the opposite effect. Blitstein et al. (2005) report evidence that violent behavior and antisocial behavior among girls may be buffered by the presence of a warm, responsive (i.e., authoritative) mother, although the same result was not found for boys. In short, authoritative mothers seem to play a more significant role for the prevention of antisocial behavior in girls than in boys (Hollister-Wagner, Foshee, & Jackson, 2001).

Of all the parenting styles discussed in this section, neglecting style is most closely associated with antisocial behavior and delinquency. Although this is not surprising, having a neglecting parent does not automatically lead to serious antisocial behavior. Alternative adult role models, such as relatives, teachers, coaches, or mentors, may be available. Other parental styles, though, are also tied to delinquency. These include Baumrind's permissive and Snyder and Patterson's lax style. The children brought up with these styles often have very low levels of self-reliance and great difficulty controlling their impulses. Permissive parents have long been faulted both for lack of discipline and lack of supervision. They may treat their children as adults, pushing them into adult behaviors or responsibilities far before they are ready and without needed direction from adult authority figures.

Parental Monitoring

Parental monitoring
Supervision by parents of their children's activities. Poor parental monitoring is a strong risk factor for delinquency.

Closely related to parental styles and antisocial, deviant behavior is the issue of parental supervision or monitoring. **Parental monitoring** "refers to parents' awareness of their child's peer associates, free-time activities, and physical whereabouts when outside the home" (Snyder & Patterson, 1987, pp. 225–226). Research continues to demonstrate that monitored youths are less likely to participate in drug and alcohol use or engage in delinquent or antisocial behavior (Fosco, Stormshak, Dishion, & Winter, 2012; Kilgore, Snyder, & Lentz, 2000; Tilton-Weaver, Burk, Kerr, & Stattin, 2013). Fosco et al. write "parents who stay informed about their child's activities, attend to their child's behavior, and structure their child's environment have children with better outcomes" (p. 203).

Parental monitoring appears to be an especially important protective factor during the middle school years, an observation that has received substantial support from several studies (Fosco et al., 2012; Laird, Pettit, Bates, & Dodge, 2003; Slesnick et al., 2012; Waizenhofer, Buchanan, & Jackson-Newsom, 2004; Walther et al., 2016). During this time, youth begin "to spend less time with their families, feel less close to them, and receive less supervision and monitoring from their parents" (Fosco et al., 2012, p. 202). For the most part, problem behaviors (including substance use and delinquent behavior) during the middle school years occur within the peer context. Peers are especially powerful agents during this period. Effective parenting is certainly protective against deviant peer influences but often it is not enough. A growing body of research (e.g., Slesnick et al., 2012; Fosco et al., 2012) indicates that it is the nature of the relationships within the family that matters in reducing deviant peer risk factors. (See Box 2–2 for more about the Fosco et al. study.)

Studies consistently reveal that parents gain knowledge primarily from adolescent disclosure rather than from parental monitoring alone (Tilton-Weaver et al., 2013). This is because it is difficult to "monitor" activities if the youth does not inform the adult of where he or she is going. Therefore, the better the relationships and connectedness within the family, especially between the parents and the youth, the more impactful the parental

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 2–2 MONITORING, MIDDLE SCHOOL, AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Parental monitoring has been well established as a good approach to guide children as they approach and negotiate the challenges of adolescence. Broadly viewed, monitoring involves being aware of one's children's activities, maintaining structure, and setting reasonable restrictions. As noted in the text, a substantial amount of research documents that monitoring "works."

To be most effective, though, monitoring should be accompanied by a positive parent–child relationship. In fact, some research indicates that the quality of the relationship is a good predictor of problem behaviors in youth, even if good parenting practices are in effect (Bronte-Tinkew, Moore, & Carrano, 2006). This should not be surprising: children who perceive themselves as having a good relationship with their parents or caregivers are more likely to inform them of their important activities and be more willing to accept the oversight that accompanies monitoring. Therefore, it is likely that the combination of monitoring and good family relationships will reduce the likelihood that children will participate in antisocial activities. Families are complex, however, and until recently specific relationships between family members (e.g., child and father, child and mother, child and siblings) have not been studied extensively.

One exception is the study by Fosco et al. (2012), who examined parental monitoring and various family relationships in families of middle school students. As the researchers noted, "There is good reason to believe that youths have unique and meaningful relationships with their mother, father, and siblings, and each likely contributes to adolescents' development" (p. 203).

Middle school for many children is a risky period, one in which they may begin drifting away from family norms and toward the influence of peers. In their longitudinal study, the researchers followed an ethnically diverse sample of male and female youth from sixth to eighth grades, measuring through surveys and interviews both parental monitoring and the connectedness the youths felt with up to five caring adults in their lives. They also assessed antisocial behavior, substance use, and association with deviant peers.

Consistent with other research, parental monitoring was found to be associated with decreasing levels of problem behavior from sixth through eighth grades. Scrutinizing family relationships added another interesting dimension, however. Specifically, both connectedness with the father and conflict with a sibling had significant predictive effects on problem behavior. Strong father–child connectedness predicted decreases in problem behavior, and conflict with siblings predicted increasing problem behavior. Mother–child connectedness was not a significant predictor of change, but the researchers urged caution in interpreting this finding. Also interestingly, the connectedness with father was crucial whether or not the father lived in the home, and it did not differ whether the youth was male or female.

Fosco et al. emphasized the need for replicating their findings. However, they also suggested that reducing conflict among siblings and encouraging father–child bonds during adolescence—even when the father was not living in the home—had merit for promoting healthy adolescent development.

Questions for Discussion

1. Note that the researchers urged caution in interpreting the findings regarding mother–child connectedness, primarily because these findings are inconsistent with previous research. Given that caution is warranted, what might be possible explanations for those findings?
2. Suggest reasons why conflicts with a sibling would result in more problem behavior in early adolescence.
3. What kind of questions would you use in a survey or an interview to measure "connectedness" with a caring adult as perceived by a middle-schooler? ■

monitoring will be. Youth who feel close and connected to their parents or caregivers are more likely to value their opinions and are more willing to seek their advice and guidance for difficult and troubling situations (Fosco et al., 2012).

Interestingly, preliminary research suggests that a positive relationship and sense of connectedness between the father and the middle-school child—regardless of the child's gender—appears to be particularly important in preventing associations with deviant peers and the development of problem behaviors (Fosco et al., 2012). This finding appears to hold whether the father resides with the child or is separated from the family. Thus, when parents are separated or divorced and the mother has custody, the ideal situation is for the father to remain a steady presence in the children's lives.

In essence, the research suggests that problem behavior in adolescence is significantly reduced by balanced parental monitoring combined with positive parent–youth relationships. The phrase "balanced parental monitoring" is important to note because adolescents often view some forms of monitoring and peer management as intrusive (Kakihara, Tilton-Weaver, Kerr, & Stattin, 2010; Tilton-Weaver et al., 2013). Adolescents who feel overcontrolled may become less willing "to accept parental authority over their friendships and leisure activities than those who feel less controlled by their parents" (Tilton-Weaver et al., 2013, p. 2068). This conflict appears to be more likely to occur during early adolescence and become less of an issue in later adolescence, however. Overall, the effectiveness of monitoring depends on the nature of the family relationships, timing of its use, and whether the adolescent feels overcontrolled by parents.

The amount and quality of parental monitoring also is influenced by a number of things. For example, divorce, serious financial distress, loss of job, parental psychological disorders, substance abuse, or death may significantly affect family dynamics and parental or caregiver monitoring. However, monitoring does not necessarily require the physical presence of the parent. Other adult caretakers or after-school programs also could provide suitable monitoring. In addition, we cannot underestimate the importance of *neighborhood* monitoring. For example, some researchers have found lower rates of delinquency and crime in communities where adults monitor the actions of young people and speak up when they see misbehavior (Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002).

Influence of Siblings

While parental monitoring and family and parent–youth relationships are important considerations in cumulative risk factors and developmental cascade processes, siblings also play a crucial role in the development of youth problem behaviors. On the other hand, older siblings also serve as protective factors, such as by providing their younger brothers and sisters with positive role models or insulating them from bullying at school.

Siblings imitate each other, and most often younger children imitate their older siblings rather than the reverse (Fosco et al., 2012; Garcia, Shaw, Winslow, & Yaggi, 2000; Whiteman, Jensen, & Maggs, 2014). The modeling of the older sibling by the younger sibling(s) is not always the case, however. Whiteman and associates (2014) found that in about a third of their sibling sample, the younger sibling, who was close in age to the older sibling, actually tried to be different from the older sibling in behavior and attitude. Overall, though, since siblings generally spend so much time together, it is reasonable to assume that they play a role in shaping the development of aggression and antisocial behavior. This area has not been researched as heavily as other peer influences, but the few studies available indicate that adolescents with high rates of delinquency are also more likely to have siblings with high rates of delinquency (Buist, 2010; Coie & Miller-Johnson, 2001; Samek & Rueter, 2011; Whiteman et al., 2014).

Rowe and Gulley (1992) suggest that older siblings who engage in delinquent behavior reinforce antisocial behavior in younger siblings when there is a close and warm relationship between the youths. If the siblings are not close, the opposite effect may occur. That is, the nonaggressive younger sibling may make it a point not to be like his or her older aggressive or antisocial sibling.

When there is extensive conflict between siblings, however, it affects the family dynamics, and it may drive a child away from the family and toward the peer group, including deviant peers. Fosco and his colleagues (2012) found that siblings who frequently argued or engaged in physical fights with each other reported increased problem behaviors by eighth grade, "independent of the effects of parental monitoring and parent-youth relationships" (p. 211). Moreover, the impact of the sibling conflict did not differ as a function of the gender composition of the sibling pairs. Fosco et al. concluded: "These study findings are consistent with the view that the sibling subsystem may contribute to the overall family environment by creating greater coercion, conflict, and hostility" (p. 211). In summary, a small but growing body of research is beginning to demonstrate that the relationship between siblings often has an enormous influence on the family atmosphere and development (or nondevelopment) of problem behaviors, substance use, and delinquency.

Parental Psychopathology

Children of parents who are clinically depressed—especially mothers—are at increased risk for a range of socioemotional and behavioral problems, including antisocial behavior, emotion dysregulation, and poor cognitive development (Bennett, Bendersky, & Lewis, 2002; Mazulis, Hyde, & Clark, 2004; Nelson, Hammen, Brennan, & Ullman, 2003). As they grow older, children whose mothers were depressed during pregnancy or during the child's infancy continue to display behavioral problems and often engage in various kinds of antisocial behavior. Mothers are singled out both because of the prenatal environment and because they tend to be the dominant caregivers. However, the risk for developing problem behaviors appears to be magnified if both parents are depressed during early childhood.

Parental alcoholism elevates risk for a variety of negative child outcomes, including behavioral difficulties, antisocial behavior, and subsequent alcoholism (Loukas, Zucker, Fitzgerald, & Krull, 2003; Zucker et al., 2000). Interestingly, Loukas and her colleagues (2003) found that the presence of paternal alcoholism in the family may be more important than maternal alcoholism in contributing to a son's antisocial behavior and maladjustment.

The aggressive behavior that is demonstrated in domestic violence is clearly a form of parental psychopathology and has enormous influences on the development of the child. In addition, child neglect and child abuse, both physical and sexual, pose significant challenges to healthy development. These topics are discussed more fully in Chapter 9.

Psychological and Behavioral Risk and Protective Factors

We cannot easily separate the effects of the family risk factors covered above from the more individual risk factors to be discussed in this section. Few if any of the factors to follow are independent of the child or adolescent's relationships within his or her family setting. Although they are treated here as individual factors, in line with the cascading model described early in the chapter, it is likely that the factors covered below interact with many others in the individual's life.

Lack of Attachment

According to British psychologist John Bowlby (1969), the early relationship between an infant and a caregiver largely determines the quality of social relationships later in life. Bowlby's **attachment theory** has been discussed extensively in the psychological literature and may be extended to the study of criminal behavior. As noted, although it is essentially a psychological risk factor within the individual, it also fits in well with the family and parental issues discussed above.

Attachment theory
A theory that states infants have a strong need to establish close emotional bonds with significant others in their social environments. According to the theory, the nature of this emotional bond determines the quality of social relationships later in life.

Some infants, when placed in a strange and unfamiliar environment, show *secure attachment*. They play comfortably in their parent's presence and demonstrate curiosity about their new and challenging environment. When the parent leaves, the child becomes distressed, but when she or he returns, the child beams with delight. These infants use their parent or caregiver as a secure base from which to explore. Other infants may show an *insecure attachment*, which is often divided into two attachment styles: *anxious/ambivalent* and *avoidant*. The anxious/ambivalent-attached child becomes intensely distressed and anxious by separation, and in new environments, they often cling anxiously to their parent without much exploration (Ainsworth, 1979). When the parent returns after separation, they may become indifferent and even hostile. These infants may push the returning parent away, stiffen up, or cry when picked up. The *avoidant attachment* style is characterized by little distress on the part of the infant, whether the parent is present or not. They rarely cry during separation or reunion. Avoidant attachment in infancy and childhood is associated with dismissing attachment in adulthood (Adshead, 2002).

Problems with attachment apparently are related to deficiencies in caregiving by adults in the child's life. The DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) includes diagnoses of reactive attachment disorder and disinhibited social engagement disorder, both of which are precipitated by the absence of adequate caregiving during infancy or early childhood. This social neglect results in the child demonstrating "a consistent pattern of inhibited, emotionally withdrawn behavior toward adult caregivers" (p. 265) in the case of reactive attachment disorder, and "a pattern of behavior in which a child actively approaches and interacts with unfamiliar adults" (p. 268) in the case of disinhibited social engagement disorder.

It should be stressed that separation from one or more parents is not in itself an indication that negative attachment issues will result. Separation due to death, divorce, military deployment, or incarceration does not automatically mean that children will be subjected to deficient caregiving. (See Box 2–3 for more on children with incarcerated parents.) Many children experience such separations, and though they are not desirable, the remaining parent or substitute caregivers provide needed support. Some separations may be particularly problematic, however. In 2018 and 2019 the U.S. government separated thousands of children from parents who were detained at Southern borders when they tried to enter the country, seeking asylum, hoping for a better life, or fleeing violence. By Fall 2019 many of these children had yet to be reunited with their parents. Those that were separated often displayed symptoms of severe emotional distress, including anxiety, sleep disorders, and distrust of authority figures. Although investigative journalists have continued to follow this story, future researchers will undoubtedly try to study the effects of these forced separations.

Mary Ainsworth (1979) observed that caregivers who are sensitive, affectionate, and responsive, and who instill in their babies a basic trust of the world, typically have securely attached infants. Children with a secure attachment base usually develop into psychologically healthy children. As adults, they form good relationships, empathize with others, and generally show good self-regulation (Ansbro, 2008). "Later on, they emerge as more competent and more sympathetic in interaction with peers" (Ainsworth, 1979, p. 936). It is also commonly believed that our attachments in infancy play a powerful role in romantic relationships as adults.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 2–3 WHEN PARENTS ARE INCARCERATED

The United States has the highest incarceration rate among democratic societies. In any given year, approximately 2.3 to 3 million adults are held in jails or prisons, which is about 700 adults for every 100,000 adults in the country. Less recognized is the number of children affected by the imprisonment of one or both parents (Wildeman, Haskins, & Poehlmann-Tynan, 2018). Glaze and Maruschak (2008) reported that half of all prisoners in the United States had children under age 18. Wildeman (2009) reported that 1 in 25 white children and 1 in 4 black children born in 1990 had experienced the incarceration of a parent, typically a father, by their 14th birthday.

Children of incarcerated parents are at elevated risk of negative effects, perhaps throughout their lives. Factors such as social stigma, lack of attachment with a parent, and economic and psychological stress on the nonincarcerated parent might lead to maladjustment both in childhood and into adulthood. In a meta-analysis of 40 studies, however, Murray, Farrington, and Sekol (2012) found that the outcome of parental incarceration was complicated. "The most rigorous studies showed that parental incarceration is associated with higher risk for children's antisocial behavior, but not for mental health problems, drug use, or poor educational performance" (p. 175). Researchers call for more studies on how children cope and why some fare better than others from a developmental perspective.

There are numerous anecdotal accounts suggesting psychological ill effects in addition to separation from the parent. Children report being bullied or say they do not want their teachers to know they have a parent in prison. Some children are caught up in the foster care system and moved from home to home; others fear that they will be "bad" like their parent. Still others resent the system that took their parent away and worry about their parent's safety. Research suggests that a common way of coping is involvement in activities, such as sports or theater or church (Poehlmann-Tynan & Arditti, 2018).

It is often assumed that child–parent attachment will be disrupted and that young children in particular will suffer in both the short and long term. It is extremely difficult to measure attachment in children with incarcerated parents, however, though many researchers have attempted this (Poehlmann-Tynan & Arditti (2018). Though research emphasizes, not surprisingly, that healthy attachment is at risk when one or more parents are incarcerated, the complexity of different children's and adolescents' situations does not allow for more than general conclusions. Nearly all children (80–90%) with an incarcerated father live with the nonincarcerated mother, while grandparents are the most frequent caretakers of children with an incarcerated mother (Glaze & Maruschak, 2008). Thus, the quality of the caregiving environment during parental incarceration is crucial. In addition, some research indicates that children of incarcerated mothers face greater stress than those of incarcerated fathers. Lack of attachment may be less of a problem for these children than other factors (e.g., homelessness).

Questions for Discussion

1. Many prisons have "parenting programs," wherein incarcerated parents offer one another support and are offered parenting skills training. What are the advantages of such programs? Are there disadvantages?
2. Scooner and Rain are 8- and 10-year-old siblings whose mother has been sentenced to 3 years in prison for a nonviolent offense. Their father left the family years ago and is no longer in touch. What would you want to do to minimize the risks of negative outcomes for these two children?
3. In the above scenario, how would your answer change if you knew grandparents cared for the children and their father remained in touch? ■

According to Ainsworth and her colleagues (1979), infants with avoidant attachment style often have parents who are aloof, distant, and prefer to avoid intimacy with their children. Consequently, these children as adults have difficulty forming intimate relationships. Infants with anxious/ambivalent attachment usually have parents who are overbearing and

inconsistent in their affection and intimacy. These infants never know when and how their parents will respond to their needs. As adults, they want to have close relationships but continually worry about their partners and relationships returning the affection. They tend to become obsessive and preoccupied with their relationships, especially those with spouses and partners.

Ward and his associates (Ward, Hudson, Marshall, & Siegert, 1995) hypothesize that many sex offenders probably had parents who were inconsistently affectionate and poor at identifying their child's needs. In essence, the sex offenders demonstrate the dismissing (avoidant) attachment style in their adult relationships. Gwen Adshead (2002) reports evidence for insecure attachment in her study of violent offenders. She notes that many victims of interpersonal violence are part of the violent offender's attachment network: a child, a parent, a partner, or ex-partner. Fear of loss or separation can generate strong feelings of anxiety and rage in the offender, often resulting in violent actions. Adshead found that a majority of offenders showed a dismissing attachment style, suggesting a diminished capacity for empathy toward their victims or relationships.

Discussion of the attachment process serves as a good link between the family risk factors reviewed above and the psychological factors. While attachment has a connection with parenting styles, the attachment process also reflects a characteristic of the individual offender. However, though attachment may be an important component, it is only one of many and is unlikely to be a major factor. Furthermore, the factors covered below have received more research attention with respect to the development of antisocial behavior.

Peer Rejection and Association with Antisocial Peers

Developmental researchers have continually found that the peer relations of children and adolescents make unique and essential contributions to their social and emotional development (Bagwell, 2004; Blakemore & Mills, 2014; Blandon et al., 2010; Luna & Wright, 2016). During adolescence, there is increased susceptibility to peer influence and a decline in susceptibility to parental influence (Mounts, 2002). There is also an increased fear of peer rejection (Steinberg & Scott, 2003). In addition, numerous investigators have found that peer influence is a strong predictor of adolescent substance use and delinquent behavior (Coie & Miller-Johnson, 2001; Mounts, 2002; Steinberg, 2016). Not surprisingly, many members of most societies believe that this connection is obvious. The folk wisdom to "avoid bad companions" has long been the traditional admonishment from parents and other concerned adults. The link between childhood peer *rejection* and antisocial behavior and delinquency is not so obvious, however, and requires a closer examination.

Fear of being rejected by peers plays a significant role in adolescent delinquent behavior, especially between the ages of 13 and 17. As noted by Steinberg (2014), "It hurts to be rejected at any age, but it's actually more painful during adolescence than at any other time" (p. 95). In their desire to be accepted by peers and avoid rejection, teens are often driven to engage in risky, dangerous, or even criminal behavior (Kilford, Garrett, & Blakemore, 2016).

One of the strongest predictors of later involvement in antisocial behavior is *early* rejection by peers (Dodge, 2003; Lansford, Malone, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 2010; Parker & Asher, 1987; Trentacosta & Shaw, 2009), a phenomenon that is different from the fear of peer rejection in adolescence mentioned above. In elementary school, being liked and accepted by the peer group is a crucial developmental task, generally leading to healthy psychological and social development (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 1998). Social rejection by peers in the elementary school grades, on the other hand, presents a very powerful risk factor for delinquency in adolescence and antisocial behavior throughout the life course (Dodge, Coie, & Lynam, 2006; Laird, Jordan, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 2001). Research has consistently demonstrated that peer rejection by first-grade peers is significantly linked

to the development of antisocial behavior by the fourth grade (Cowan & Cowan, 2004; Miller-Johnson et al., 2002). Furthermore, those children who were rejected for at least 2 or 3 years by second grade had a 50% chance of displaying clinically significant antisocial behavior later in adolescence, in contrast with just a 9% chance for those children who managed to avoid early peer rejection (Dodge & Pettit, 2003). Some researchers also find evidence of a "cascade effect," whereby conduct disorders lead to peer rejection and then to depressive symptoms in elementary school children (Gooren, van Lier, Stegge, Terwogt, & Koot, 2011).

Interestingly, the quality of parent–child and marital relationships seems to play a significant role in whether a child is rejected or not by peers early in his or her life. Research by Cowan and Cowan (2004) demonstrates that "negative qualities in marital- and parent–child relationships in both prekindergarten and kindergarten are risk factors for low social skills, aggressive behavior, and rejection in the early years of elementary school" (p. 173). On the other hand, effective parenting and the development of high-quality parent–child relationships provide strong protective influences against peer rejection.

Peer-rejected children frequently interact with one another or gravitate to antisocial peers (Laird, Pettit, Dodge, & Bates, 2005). During the adolescent years, involvement with antisocial peers shows a robust and consistent relationship to delinquency, drug use, and a range of other problematic behaviors (Laird et al., 2005). Consequently, we would expect that both peer rejection *and* involvement with antisocial peers would be characteristic of those youngsters exhibiting antisocial or delinquent behavior early in their social development.

Why Are Some Children Rejected by Their Peers? Children are rejected by their peers for a variety of reasons, often because they are perceived as being "different" from others. For example, children diagnosed with Asperger's or other disorders on the autism spectrum are often ostracized by peers because of their ineffective social interaction skills. They may be bright and knowledgeable, but they often do not maintain eye contact with others and may have occasional tantrums. They typically are not physically aggressive, but they often say what they think, even if it results in insulting others. Consequently, they have difficulty maintaining friendships and often face rejection. Other children are rejected because they do not wear the right clothes or because a family member is incarcerated.

For many rejected children, however, their own aggressive behavior appears to be a prominent reason for the rejection (Lansford et al., 2010). Children tend to reject those peers who frequently use forms of physical and verbal aggression as their preferred way of dealing with others. These findings prompted many social scientists to conclude that aggressive children are more likely than nonaggressive children to be rejected by peers. Ongoing research indicates, however, that the relationship may not be that straightforward. First, peers also may reject peers whom they perceive as shy and socially withdrawn or as "different." Second, not all aggressive children are rejected by peers; some are liked, accepted, and sought as friends. In fact, research finds that many popular youngsters are often dominant, arrogant, and physically and relationally aggressive (Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004; Rose, Swenson, & Waller, 2004). Thus, if the children are rejected, it is not *always* because they are aggressive.

On the other hand, aggression *combined with* peer rejection does appear to lead to serious antisocial or delinquent behavior. Stated another way, children who are *both* physically aggressive and socially rejected by their peers have a high probability of becoming serious delinquents during adolescence and violent offenders during early adulthood. Researchers Coie and Miller-Johnson (2001), for example, conclude from their extensive review of the research literature that "those aggressive children who are rejected by peers are at a significantly greater risk for chronic antisocial behavior than those who are not rejected" (p. 201).

An important question still remains: Why are some aggressive children rejected in the first place and others not? Coie (2004) points out that there are three important differences between the two. First, peer-rejected, aggressive boys are more impulsive and have problems sustaining attention and staying on task. Consequently, they are more likely to be disruptive of ongoing activities in the classroom or during group play. Second, peer-rejected, aggressive boys are aroused to anger more readily and probably have more difficulty calming down. This emotional rage is more likely to result in physical and verbal attacks on peers, which in turn encourages peers to avoid them altogether. Third, rejected, aggressive youngsters have fewer social and interpersonal skills for making friends and maintaining positive relationships with peers. In addition, they probably have acquired fewer social and interpersonal skills because they have had limited opportunities to practice these skills on nonrejected peers.

In summary, peer-rejected children often, though not invariably, are aggressive, but they also tend to be more argumentative, inattentive, and disruptive than others, and generally have poorer social skills. These behaviors are characteristic of attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). The observation that peer-rejected boys demonstrate inattentive, impulsive, disruptive behavior suggests that ADHD may contribute to some of the peer rejection. ADHD is discussed in more detail later in the chapter under psychological risks.

Gender Differences in Peer Rejection So far, most of the research and theoretical work examining the effects of peer rejection, aggression, and delinquent behavior has focused on boys. Among girls, little is known about the combined effects of aggression and peer rejection. In one of the few early studies focusing on girls, Prinstein and La Greca (2004) found that the development of antisocial and delinquent behavior in girls, as in boys, can be predicted by early involvement in aggressive behavior with peers. However, in a national sample of 413 children and adolescents, Higgins, Piquero, and Piquero (2011) found high peer rejection was related to high delinquency and crime in males but not in females.

There is also some evidence to suggest that relationally aggressive girls are more likely than nonaggressive girls to be peer rejected (Crick, 1995). Relational aggression is the tendency to hurt others and diminish their social status by gossiping and spreading rumors, shunning, or other nonphysical methods. However, more recent research by Ettekal and Ladd (2015) looks at this from another perspective.

Ettekal and Ladd did find that girls are more likely to use relational aggression than physical aggression in their relationships with peers. In addition, they also found that relational aggression may be more beneficial under certain circumstances for girls compared to physical aggression, because it "tends to be less directly confrontational and hostile, and is not as problematic for children's peer relationships" (p. 1767). Ettekal and Ladd found that relational aggression was often used more strategically and effectively by girls than boys and usually they did not generate peer rejection during adolescence. For girls, they write, the benefits of high relational aggression "increasingly outweighed the costs, and they had more reciprocated friends and became increasingly accepted over time" (p. 1767). On the other hand, girls who used multiple forms of aggression (physical and relational) were more likely to be peer rejected throughout their developmental years.

Gang or Deviant Group Influences on Rejected Youth There are three major perspectives on the influence of peer groups on antisocial and delinquent behavior. One perspective argues that youngsters become delinquent as a direct result of association with deviant peer groups, which are groups that regularly engage in antisocial and criminal behavior. According to this view, almost any child is susceptible to the negative influences of participating in a deviant peer group. A second perspective contends that antisocial,

peer-rejected youths seek out greater contact with similar peer-rejected and socially unskillful peers. A third perspective is somewhat between these two positions. Peer-rejected, antisocial children are drawn to deviant groups with members similar to themselves, and this encourages and amplifies *already existing* antisocial tendencies. Current research evidence is in favor of the third perspective. It appears that childhood peer rejection encourages children to participate in deviant peer groups that then *amplify* tendencies to become more deviant and antisocial. That is, deviant group membership or gangs encourage and increase the already existing antisocial patterns in children and adolescents. As noted by Coie (2004), "The impact of deviant peer group influences on the *crystallization of an antisocial developmental trajectory* [emphasis added] has been solidly documented" (p. 257).

An important aspect of peer rejection that has come to light in recent years is that rejected children and youth do not usually have the opportunity to learn social and interpersonal skills for getting along with others. In addition, children who have been rejected by their peers are often denied opportunities for learning competent ways of processing social situations (Lansford et al., 2010). "That is, children who are not able accurately to encode social cues, who misinterpret their peers' intentions, who are not able to generate competent solutions to peer dilemmas, and who favorably evaluate noncompetent solutions to social problems are likely to behave in ways (aggressive or not) that make them less desirable social partners" (Lansford et al., 2010, p. 595). These deficits in social information processing account for at least part of the link between peer rejection and aggression. More importantly, Lansford and her colleagues emphasize that social information processing offers a promising target for intervention designed to neutralize the effects of peer rejection and correct the individual's misinterpretations of the social world. We will return to this point in Chapter 5 on aggression when we discuss hostile attribution and other problems in social information processing.

Preschool Experiences

Over the past three decades, children as a group have been shifted gradually from home to center-based day care or nursery school. The proportion of mothers participating in the workforce has increased substantially over that time; because mothers have traditionally been the primary caretakers, this is a significant change. The percentage of mothers with children under age 6 working outside the home increased from 12% in 1947, to 31% in 1975, to 64% in 2014, to 70% in 2016 (DeWolf, 2017; Tran & Weinraub, 2006). In 2003, more than half the mothers with infants less than 1 year old were in the labor force (Tran & Weinraub, 2006). Recent data indicate that over 60% of children under the age of 5 are in some form of day care or nonparental care on a regular basis (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2014).

The quality of care provided by child-care centers is highly variable, in large part due to low wages and high staff turnover in many facilities. Nonetheless, licensed centers, which are expected to meet minimal standards for nutrition, programming, and staffing, are often more adequate than individual care providers whom some parents must rely upon. However it occurs, poor-quality child care has been reported to put children's development at risk for poorer language, cognitive development, and lower ratings of social and emotional adjustment (Tran & Weinraub, 2006). Unfortunately, children from families with single employed mothers and low incomes are more likely to be found in lower-quality care.

The reality of multiple child-care arrangements has only recently come to attention. The nation's economic crisis of 2009 resulted in many parents assuming second jobs—such as low-paying part-time work on weekends—to keep the family financially afloat. This may necessitate "juggling" child care duties among day-care centers, relatives, babysitters, and neighbors. Unfortunately, research suggests that these multiple arrangements have negative

impacts on children's social adjustment (Morrissey, 2009). Being placed in different homes, day-care centers, classrooms, or peer groups on a weekly basis increases problem behavior and decreases prosocial behavior.

More encouragingly, there is evidence that improving out-of-home care for children can have long-term beneficial effects. Low-income children who experience high-quality infant and preschool care show better school achievement and socialized behavior in later years than similar children without child-care experience or with experience in lower-quality care. For low-income children, quality child care offers learning opportunities and social and emotional supports that many would not experience at home. Again, this is not to say that low-income parents do not or cannot offer these opportunities to their children; however, the stress associated with maintaining the household under stringent economic conditions may make it difficult to do so.

According to Goldstein Arnold, Rosenberg, Stowe, and Ortiz (2001), day-care teachers worry about aggression in their toddlers more than any other behavioral problem, and they report disruptive behavior as their greatest classroom challenge. These concerns may be important, as aggressive tendencies at 3 years of age predict aggressive behavior later in life (Goldstein et al., 2001). Accumulating evidence indicates that the amount of exposure that a child has to aggressive peers in day care or preschool is predictive of later child aggressive behavior, perhaps because of modeling effects (Dodge & Pettit, 2003).

Academic Failure

Early academic failure appears to set up a cascading series of events that increase the risks of behavioral, emotional, and cognitive problems. For example, research indicates that retention or failure to be promoted in kindergarten and in the early school grades has long-term detrimental effects on mental and psychological development, in spite of its immediate academic benefits (Dodge & Pettit, 2003; Holmes, 1989; Sameroff, Peck, & Eccles, 2004). On the other hand, *delaying entry* into kindergarten does not appear to have the same effects. It is the "staying back" label that prompts retained children to be seen negatively and socially rejected and ridiculed by their peers (Plummer & Graziano, 1987).

In fact, early academic failure seems to be strongly associated with delinquency and adult criminal behavior. Some researchers discovered that the odds of severe delinquent behavior in 8-year-old male children who were failing in school were nearly double those of other male children (Loeber, Farrington, Stouthamer-Loeber, & Van Kammen, 1998).

Regardless of race, socioeconomic status, or ethnic background, reading achievement appears to play a prominent role in academic failure. In fact, not only is poor reading achievement closely associated with school failure, but it also predicts later arrest and criminal activity in boys (Coley & Barton, 2006; Petras et al., 2004). On the other hand, a high level of reading achievement seems to prevent at-risk youth from engaging in later antisocial behavior. More specifically, a high level of reading achievement brings more acceptance from mainstream peers, greater attachment to school, enhanced job prospects in young adulthood, and better cognitive resources for anticipating the negative consequences of engaging in criminal activity (Petras et al., 2004). In that sense, high reading achievement could be considered a protective factor.

Lack of Empathy

Anyone observing a group of children playing together can notice differences among them if one child gets hurt and begins to cry. Some children will want to be sure the child is alright and become solicitous, while others ignore the crying child and continue with their play. Likewise, on the basketball court, a player might reach down and help someone on

the opposite team get up off the floor, while other players seem indifferent. Although these are simplistic examples, we might say that the children and players in the first groups are more empathetic than those in the second.

In practice and research, empathy is perceived as existing along two dimensions: affective and cognitive. Affective empathy is "an emotional response characterized by feelings of concern for another and a desire to alleviate that person's distress" (Young, Fox, & Zahn-Waxler, 1999, p. 1189). Cognitive empathy refers to the ability to understand a person from his or her frame of reference or point of view rather than simply from one's own point of view. Jolliffe and Farrington (2007) note that affective empathy is the ability to *experience* another person's emotions, whereas cognitive empathy is the ability to *understand* another's emotions. These terms are not mutually exclusive, however. In other words, one can possess both affective and cognitive empathy.

A concept closely related to but not identical to empathy is **theory-of-mind (ToM)**. This refers to a capacity to recognize the thoughts and feelings of other people—one might say it is an ability to "read" others. There has been a significant amount of research on this ability (see Box 2–4), and scholars have identified affective and cognitive components. However, ToM is not as relevant to the study of criminal behavior as is empathy, primarily because studies have not focused much on associating it with antisocial behavior. It may, however, be a protective factor in the individual, just as empathy is a protective factor, while lack of empathy is a risk factor.

Theory of mind
The capacity to recognize the thoughts and feelings of other people.

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 2–4 THEORY OF MIND

The name is rather puzzling: **Theory of Mind (ToM)**. Is it really a "theory?" ToM is defined in the literature as a competence. Specifically, it is a competence or ability to interpret the mental states of others (e.g., their desires, beliefs, intentions, attitudes) in order to predict or explain their behavior. In the context of this chapter, ToM might be considered a protective factor.

ToM was first proposed by Premack and Woodruff in 1978. Since that time it has prompted a vast store of empirical research, particularly in child and adolescent development (see, e.g., Burnel et al. (2017), Derksen et al. (2018), and Devine et al. (2016) and references therein). Researchers have examined both cognitive ToM—wherein one infers what someone is thinking—and affective ToM—wherein one infers what someone is feeling. Researchers also have used both cross-sectional and longitudinal designs. Cross-sectional designs, for example, suggest that ToM is nascent in infancy, develops very rapidly in young children, is relatively stable in adolescence to mid adulthood, and begins to decline as people age, particularly after age 65. Longitudinal designs suggest increasing development across the life span, with some decline in older adults (Derksen et al., 2018).

Many developmental psychologists advocate that ToM skills should be encouraged and promoted, especially in preschoolers and young children. These skills have been linked positively with moral development and with young children's lack of prejudicial and stereotypical attitudes toward groups. ToM capacity also seems to reduce the risk of peer rejection. Low ToM skills at age 5 have been shown to predict the propensity to bully and be bullied in adolescence. Additionally, aggression in preschoolers can hinder the development of ToM.

To assess ToM, researchers use scales such as those developed by Wellman and Liu (2004). Participants are given short scenarios and are asked questions about how they would respond. In a common scenario, a doll places a marble in a basket and then leaves the room. A second doll removes the marble and places it in a box. The participant is then asked where the first doll would look for the marble, where she placed the marble, and where the marble actually is. Researchers have found that a

typically developing child succeeds at this task between the ages of 4 and 5. Similar tasks have been created for different age groups, including adults. Some tasks assess the ability to detect intentions and attitudes in other individuals.

Researchers also have studied precursors and functional outcomes of ToM. Ability to focus attention, executive function, and language development are often considered crucial to ToM development, as are some aspects of the social environment. Not surprisingly, the quality of parent–child relationships in infancy fosters ToM development in preschoolers. Perhaps more surprisingly, an older sibling who engages in cooperative play also helps develop ToM.

Over the past decade, research in this area has exploded. Scholars ask how and why ToM changes over the life span. What are the most effective methods of assessing ToM? What is the direction of the relationship between ToM and other variables, such as aggression, language skills, imagination, and victimization? These and many other questions remain to be answered.

Questions for Discussion

1. What is the advantage of promoting ToM abilities in young children? By adolescence, is it too late to do this?
2. What features of older adulthood might be associated with a decline in ToM?
3. Review the material on empathy in this chapter. Do you see a difference between empathy and ToM? ■

Deficiencies in empathy have long been considered characteristic of persistently aggressive and antisocial individuals (Cohen & Strayer, 1996; Hastings, Zahn-Waxler, Usher, Robinson, & Bridges, 2000; Hawes & Dadds, 2012; Marshall & Marshall, 2011). For example, low affective empathy is hypothesized to be a central ingredient of psychopathy, which is a combination of psychological, neuropsychological, and behavioral factors related to an increased tendency to engage in antisocial and violent behavior. Interestingly, psychopaths are believed to be able to understand to some extent the emotions of others (cognitive empathy) but show a remarkable inability to experience them. We return to the topic of psychopathy in greater detail in Chapter 7. Empathy deficiencies are also believed to be central behavioral features of both conduct disorders—to be discussed below—and antisocial personality disorder (Vachon, Lynam, & Johnson, 2014), which is covered in Chapters 6 and 7.

Girls generally show both dimensions of empathy earlier than boys, beginning in the second year of life and continuing at least through adolescence (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Hastings et al., 2000; Hawes & Dadds, 2012). We urge caution in adopting a strict binary approach in any discussion of gender research, however. Gender in this context refers to social and cultural differences rather than biological differences. While biological differences between girls and boys may be apparent, gender exists on a continuum, and features associated with girls are present in many boys, and vice versa. Distinctions among age groups are more clear-cut. For example, the relationship between a lack of empathy and antisocial or excessively aggressive behavior is discernible in children during the early to middle elementary school years (Hastings et al., 2000; Tremblay, Vitaro, Gagnon, Piche, & Royer, 1992), and seems to become stronger with age (Miller & Eisenberg, 1988). Children who demonstrate little empathy in the third grade exhibit even less in the eighth grade.

Although researchers have generally found deficiencies in both dimensions of empathy (affective and cognitive), studies have generally found that a deficiency in affective (or emotional) empathy appears to be most strongly related to violence and persistent criminal behavior (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2007; de Kemp, Overbeek, de Wied, Engels, & Scholte, 2007; Schaffer, Clark, & Jeglic, 2009; van Langen et al., 2014; Van Vugt et al., 2011). "It... appears that it is the inability to *experience the emotions of others*, which is related to violence for both males and females rather than the inability to *understand* other people's emotions" (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2007, p. 281, emphasis added). In addition, "Both high-frequency

male and female offenders showed lower affective empathy (but not cognitive empathy) than low-rate offenders" (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2007, p. 281). Essentially, people who engage in violence and/or a large variety of serious offenses appear to have a significant inability to feel the emotional distress and physical pain of their victims. However, in a comprehensive study of the link between empathy and aggression, Vachon et al. (2014) concluded that the relationship may not be nearly as strong as previously reported in the research literature. Consequently, Vachon et al. recommended caution before making firm conclusions at this point in our knowledge. Their findings were especially pertinent concerning affective empathy. Logically, it makes sense to assume that a lack of empathy toward others might predispose a person to be more aggressive and even violent toward people who anger them, but it also makes sense that a number of cascading influences probably play a more significant role in the formation of frequent aggressive or violent behavior across the life span. Remember, it is rare that a single risk factor accounts for the development of delinquency or criminal behavior.

Animal Cruelty Some research has shown a link between lack of empathy and animal cruelty. Cruelty to animals, defined as "socially unacceptable behavior that intentionally causes unnecessary pain, suffering, or distress to and/or death of an animal" (Guymer, Mellor, Luk, & Pearse, 2001, p. 1057) is a behavior that demonstrates a lack of empathy; if it occurs in childhood, it can signify serious problem behavior. The swatting of flies or the destruction of insects does not qualify as cruelty (although torture of insects would qualify), but cruelty to dogs, cats, and other household pets is considered significant. Cruelty as defined here does not refer to chasing the family cat and gently pulling its tail, but swinging the cat by the tail or setting its ears on fire is another matter.

Several studies have found a strong association between animal cruelty and violent behavior toward humans. The aphorism "People who abuse animals rarely stop there" appears to have validity. For example, Stouthamer-Loeber and her associates (2004) followed young males from the ages of 13 to 25 and discovered that cruelty to animals was one of the strongest predictors of serious, violent criminal behavior. Lucia and Killias (2011) discovered, in their sample of 3,600 Swiss students (grades 7 to 9), that 12% admitted animal cruelty (17% of boys and 8% of girls). More importantly, the researchers found that youths who have been cruel to animals were three times more likely to have committed serious interpersonal violence, compared to youths with no reported history of animal cruelty. Wright and Hensley (2003) found a possible link between childhood cruelty to animals and later serial murders. In fact, the five serial murderers studied by Wright and Hensley, which included the infamous Jeffrey Dahmer, used the same method of torture and killing on their human victims as they had used on their animal victims. Merz-Perez, Heide, and Silverman (2001) reported a similar finding. Arluke and Madfis (2014) found that 43% of school shooters were often cruel to animals, and that the cruelty was most often directed against cats and dogs in a vicious, personal, and up-close manner. A similar pattern was uncovered by Levin and Arluke (2009) in their investigation of serial killers.

Current research has reported that the supposed link between animal abuse and violence has not been strong enough to use it as the sole predictor of violent crime, however, even though it certainly is one factor to consider. Furthermore, while animal cruelty may serve as an early warning sign for antisocial and violent behavior toward humans, it should not be used in isolation to predict future serious offending (Walters, 2013, 2014). Other factors should be included in the prediction assessment, such as cognitive and personality variables, the intensity of the animal abuse, and the age at which the abuse began. In other words, as in the study of empathy, rarely does a single risk factor lead to a life-long commitment to aggression and violence.

Language Deficiencies

Language impairments—as well as cognitive impairments which we discuss shortly—increase the risk of behavior problems and antisocial behavior, at least in boys (Brownlie et al., 2004; Chow, 2018; Chow, Ekholm, & Coleman, 2018; Petersen et al., 2013). For example, a high percentage of children and adolescents diagnosed and treated for antisocial behavior and conduct disorder (CD) demonstrate language impairments (Cohen et al., 1998; Spilt, Koomen, & Harrison, 2015; Rhee, Friedman, Corley, Hewitt, Hink...Zahn-Waxler, 2016). **Language impairment** usually refers to problems expressing or understanding language, and some research has even traced these problems as far back as very early childhood. In fact, poor language development often can be traced back to maltreatment or neglect (Wade et al., 2018). In an important study of Swedish children, Stattin and Klackenberg-Larson (1993) discovered that poor language development during the second year of life was a significant predictor of adult criminal behavior. Brownlie et al. (2004) also found that boys diagnosed with a language impairment at age 5 were far more likely to exhibit delinquent behavior at age 19 than a group of boys without early indications of a language impairment. This relationship held even when controlling for verbal IQ and demographic and family variables. Brownlie et al. speculated, though, that the association may be largely due to the negative impact that language impairments have on the child's schooling and academic performance in general. In other words, language impairment appears to produce a serious cascading effect on healthy academic and social development. In essence, language deficiency often makes school a painful and unappealing enterprise, leading to poor or disinterested performance on academic tasks.

Language impairment
An absence, loss, or delay in normal speech and language development.

Furthermore, poor language and communication skills may also interfere with socialization and the ability to get along with others (Petersen et al., 2013). Language-impaired children are often rejected by peers and are frequently viewed negatively by their teachers. As we saw above, early peer rejection is a strong risk factor for delinquency.

The use of language in the form of private and self-directed speech not only helps guide behavior to facilitate problem solving and academic performance, but it also helps children develop and maintain self-control and self-regulation (Petersen et al., 2013). After all, language enables a person to "talk to oneself" about what to do in challenging or conflictual situations. According to Dionne (2005), "Emotion regulation and self-regulation are generally viewed as requiring complex linguistic tools such as the ability to analyze social situations, organize thoughts about one's own emotions, and plan behavior according to social roles" (p. 346).

Language problems also increase frustration levels in children who have difficulty expressing their points of view, which is so necessary for reasonable resolutions of conflict. This frustration, if not self-regulated, is likely to lead to aggressive and disruptive behavior at home and at school.

Research reveals that an important protective factor for adequate language development in children is rewarding literacy, interactions and conversations with primary caretakers, especially when accompanied by sensitive instruction and feedback (Spilt et al., 2018). Likewise, a meaningful and secure child relationship with teachers contributes significantly to language development (Spilt et al., 2015). As pointed out by Spilt and colleagues, "The importance of positive, nonconflicted teacher-child relationships as a predictor of children's cognitive growth is widely acknowledged" (p. 186).

Intelligence and Delinquency

For some time, criminologists have been eager to label the relationship between intelligence and delinquency as misguided and unsubstantiated. Even to mention the connection

may prompt a derisive reaction. Nevertheless, the delinquency literature over many years has consistently reported that delinquents, as a group, score lower on standard intelligence tests or have higher prevalence of intellectual disability than nondelinquents (Hirschi & Hindelang, 1977; Nagel, Guarnera, & Reppucci, 2016). As hypothesized by Hirschi and Hindelang in their classic paper, an *indirect* causal relationship exists between IQ and delinquency. That is, a low IQ leads to poor performance and negative attitudes toward school, which in turn leads to school failure and ultimately to delinquency. Low IQ does not directly lead to delinquency. A high IQ, on the other hand, leads to good performance and positive attitudes toward school, which in turn leads to the internal acceptance of conventional values and conformity (nondelinquency).

The essential point, as Hirschi and Hindelang observed, is that the inverse relationship between IQ scores and delinquency continues to be documented by research (e.g., Koenen et al., 2006; Nigg & Huang- Pollock, 2003; Parker & Morton, 2009; Simonoff et al., 2004; Sorge, Skilling, & Toplak, 2015). As IQ scores go down, the probability of misconduct increases, and vice versa. Children with low IQ scores are at a higher risk for delinquent behavior, and as Anne Crocker and Sheilagh Hodgins (1997, p. 434) write, "To our knowledge, no study has failed to confirm this relation." The relationship is particularly strong for verbal IQ scores (Culberton, Feral, & Gabby, 1989; Kandel et al.,1988; Parker & Morton, 2009). Furthermore, as noted by Crocker and Hodgins (1997), the relationship between low IQ scores and delinquency appears to be independent of socioeconomic status, race, and detection by the police (Koenen et al., 2006; Lynam, Moffitt, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1993; Moffitt, 1990b). Moreover, it should be emphasized that this relationship is not specific to delinquency; the relationship is equally robust for adult offenders. Interestingly, it has been suggested that many adult-onset offenders have low intelligence but did not offend as juveniles because they were protected by supportive families or schools. As these cognitively limited individuals reached adulthood, they were unable to transition successfully to adult roles (Thornberry & Krohn, 2005).

Why does this relationship exist? To address this question, it is necessary to consider the meaning of IQ and to stress that it is not identical to "intelligence." The term "IQ" is an abbreviation of *intelligence quotient*, derived from a numerical score on a so-called *intelligence* test, and it originated out of what is now called the **psychometric approach**. The word "psychometric" means "psychological measurement." Traditionally, the psychometric approach has searched for unique differences in persons through the use of psychological tests, including intelligence tests, scholastic aptitude tests (e.g., SAT), school achievement tests, personality inventories, and other specific abilities tests. The various tests are used for many purposes, such as selection, diagnosis, and evaluation. The psychometric approach continues to be widely used by practicing psychologists and mental health professionals. However, the term **psychometric intelligence (pi)**—which was preferred by some psychologists (Neisser et al., 1996) in the 1990s—has not caught on. Consequently, the traditional term "IQ" continues to be used today, and one hears of someone scoring 70 or scoring 160 on an IQ test. Although scores can work to the advantage of the person who was tested (e.g., by providing access to a program for people with intellectual disabilities or people who are gifted), they may also be disadvantageous, if the individual is wrongfully labeled as intellectually deficient. On the other hand, the opposite can happen if a person who is deficient scores "too high" on a test, as has occurred with prisoners on death row—a topic that will be covered in Chapter 8.

Psychometric approach
The perspective that human characteristics, attributes, and traits can be measured and quantified.

Psychometric intelligence (PI)
A more contemporary designation of intelligence as measured by intelligence or IQ tests. However, the term is not yet widely used in comparison with "IQ."

Satisfactory performance on a vast majority of intelligence tests depends greatly on language acquisition and verbal development. Usually, a person must have considerable experience using and defining words to do well on most IQ tests. The examinee must be able to make conventional connections and see distinctions between verbal concepts. The examinee must also know the facts that the test designer deems important to know within

mainstream culture. At the very least, almost all intelligence tests measure some aspect of academic skills that are taught in school or that predict success in school. A vast majority of psychologists today would agree that IQ scores are strongly influenced by social, educational, and cultural experiences. In short, all intelligence tests are culturally biased, regardless of their claims.

More importantly, IQ scores and the concept of intelligence should not be confused. The term "IQ" merely refers to a standardized score from a test. *Intelligence, on the other hand, is a broad, all-encompassing ability that defies any straightforward or simple definition.* It means many things to different people. Overall, intelligence is generally associated with competence and is a good marker for adaptive success in modern society (Masten, 2014). There is also considerable evidence that intelligence is a protective factor against high lifetime adversity exposure (Masten, 2014). More specifically, though, intelligence includes ability ranging from musical talent to logical mathematical skills. The term may also include wisdom, intuition, judgment, and even humor. While delinquents, as a group, do score lower on intelligence *tests*, this observation should not be construed as documenting that delinquents are less intelligent than nondelinquents. For example, Brazilian street children are masters at doing the math required for survival in their street business even though they have failed mathematics in school (Carraher, Carraher, & Schliemann, 1985; Neisser et al., 1996). Likewise, institutionalized delinquents often display artistic and verbal skills and a sense of humor that are not tapped by traditional IQ scores.

What does the relationship between IQ scores and delinquency and crime mean exactly? It probably means that delinquents *as a group*, particularly serious delinquents, have had limited experiences in mainstream society, ineffective parenting, restricted cognitive and language development, and poor school experiences, but it does not necessarily mean that they are not intelligent. However, an undetermined proportion of delinquents, as well as adult criminals, are cognitively impaired to the extent that they could be called intellectually disabled. This raises important policy questions with respect to their treatment by the juvenile justice and adult criminal justice systems.

Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD)

Children are born with a wide range of genetic influences, neurological predispositions, and different temperaments, although the social and physical environments may alter them. These are all biological factors, and some appear to play a major role in the development of crime and delinquency. Most will be discussed in Chapter 3. In this section, though, we give attention to ADHD because of its social implications and unique interaction with risk factors previously discussed.

The term *hyperactive syndrome* (also called minimal brain dysfunction, hyperkinesis, attention deficit disorder, or currently **Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD)**) includes a variety of behaviors. The central three are (1) inattention (does not seem to listen, or is easily distracted); (2) impulsivity (acts before thinking, shifts quickly from one activity to another); and (3) excessive motor activity (cannot sit still, fidgets, runs about, is talkative and noisy). Some scholars (e.g., Frick & Nigg, 2012) conclude from the research literature that ADHD's core is basically two- rather than three-dimensional, represented by (1) inattention and (2) hyperactivity/impulsivity.

Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD)
Traditionally considered a chronic neurobiological condition characterized by developmentally poor attention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity. More contemporary perspectives see the behavioral pattern as a deficiency in interpersonal skills.

ADHD is the leading psychological diagnosis for American children (Fulton et al., 2009; Weigard et al., 2018). In 2016, approximately 9% of children and teens in the United States (ages 2 to 17 years) had been diagnosed with ADHD at some point during their developmental years (Danielson et al., 2018). Symptoms of the disorder often emerge in preschool and mostly in boys by a ratio of 3 to 1 over girls (Egger, Kondo, & Angold, 2006; Frick & Nigg, 2012; Sjöwall, Backman, & Thorell, 2015). Educators note that ADHD

children have difficulty staying on task, remaining cognitively organized, sustaining academic achievement in the school setting, and maintaining control over their behavior. Although the common belief is that one eventually outgrows hyperactivity, the evidence is that the key symptomatic features of hyperactivity persist into adulthood (Molina, & Pelham, 2014; Frick & Nigg, 2012).

It should be emphasized, however, that many children diagnosed with ADHD grow up to lead highly successful lives, and most do not follow a life course of serious delinquency and crime. There is a long list of scientists, entertainers, politicians, artists, musicians, athletes, and other public figures that were once diagnosed with or are now suspected of having had ADHD, including Albert Einstein, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Whoopi Goldberg, Bill Gates, Michael Phelps, Steven Spielberg, Walt Disney, John Lennon, Ann Bancroft, Terry Bradshaw, Richard Byrd, Andrew Carnegie, Robin Williams, Agatha Christie, and Ludwig van Beethoven.

As mentioned, ADHD affects an estimated 9% of school-age children and teens (17 years of age and younger) in the United States, and boys tend to outnumber girls by a ratio of 3 to 1 (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2014; Danielson et al., 2018). About 93% of children and adolescents diagnosed with ADHD receive medication for the disorder (Epstein et al., 2014; Shahidullah, Carlson, & Lancaster, 2018). In the general adult population, the incidence is about 5% (Kessler et al., 2006). Furthermore, ADHD is diagnosed more frequently in children who have a close biological relative with ADHD than in the general population, suggesting there may be a significant biological-genetic component involved. ADHD appears to be largely a disorder of self-control and emotional regulation related to problems in brain functioning (Connor, Ford, Chapman, & Banga, 2012). Antisocial and aggressive behavior stemming from ADHD is most often impulsive and a reaction to frustration or perceived threat (Connor et al., 2012). Boys with ADHD are at increased risk for engaging in delinquent and antisocial behavior. "As they grow older, children with untreated ADHD... may abuse drugs or alcohol, engage in antisocial behavior, and suffer physical injury at higher rates than the general population" (Stern, 2001, p. 1).

ADHD is a puzzling problem, the cause of which is largely unknown. Some scientists contend that ADHD children are born with a biological predisposition toward hyperactivity; others maintain that some children are exposed to environmental factors that damage the nervous system. Rolf Loeber (1990) demonstrates how exposure to toxic substances during the preschool years often retards children's neurological development or otherwise influences it in a negative way, often resulting in symptoms of ADHD. For example, children exposed to low levels of lead toxicity (e.g., from paint or contaminated soil) are more hyperactive and impulsive and are easily distracted and frustrated. They also show discernible problems in following simple instructions. The causal factors of ADHD are probably multiple, complicated, and extremely difficult to identify.

Some researchers observe that children with ADHD do not possess effective strategies and cognitive organization with which to deal with the daily demands of school. ADHD children also seem to lack cognitively organized ways for dealing with new knowledge. The core problem appears to center around executive functions, or what can be termed "self-regulation skills" (Douglas, 2004). **Self-regulation** refers to the ability to control one's own behavior. According to Virginia Douglas (2004), it is not so much "not knowing" as "not doing." Attention, inhibition, and organizing are ways of "doing" or working on cognitive processes. Stimulant drugs, Douglas argues, enable ADHD children to improve on self-regulation processes. These drugs themselves, though, are extremely controversial and are themselves widely believed to be overprescribed.

Self-regulation
The ability to control one's behavior in accordance with internal cognitive standards.

Although many behaviors have been identified as accompanying ADHD, another overriding theme is that ADHD children are perceived as annoying and aversive to those around them. Although ADHD children are continually seeking and prolonging interpersonal

contacts, they eventually manage to irritate and frustrate those people with whom they interact (Henker & Whalen, 1989). They are often rejected by peers, especially if they are perceived as aggressive (Henker & Whalen, 1989). Parents report ADHD children are 10 times more likely to have difficulties developing friendships with peers than non-ADHD children (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2014). This pattern of peer rejection appears to continue throughout the developmental years (Murray-Close et al., 2010; Reid, 1993). According to research data, approximately 52–82% of children with ADHD are rejected by peers (Hoza et al., 2005; Murray-Close et al., 2010).

Kofler et al. (2018) report that "social problems are a key area of functional impairment for a majority of children with attention deficit hyperactivity disorders..., and include a broad range of difficulties making and maintaining friendships, peer rejection and neglect, and increased negative peer and caregiver interactions" (p. 345). Kos discovered that children and adolescents with ADHD demonstrated significant problems processing social information "in the moment" (p. 353). In their study, Kofler et al. found strong evidence that inattention and hyperactivity, combined with undeveloped short-term memory (or the working memory), predict interpersonal problems with others in children and adolescents with ADHD.

ADHD and criminal behavior. Some researchers (e.g., Pfiffner, McBurnett, Rathouz, & Judice, 2005) estimate about one-fourth of all children with ADHD engage in serious antisocial behavior during childhood and adolescence and criminal behavior as adults. Terrie Moffitt (Moffitt, 1993b; Moffitt & Silva, 1988) observes that a very large number of ADHD children self-report delinquent behaviors by early adolescence. She also found that children between the ages of 5 and 7 who display the characteristics of both ADHD and delinquent behavior not only have special difficulty with social relationships but also have a high probability of consistent serious antisocial behavior into adolescence and beyond (Lee & Hinshaw, 2004; Moffitt, 1990b; Sibley et al., 2011). Experts generally agree that the most common problem associated with ADHD is delinquency and substance abuse. Another recent study by Watts (2018) found that ADHD during childhood and early adolescence is associated with weakened school attachment, lower grades, and higher risks for out-of-school suspension and crime (Barry & Gaines, 2008; Walther et al., 2012; Watts, 2018). The data strongly suggest that youth with symptoms of both ADHD and antisocial behavior are at very high risk for developing lengthy and serious criminal careers (Moffitt, 1990b; Mohr-Jensen & Steinhausen, 2016; Satterfield, Swanson, Schell, & Lee, 1994). David Farrington (1991), in his well-cited research, also found that violent offenders often have a history of hyperactivity, impulsivity, and attention deficit problems.

It should be noted that "the prevalence rates for ADHD are 3 to 10 times higher in secure correctional facilities than are found in the general population" (Connor et al., 2012, p. 727). More specifically, ADHD rates are between 11.7% and 45% for incarcerated males, and 10% and 18.5% for incarcerated females, compared to around 9% in the general population (Connor et al., 2012). In addition, incarcerated individuals with ADHD are more likely to engage in disruptive, rule-violating, and impulsive aggressive behaviors than others in secure correctional facilities. "ADHD youth in juvenile justice and secure treatment settings are at risk for rehabilitative failure, academic failure, occupational failure, continued antisocial behavior, substance abuse, comorbid psychiatric and learning disorders, and impulsive aggression" (Connor et al., 2012, p. 743).

We emphasize that a vast majority of youth diagnosed with ADHD symptoms are not destined for a life of crime. Rather, the risks tend to be higher for those children with ADHD compared with those without those symptoms, especially for youth who exhibit antisocial and aggressive behavior early in development. Thus, the combination of antisocial behavior, aggressive behavior, and an ADHD diagnosis places one at a greater risk of criminal activity as an adult.

Conduct Disorder

ADHD frequently co-occurs with a diagnostic category called "conduct disorders" (Connor et al., 2012; Offord, Boyle, & Racine, 1991; Reid, 1993), but the two should be considered separate entities. However, the often-observed progression from childhood ADHD to early-onset conduct disorder is accounted for, in part, by ineffective and coercive parenting (Beauchaine, Hinshaw, & Pang, 2010; Meier, Slutske, Heath, & Martin, 2009). Research demonstrates that certain disorders occur together often as a result of psychological and biological vulnerabilities interacting with environmental conditions, such as the quality of parenting. In other words, childhood and adult disorders are a result of developmental cascading factors, a point emphasized throughout the chapter.

Conduct disorder (CD)
A diagnostic label used to identify children who demonstrate habitual misbehavior.

The term **conduct disorder (CD)** represents a cluster of behaviors characterized by persistent misbehavior, including bullying, fighting, using or threatening weapon use on others, physical cruelty to people and animals, destruction of property, chronic deceitfulness, sexual assaults, and serious violations of rules (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Conduct disorder is also associated with a variety of psychological problems across the life span (Frick & Nigg, 2012). "This includes mental health problems (e.g., substance abuse), legal problems (e.g., risk for arrest), educational problems (dropping out of school), social problems (e.g., poor marital adjustment), occupation problems (e.g., poor job performance), and physical health problems (e.g., poor respiratory function)" (Frick & Nigg, 2012, p. 93). Youth conduct problems frequently result in significant disruptions at home and school and can lead to violence and other serious crimes (McMahon, Witkiewitz, Kotler, & The Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2010). Examples of this misbehavior include stealing, fire setting, running away from home, skipping school, destroying property, fighting, frequently telling lies, and cruelty to animals and people. According to the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), the central feature of conduct disorder is a *repetitive* and *persistent* pattern of behavior that violates the basic rights of others or violates major age-appropriate societal norms. CD can range from mild forms of expression (such as minimal harm to persons or property) to severe forms of behavior, such as substantial harm to persons and significant damage to property.

In the DSM-5, conduct disorder is separated into two main categories. If the misconduct begins before age 10, it is called conduct disorder: childhood onset type. If it begins in adolescence, it is called conduct disorder: adolescent onset type. The childhood-onset group frequently begins showing mild conduct problems as early as preschool or early elementary school, and then increases in rate and severity throughout childhood and through adolescence (Frick & Nigg, 2012). According to the DSM-5, although the onset of conduct disorder can occur in pre-school years, "the first significant symptoms usually emerge during the period from middle childhood through middle adolescence, and onset is rare after age 16 years" (p. 473).

If CD emerges during early childhood, the child may be destined for an exposure to a wide spectrum of risk factors that result in a life of trouble and difficulty. If onset occurs during adolescence, the individual often matures into a life without involvement in serious or violent criminal behavior.

As noted by Frick and Nigg, childhood-onset CD appears to be strongly related to neuropsychological and cognitive deficits, compounded by family conflict and instability, and faulty parenting. This process disrupts the child's socialization and development of interpersonal skills for getting along with others within and outside the family.

Overall, between 2% and 10% of children and adolescents in the United States show behavioral patterns that may be diagnosed as a conduct disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Eddy, 2003; Frick, 2006). Boys outnumber girls by about 4 to 1 before adolescence, and by about 2 to 1 during adolescence (Frick, 2006). In addition, CD is the

psychological diagnostic label most often placed on youths who appear before the juvenile courts (Lahey et al., 1995). A study by Anna Bardone and her colleagues (Bardone, Moffitt, & Caspi, 1996) found that CD patterns in girls are a strong predictor of a lifetime of problems, including poor interpersonal relations with partners/spouses and peers, criminal activity, early pregnancy without supportive partners, and frequent job loss and firings. Similar to CD boys, CD girls appear destined for a life of interpersonal conflict with the social environment.

Oppositional Defiant Disorder

Conduct disorder, along with **oppositional defiant disorder (ODD)**, are often classified as **disruptive behavior disorders (DBD)**, though they involve both behaviors and emotions. Sometimes ADHD is also included as a disruptive behavior disorder. (See Table 2–5 for features associated with these three diagnoses.)

Oppositional defiant disorder (ODD)
A rare psychological diagnosis in which a child has difficulty controlling behavior and emotions.

Disruptive behavior disorders
A pattern that generally includes conduct disorder and oppositional disorder. Characterized by chronic violation of social norms and rights of others.

According to the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), ODD represents problems in self-control of emotions and behaviors, while CD represents more problems in control of behavior, but also some problems in controlling emotions. The DSM-5 describes the child with ODD as negative, hostile, vindictive, and defiant, more than is expected for his or her age, with these behaviors lasting for at least 6 months. According to the DSM, children and adolescents with ODD display a persistent pattern of angry outbursts, arguments, vindictiveness, resentment, and disobedience. Some researchers have suggested that irritability be added as a core dimension of the disorder (Burke et al., 2014). These behavioral and emotional patterns may be directed at parents, teachers, classmates, friends, or other authority figures. In order to receive this diagnosis, the intensity and frequency of

TABLE 2–5 Features of ADHD, CD, and ODD

Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder
• Most common psychological diagnosis of children
• Characterized by inattention, impulsivity, excessive motor activity
• Typically manifested early, preschool period
• Boys outnumber girls, usually by 3:1 ratio
• About 11% of school-aged children in United States now have this diagnosis
• About one-half retain the diagnosis into adulthood
• Difficulty developing friendships with peers—perceived as aversive or annoying
• Cause unknown; theories range from genetic to toxins in environment
• Misdiagnosis not uncommon
Conduct Disorder
• Repetitive and persistent patterns of violating rights of others
• Typical behaviors include bullying, destroying property, cruelty to animals, theft
• Problems controlling behavior, but also emotions
• Divided into childhood onset and adolescent onset types
• Childhood onset most serious, associated with problems across the life span
• Boys outnumber girls by ratio of 4:1 (childhood) and 2:1 (adolescence)
• Most common diagnosis recorded in juvenile courts
• May co-occur with ADHD
Oppositional Defiant Disorder
• Characterized by problems controlling emotions and behavior
• Least frequently diagnosed of the three
• Negative, hostile, vindictive, defiant demeanor
• May display irritability
• Problems not generally long lasting
• May predict adjustment problems in adolescence and adulthood if it begins early

the negative pattern should exceed what is normative for the individual's age, gender, and culture. In clinical practice, CD sometimes occurs without the accompanying characteristics of ODD. Furthermore, although ODD is a challenging condition during childhood, it is a diagnosis that is not highly associated with *lasting* conduct or behavioral problems. To some, ODD is just "normal child and teenage behavior." In general, the symptoms of ODD appear to decline as the child gets older (Maughan, Rowe, Messer, Goodman, & Meltzer, 2004).

Although some research suggests that early signs of ODD predict early onset of CD (Frick & Nigg, 2012), it is largely unknown if ODD predicts criminal behavior over the long run (Burke et al., 2014; Burke et al., 2010). Some recent research suggests ODD does not lead to long-term antisocial or serious criminal behavior (Leadbeater & Homel, 2015). However, ODD in childhood has been shown to predict adjustment problems in adolescence and adulthood (Frick & Nigg, 2012). The complex relationship among ADHD, CD, ODD, and criminal behavior is perhaps best summarized by the following quote: "delinquent adult boys usually traverse a developmental pathway that begins with severe hyperactive/impulsive behaviors as early as toddlerhood, followed by ODD in preschool, early-onset CD in elementary school, substance abuse disorders (SUDs) in adolescence, and antisocial personality in adulthood" (Beauchaine et al., 2010, p. 328). While this developmental trajectory may be typical for some youth, we hasten to add that research has yet to establish that any one of the disorders (AHDH, CD, or ODD) automatically leads to another. After all, there are often a number of intervening protective factors that occur during the life course that may neutralize or mitigate future negative outcomes.

Finally, as suggested earlier in the chapter, a cumulative risk or cascade effect of early onset of ADHD, CD, or ODD may precipitate a series of social and developmental setbacks that may then snowball into a variety of psychological and antisocial behaviors later on if preventive strategies are not implemented early.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we began to examine some of the family and psychological risk factors associated with crime and delinquency, often focusing on the work of developmental psychologists. Researchers can now point with confidence to a large list of risk factors associated with juvenile delinquency and criminal behavior. No single risk factor is particularly at fault; rather it is believed that multiple factors lead to serious offending by juveniles. Two important and similar models proposed in recent years are the cumulative risk and developmental cascade models, both of which emphasize that antisocial behavior can be attributed to an accumulation of risk factors during a child's development. At the same time, there is a shortage or a complete absence of protective variables that might offset the negative effects of the risk factors. Of the two models, the developmental cascade model focuses more specifically on the interaction of risk factors with one another as a child's development progresses as well as the important role played by protective factors.

Many theories of criminology trace the roots of offending to childhood and early adolescence. The risk factors examined in the chapter included peer and family influences, preschool and school influences, and individual characteristics of the child, such as cognitive ability and lack of empathy.

An adverse economic environment must be considered within the context of the many influences that impinge on young lives. Features often associated with poverty—discrimination, inadequate schools, unsafe living conditions, and joblessness—may play roles in the formation of crime and delinquency, but it is important not to focus on poverty alone.

Among the parental and family risk factors discussed in the chapter are single-parent households, which have too often been blamed for antisocial behavior of children. We stressed process variables rather than structure variables were more likely risk factors. For example, researchers have found associations between certain parental styles and antisocial behavior in children. Styles are typically identified as authoritarian, permissive, authoritative, or neglecting (Baumrind, 1991a), or as enmeshed or lax (Snyder & Patterson, 1987). Although many parents may well vary their styles across situations and as children get older, in general, one style dominates. The permissive and lax styles—characterized by little or no control over the children and extremely few restrictions—are highly correlated with delinquent behavior. In similar fashion, parental monitoring or supervision of the child's activities, particularly from the ages of 9 to mid-adolescence, is crucial to the development of prosocial behavior. In addition, community or neighborhood monitoring should be promoted.

We covered a variety of psychological risk factors—those that are unique to the child—as factors on the road to delinquency. Attachment theory suggests that children who lack sufficient bonding to a parent or consistent caretaker (e.g., due to neglect, abuse, separation) are at risk for antisocial behavior in childhood, adolescence, and beyond. Deficient language development also has emerged as a major risk factor; children who do not attain sufficient language skills face difficulties interacting with teachers and peers as well as problems in academic achievement. Another risk factor that appears increasingly in the literature on delinquency is early peer rejection, even during the elementary school years. This can occur regardless of a child's socioeconomic status and often accompanies poor language development. Children who are rejected by peers are often aggressive, but aggression alone is not the major explanation. Rather, they also tend to be disruptive, impulsive, and/or have few interpersonal skills.

Preschool experiences are also increasingly being recognized as possible risk factors. Poor-quality child care places children at risk for poorer language and cognitive development, as well as deficiencies in social skills. On the other hand, high-quality preschool and day care improve the chances that all children will do well both behaviorally and in school settings.

Low IQ scores have consistently been associated with delinquency, not necessarily directly but more likely because children with low scores do not do well in school, and school failure is also commonly associated with antisocial behavior. We stressed, though, that a low score on an "intelligence" test does not mean that a child is not intelligent. In addition, we know not only that many delinquents are intelligent despite scoring below normal on IQ tests, but also that other delinquents score high on IQ tests. Therefore, the IQ–delinquency connection must be expressed very cautiously.

We also discussed behavioral and emotional disorders, including conduct disorder (CD), oppositional defiance disorder (ODD), and attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), which does not necessarily go hand in hand with antisocial behavior. However, children with ADHD are at some risk of antisocial behavior both as juveniles and adults. ADHD appears to be a disorder affecting social relationships; the children have difficulty staying on task, get easily distracted, are impulsive, display excessive motor activity, and are annoying to others. These features often lead to peer rejection.

Conduct disorder is somewhat of a catch-all category that is characterized by persistent misbehavior, including stealing, running away, fighting, telling lies, and cruelty. Signs of conduct disorder may occur as early as age 3, but it most often emerges in late childhood or adolescence. Not surprisingly, conduct disorder is also associated with peer rejection. Finally, ODD is often associated with antisocial behavior, but not everyone agrees that it merits the attention it has received. Although a diagnosis of ODD in childhood is associated with adjustment problems in adolescence and adulthood, the association between ODD and ongoing or serious criminal activity has not been established.

KEY CONCEPTS

Attachment theory, 49
Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), 61
Authoritarian style, 41
Authoritative style, 42
Conduct disorder (CD), 64
Cumulative risk model, 34
Developmental cascade model, 34
Developmental pathways, 31
Disruptive behavior disorders, 65
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Enmeshed style, 44
Language impairment, 59
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Permissive style, 42
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Psychometric approach, 60
Psychometric intelligence, 60
Resilience, 37
Risk factors, 31
Self-regulation, 62
Theory of Mind (ToM), 56

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What categories of risk factors are covered in this chapter? Name and explain briefly any two factors falling into each category.
2. Compare and contrast the cumulative risk model and the dynamic cascade model.
3. Explain the differences among ODD, ADHD, and conduct disorder.
4. Describe the features of ADHD that create problems for the child who has this disorder.
5. In what ways may preschool experiences influence a life of delinquency and crime?
6. Describe each of Baumrind's four parental styles.
7. What is attachment theory, and how might it relate to juvenile delinquency and adult criminal behavior?

3

Origins of Criminal Behavior: Biological/Neurological Factors

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Explore the genetic and biological aspects of criminal behavior.
- Identify the differences between self-regulation and executive function as they pertain to antisocial behavior.
- Describe neuroplasticity and highlight its importance as a promising protective factor.
- Provide an overview of behavior genetics and molecular genetics as they pertain to antisocial behavior.
- Provide an overview of twin and adoption studies and their relation to theories of crime.
- Discuss temperament and its effects on the behavior of children and their caregivers.
- Identify environmental risk factors that play a role in the psychobiological aspects of criminal behavior.
- Summarize the current research on environmental neurotoxins that present the greatest risk for healthy neurodevelopment.

Cross the threshold of any preschool or kindergarten classroom, and you are likely to encounter a flurry of activity—little people scurrying around the room, or restless and energetic tykes eager to move to a different location or position. You are also likely to observe a fair amount of pushing and shoving, despite a teacher's efforts to keep these behaviors under control. "Trent," described at the beginning of Chapter 2, was probably not that atypical as a preschooler or even as an early grade school student.

A common research finding is that many if not most children, especially boys, exhibit high levels of physical aggression in preschool or kindergarten, but in most cases, they typically show significant reductions of these behaviors as the school years progress due to the effects of socialization and parenting (Bongers, Koot, van der Ende, & Verhulst, 2003; Séguin, Nagin, Asaad, & Tremblay, 2004). The pushing and shoving observed in kindergarten should dissipate within the next few years. Another common finding, however, is that certain brain and biochemical characteristics appear to *predispose* some children to exhibit higher levels of aggression than those exhibited by their peers, and if these are not neutralized by

socialization and competent parenting, many of these children grow up to follow a life path characterized by high levels of aggression and violence. Youngsters who follow an early onset of persistent antisocial behavior often exhibit biological/neurological abnormalities or deficits, while late onset offending appears to be more influenced by social factors (Moffitt, Lynam, & Silva, 1994; Rutter, 1997; Rutter, Giller, & Hagell, 1998).

Today many—perhaps most—contemporary criminologists would agree that genetics and biological factors may play some role in criminality, but the social environment is the most important determinant of criminal behavior. Greed, desire for power, the glorification of violence, high unemployment, substandard education, cuts in health services and social programs, faulty parenting, and group values that deviate from society's norms are often considered the major culprits in producing crime. Heredity-based or physiologically based components traditionally have been scoffed at, and their possible role in criminality is often dismissed. In recent years, however, with more research, the interaction between biological factors and the environment is receiving more positive attention (Wright & Boisvert, 2009). Whereas genetic and other biological factors were initially considered negligible by contemporary criminologists, they are now given respectable status, though certainly not center stage.

Adrian Raine (2008), a prominent biopsychologist, has remarked: "Despite strong resistance in many quarters, there is now little scientific doubt that genes play a significant role in antisocial behavior" (p. 323). According to Raine, the more challenging questions today are twofold: (1) determining how much of antisocial behavior is influenced by genes; and (2) deciding which specific genes predispose a person to which kinds of antisocial behavior.

Neuropsychology and Behavior

Biopsychologists
Psychologists who study the biological aspects of behavior to determine which genetic and neurobiological variables play a part, and to what extent. They generally see human behavior as the result of a complex interaction between the individual's neuropsychological makeup and the social environment.

Biopsychologists (psychologists who study the biological aspects of behavior) try to determine which genetic and neuropsychological variables play a part in criminal behavior, how important they are, and what can be done to modify them. Biopsychologists do not believe that genetic or neuropsychological components are the sole or even primary causal agents of human behavior. Most would say that understanding the social environment is as important as understanding the biological one. In the words of one group of biopsychologists, "The social world, as well as the organization and operation of the brain, shapes and modulates genetic and biological processes, and accordingly, knowledge of biological and social domains is necessary to develop comprehensive theories in either domain" (Cacioppo et al., 2000, p. 833). In this chapter, we concentrate on the biological/neurological relationships to criminal behavior, while, at the same time, continually appreciating the enormous influence of the social environment on the neurological and biological processes.

Neuropsychology deals with the research and evaluation of the normal functioning and dysfunction of the brain and subbrain regions as they relate to behavior, cognition, and emotions. The topic is important because neuropsychological deficits, in combination with a variety of risk factors, are often found in antisocial or criminal offenders, especially persistent, serious, violent ones. As we will discuss in this chapter, neuropsychological deficits may result from some combination of genetic abnormalities, malnutrition, environmental neurotoxins, brain injury, and brain damage due to exposure to drugs, alcohol, and nicotine.

Three concepts are especially relevant to the content in the chapter, as well as various topics throughout the book: (1) self-regulation; (2) executive function; and (3) neuroplasticity. (See Table 3–1 for definitions and features.) **Self-regulation** skills are defined as the capacity to control and alter one's behavior *and* emotions. Being able to control and shift emotions, especially anger and temper tantrums, is a pivotal skill important for being prosocial and avoiding aggressive or violent behavior. "The development of effective

Self-regulation
The ability to control one's behavior in accordance with internal cognitive standards.

TABLE 3–1 Definitions and Features of Neuropsychological Factors

	Definition	Features	Example
Self-regulation	Capacity to control and alter one's behavior and emotions	• Develops early, first emerging around age 2 • Some genetic and neurological influences • Chiefly learned through socialization	• Child or adult avoids temper tantrums when things do not go his or her way • Adolescent refuses illegal drug offered at a party
Executive function	Higher level of cognitive functioning that plans behavior and executes goals	• Neurologically based • Dependent on growth in prefrontal cortex • Reaches full maturity around age 25 • Deficits from malnutrition, toxins • Involves working memory, attention, response inhibition	• Middle-schooler completes homework assignments and studies for tests • College student juggles studying, socializing, and working to fund her education
Neuroplasticity	Brain's ability to change throughout the life span	• Especially a feature of young brains • Still a feature of adults, including older adults • Motivation to change is important as people age	• Child learns several new languages • Brain damaged accident victim learns to reuse limbs • Juvenile and adult offenders benefit from cognitive-behavioral treatment

self-regulation is recognized as fundamental to an individual's functioning, with development during early childhood often considered an early marker for later life successes" (Montroy et al., 2016, p. 1744). Although the development of self-regulation skills may depend to some extent on genetic and neurological influences, it is clear that such skills are malleable and can be taught or improved by parents, caregivers, teachers, or influential others within the family and social environment (Buchner, Mezzacappa, & Beardslee, 2003). In short, it is not primarily a neuropsychological issue but is learned via the social environment. Sensitive, warm, but firm parenting styles, like the authoritative style discussed in Chapter 2, have been linked to the development of self-regulation and compliance with social rules. Features of self-regulation and concern for others begin to emerge around age 2. By the third year of life, children are expected to become reasonably compliant with parental requests and to internalize the family standards and values for behavior.

Executive function (EF) refers to the higher levels of cognitive processes that organize and plan behavior, execute goals, and appropriately manage risk. "Executive function (EF) is an umbrella term for high-level cognitive control functions that are involved in all complex mental activities, and, therefore, are of particular importance to human behavior" (Lehtonen et al., 2018, p. 395). EF also prioritizes the steps necessary for solving problems and is closely involved in goal-directed behavior and the identification of alternative courses of action. In comparison to self-regulation skills, which are mostly learned, EF appears to be more neurologically based and its development depends largely on the neurological growth within the prefrontal cortex of the brain (see Figure 3–1). In fact, the prefrontal cortex is often referred to as the primary executive area. The prefrontal cortex "is known to play an important role in executive function primarily because of its great connectivity with the rest of the brain" (Luna & Wright, 2016, p. 91). Surprisingly, the EF does not reach full maturity until around age 25, as the prefrontal cortex is the last region of the brain to reach maturity (Nagel, Guarnera, & Reppucci, 2016; Shulman & Steinberg, 2016). In fact, the EF continues to undergo significant reorganizational changes from infancy to early adulthood (Ahmed et al., 2019), including the development of increasingly more complex cognitive functions (Karr et al., 2018).

Executive function
Higher-order mental abilities involved in goal-directed behavior. They include organizing behavior, memory, inhibition processes, and planning strategies.

Executive function deficits can result from moderate to severe malnutrition, exposure to environmental neurotoxins, brain injury, and prenatal exposure to drugs, nicotine, and alcohol, topics to be covered in more detail later in the chapter. These adverse neurological

risk factors are likely to have significant negative effects on the developing brain, including its executive functions and a variety of other brain functions necessary for successful adaptation during the life course. Genetics obviously also play a crucial role in the prefrontal cortex and brain development in general.

Any significant deficiency in the neurological development of the prefrontal cortex may result in an impairment in the ability to think abstractly and to plan, monitor, and control impulsive behavior. Furthermore, the EF does not represent one unitary process but includes multiple cognitive and behavioral operations. For instance, the EF includes such processes as working memory, attention, and response inhibition of behavior. *Working memory* refers to the ability to actively maintain information in one's mind and use that information to achieve a goal (Cassidy et al., 2016). For example, a child may use working memory to remember the steps in a recipe for making favorite cookies and skillfully apply them accordingly. Wash hands, gather ingredients, measure and sift dry ingredients, and so forth. In addition, substantial research evidence indicates that working memory is critical for the development of academic competencies, such as reading, math, and language comprehension (Cassidy et al., 2016; Oberauer et al., 2018).

The *attention* process includes the ability to stay focused on a task, and to shift focus when necessary. *Response inhibition* refers to the ability to suppress impulsive behavior that is goal incompatible. These executive functions underlie intentional behavior, which are critical in the understanding and assessment of criminal behavior (Freedman & Woods, 2018). The EF is also instrumental in the skills necessary in exercising legal rights for adolescents, such as remaining silent after being given *Miranda* warnings and requesting the assistance of a lawyer (Steinberg, 2017).

Deficits in the EF have been found to be very important in the management of goal-directed behavior, such as academic achievement. For example, Ahmed and colleagues (2018) conclude that, "Years of research have firmly established the contribution of young children's EF to emerging and persistent mathematics and literacy achievement" (p. 3). This observation is especially relevant during the early school years. A frequent observation in the research literature—and emphasized in Chapter 2—is that poor academic performance is a strong predictor of antisocial behavior and delinquency (Cornell & Heilbrun, 2016).

EF is important in understanding aggression and antisocial behavior because "people with executive deficit are less able to override maladaptive respond inclinations in order to maintain more appropriate and personally beneficial behavior" (Zeier et al., 2012, p. 284). Several studies of school-age children, adolescents, and adults have found a significant relationship between deficits in executive functions and antisocial behavior (Brown, Gottschall, & Bennell, 2015; Morgan & Lilienfeld, 2000; Nigg & Huang-Pollock, 2003; Piehler et al., 2014; Raine, 2002; Syngelaki, Moore, Savage, Fairchild, & Van Goozen, 2009; Tremblay, 2003). This relationship is especially strong when EF deficits are accompanied by ADHD symptoms (Nigg & Huang-Pollock, 2003).

Acting without thinking of the consequences, sometimes referred to simply as risk-taking, is also believed to be closely associated with deficits in executive function (Romer, 2010; Romer et al., 2011). Acting without thinking is a form of impulsiveness that is the focus of neurobehavioral theories of early risk for substance abuse problems and other types of risk-taking behavior as adolescents. Interestingly, although acting without thinking can occur at any age, it appears to be a component of the normal adolescent development process. A prominent, contemporary approach to explaining delinquency today, the dual developmental model of brain development (Steinberg, 2008, 2010, 2016) focuses on the impulsivity that characterizes the teenage years. The dual developmental model will be covered in more detail in Chapter 6.

Currently, there is great interest in neuropsychology as to whether EF can be improved, expanded, or strengthened with practice (Berkman, 2018). The recent research on the

topic has been encouraging, but so far this has only demonstrated limited success. However, the ongoing research indicates there remains considerable promise in improving EF by concentrating on enhancing specific processes (e.g., working memory, response inhibition, attention) rather than attempting to upgrade EF more generally.

Neuroplasticity is a concept that suggests even more optimism. It is the ability of the human brain to change and develop new neural connections throughout the life span. Neuroplasticity allows the neurons in the brain to adjust their activities in response to new experiences and new requirements to adapt. The brains in children and adolescents have enormous neuroplasticity, whereas the adult brain has less plasticity with increasing age but still has the uncanny ability to change and grow. Most scientists thought this was impossible until new research began to emerge during the 1980s (Eichinger, 2018). Eichinger writes, "Now we know that the brain is constantly sloughing off dead cells and adding new ones" (p. 90). He further notes that the brain actually rewires itself, responding to both internal and external influences. "A brain can be rewired to think differently, believe differently, behave differently, react differently, and learn differently" (p. 90). Therefore, neuroplasticity has substantial potential to alter antisocial behavior and thinking. (See Box 3–1 for description of a treatment program that illustrates the importance of the brain's neuroplasticity.)

Neuroplasticity
The ability of the brain to change and develop new neural connections throughout life.

TREATMENT APPROACHES

BOX 3–1 MODE DEACTIVATION THERAPY (MDT)

Numerous psychological treatment programs have been used for adolescents and adults who commit crimes and also display behavioral disorders. To date, the most evidence-based treatments are those based on cognitive-behavior therapy (CBT), which focuses on facilitating change in one's cognitions and presumably changes in behaviors. The ability to change one's cognitions highlights the crucial feature of brain neuroplasticity. CBT in its various forms is cited in later chapters of the book.

One form of CBT, Mode Deactivation Therapy (MDT), began to gain research attention in the early 21st century. First proposed by Apsche and Ward (2002), it is intended for adolescents with high comorbidity—that is, those who have symptoms of two or more mental health problems—who also were resistant to alternative forms of treatment. Typical problems targeted are some personality disorders, conduct disorders, post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and suicide ideation. Youths receiving MDT treatment may or may not have been brought into the justice system as juvenile offenders.

MDT hypothesizes that the externalizing disorders displayed by adolescents are a function of their internalizing disorders. Put simply, when they are antisocial or commit crimes, they do so because they are troubled. Externalizing behaviors are characterized by actions in the external world, such as acting out, antisocial behavior, hostility, and aggression (VandenBos, 2007). Internalizing behaviors are characterized by processes within the self, such as anxiety, depression, and suicide ideation.

According to MDT advocates, recognizing and tackling the internalizing issues will reduce the externalizing behaviors. The treatment includes "mindfulness exercises" that are designed specifically for adolescents. For example, they are given workbooks that help them raise awareness of their fears and beliefs and also help them to commit to treatment. Therapists then encourage them to develop coping strategies to replace aggressive strategies (Murphy & Siv, 2011). It should be noted that MDT is available in both community and institutional settings. In family settings, family members are engaged in dialog, and adults are taught to provide support to the troubled adolescent(s).

A substantial amount of published research is supportive of MDT, and some find it more effective than standard cognitive-behavioral treatment for the population of adolescents described above. Much contemporary research

(*continued*)

in different sciences employs meta-analysis, a statistical procedure that combines the results of multiple scientific studies. Thus, in a meta-analysis of 20 studies, Apsche, Bass, and DiMeo (2010) noted that conduct disorder, oppositional defiant disorder, and post-traumatic stress disorder were prevalent among the 573 male adolescents in the combined sample. Strikingly, 90% had experienced all four of the following: physical abuse, sexual abuse, verbal abuse, and neglect. Two years following MDT treatment, recidivism was less than 7%, and sexual offense recidivism in particular was less than 4%. Reduction in aggressive behavior occurred while in treatment as well. A later study with 20 adolescent males in a residential facility for the treatment of aggression (Murphy & Siv, 2011) also found positive results for the program.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are the relative advantages and disadvantages of providing MDT in a family setting in the community and in a residential setting for adolescents who have offended?
2. Evaluate the hypothesis that internalizing disorders lead to externalizing disorders.
3. Obtain more information about MDT as a treatment approach. Does this give you more or less confidence in its effectiveness for adolescents with the problems described herein?
4. Note that the studies cited above focused on adolescent males. Would one expect different results with adolescent females? ■

However, the person needs to want to work at changing the wiring because the brain also prefers simplicity and low-effort operation and likes to be efficient (Eichinger, 2018). The brain prefers habit, and developing new behavior is hard (Berkman, 2018). For example, people with brain damage due to accidents or strokes can recover and rewire the brain if they work at it, but it isn't easy. People can also learn a new language with considerable effort, which in time rewires language areas of the brain. Nonetheless, destructive, addictive, and other antisocial behaviors can also become habitual and consist of specific brain wiring. They too can be changed with the motivation to do so. Neuroplasticity, as a protective factor, has significant implications for recovery from brain damage, malnutrition, neurotoxins, and other adverse conditions covered in the next sections of the chapter.

Genetics and Antisocial Behavior

Behavior genetics
Examines the role genes play in the formation and development of behavior. Distinguishes genetic from environmental influences.

Molecular genetics
Studies the structure and function of genes at the molecular level.

From the late 20th century to today, two categories of genetics research have been featured prominently in studies of human behavior, including antisocial and criminal behavior. They are **behavior genetics** and **molecular genetics**. Behavior genetics focuses on examining the role genes play in the formation and development of human and animal behavior. It is the branch of biology that investigates the relationship between genes and the environment in determining individual differences in behavior. It has the advantage of "clearly distinguishing genetic from environmental influences and estimating their relative magnitudes" (Rhee & Waldman, 2011, p. 143). The method used in behavior genetics is especially powerful for disentangling genetic from environmental influences in twin and adoption studies.

Molecular genetics is the field of biology that studies the structure and function of genes at the molecular level. Contemporary molecular biology has focused on specific genes as foundations for certain patterns of behavior. Further, "a central precept of molecular biology is that all the information needed to construct a mammalian body, whether human or mouse, is contained in the approximately 100,000 genes of mammalian DNA and that a set of master genes activates the DNA necessary to produce the appropriate proteins for development and behavior" (Cacioppo, Berntson, Sheridan, & McClintock, 2000, p. 833). Molecular genetics studies how the genes are transferred from generation to generation, and generally concentrates on the long polymers of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA).

Behavior Genetics

Traditional behavior genetics views behavioral differences as springing from three genetic or environmental sources: (1) those influences attributable to genetic effects; (2) environmental influences shared by siblings (e.g., family environments); and (3) influences that arise from unshared environmental experiences that make siblings differ from one another (Dick & Rose, 2002). The magnitude of these genetic and environmental influences is usually obtained from statistical analyses that compare identical twins with fraternal twins, who like ordinary siblings share one-half their genes. Identical twins share the same genes. Therefore, one way to determine the role of genetics in criminality is to compare the incidence and type of delinquency or criminal convictions among identical (monozygotic) and fraternal (dizygotic) twins. **Dizygotic (DZ) twins** (also called **fraternal twins**) develop from two different fertilized eggs and are no more genetically alike than nontwin siblings. They are, though, equally susceptible to prenatal environmental influences, such as nicotine or alcohol use by the mother during that particular pregnancy. **Monozygotic (MZ) twins** (or **identical twins**) develop from a single egg; they are always the same sex and share the same genes. Presumably, then, if genes are determinative, identical twins should display highly similar behavior. If they do not, then we may infer the behavioral differences are due to environmental factors. Because MZ twins share 100% of their genes, it can be inferred that a child's genetic risk for antisocial behavior is high if his or her cotwin shows antisocial behavior and low if the MZ cotwin does not.

Fraternal twins
Twins who develop from two different fertilized eggs; also call dizygotic twins.

Identical twins
Twins who develop from a single egg and share the same genes; also called monozygotic twins.

However, to complicate matters a bit, approximately two-thirds of monozygotic twins are monochorionic (share the same chorion), and one-third of the monozygotic pair is dichorionic (two different chorions) (Rhee & Waldman, 2002). The chorion is the outer membrane enclosing the embryo. Therefore, some identical twins develop in slightly different prenatal environments, which may contribute to some individual differences that may emerge as the twins develop into maturity. In fact, several studies have found that monochorionic, monozygotic twins are more similar in personality and cognitive ability than dichorionic, monozygotic twins (Rhee & Waldman, 2002). Theoretically, however, by comparing fraternal twins and identical twins, researchers should be able to identify the relative contributions of genes compared with environmental factors in the development of personality, cognitive ability, and behavior in general.

Studies of Twins

Twin studies—and some adoption studies—provide some support for the heritability of antisocial behavior. Over 100 such studies involving a total of more than 77,000 families have examined the relationship between genes and antisocial behavior (Moffitt, 2005a, 2005b; Raine, 2008). Twin research has included as many as 800,000 pairs of twins (Johnson, Turkheimer, Gottesman, & Bouchard, 2009). The data from these studies have allowed researchers to conclude that genes influence approximately 50% of the population variation in antisocial behavior, suggesting that genetics plays a significant role in its development (Burt, 2009; Raine, 2013). Similar results have been reported for specifically aggressive and violent behavior (Rhee & Waldman, 2011) and for serious, chronic juvenile offenders (Barnes, Beaver, & Boutwell, 2011). The presence of genetic influences does not mean, however, that genes directly *cause* the behavior to the exclusion of other influences (Johnson et al., 2009). Genes are not fixed, static, and immutable. Environmental influences early in human development can directly change gene expression, in turn altering brain functioning and resulting in antisocial and other forms of deviant behavior; or environmental influences can have the opposite effect, producing a positive change on genes that might otherwise be problematic. Psychosocial influences can result in structural modifications to DNA that

have profound influences on neuronal functioning and behavior. These complex interactions underscore the importance of understanding developmental cascade effects.

Moreover, even if genes influence a large proportion of the total variation in antisocial behavior, this still leaves considerable room for environmental influences on the formation of behavior. Peer and sibling interactions, child neglect and abuse, social modeling, and brain injuries or disease can also have negative influences. On the positive side, warm, supportive parenting can effectively neutralize or shift a child's behavior toward more prosocial and non-antisocial behavior, even in those children who are most genetically vulnerable toward criminal behavior (Kim-Cohen & Gold, 2009).

Several concepts should be recognized before a good understanding of twin studies can be achieved. They are shared environments, nonshared environments, and concordance.

Shared environment
An important concept in twin studies, this refers to the prenatal and life experiences that are common to both twins, such as being raised by the same biological parents.

Shared and Nonshared Environments

Shared environments, sometimes referred to as common environments, include prenatal and life experiences affecting both twins in the same way. For example, twins raised by the same biological parents share a common hereditary and home environment. Shared environments in this sense are apt to promote high trait or behavioral similarity between twin pairs, especially for identical twins. This is especially the case for antisocial behavioral patterns, even in siblings who are not twins (Kendler, Prescott, Myers, & Neale, 2003; Moffitt, 2005a). Antisocial-prone parents tend to produce antisocial-prone offspring. Compared to genes, which some geneticists argue account for as much as 50% of the variation in antisocial behavior, shared environments are believed to contribute about 15 to 20% of the variation (Moffitt, 2005a; Rhee & Waldman, 2002). It should be emphasized that these percentages are very much open to debate and are by no means established factors in the research literature.

Nonshared environments
An important concept in twin studies, this refers to the living experiences that are different for each twin, such as being raised by different parents.

Nonshared environments, on the other hand, include living experiences that are different for each twin, such as being raised in a different home environment, participating in different activities, or even attending different schools. Parents sometimes want to preserve the uniqueness of each twin by encouraging them to join separate groups or pursue separate hobbies. Therefore, in order to determine the relative influence of genes and the environment on behavior, shared and nonshared aspects must be considered. The available research suggests that nonshared environments account for approximately 30% of the variation in antisocial behavior (Moffitt, 2005a). However, research also suggests that developmental factors also play a critical role. For example, twin research indicates that, for a variety of traits, the magnitude of genetic and nonshared environmental influences increases as a person gets older, whereas the magnitude of shared environmental influences decreases (Loehlin, 1992; Plomin, 1986; Rhee & Waldman, 2002). That is, as the child begins to spend more time outside the family circle, especially during the process of becoming a young adult, the influence of the shared environment (family) tends to wane, whereas the influence of genetics and nonshared environments (e.g., peers) becomes more discernible. Rhee and Waldman (2002) describe a longitudinal study by Matheny (1989), which revealed that temperaments (e.g., emotional tone, fearfulness, approach or avoidance toward others) became more similar for identical pairs than for fraternal pairs as they grew older. Thus, we might expect that developmental age of the subjects in any twin study may play an important role in determining the influences of genetics compared with the environment. We will return to this point shortly.

Some investigators suggest that identical twins are so physically alike that they probably elicit similar social responses from their environment (shared environment), more so than fraternal twins. In this sense, they are more likely to develop similar personalities. There may be merit to this viewpoint, but research does not yet support it. When reared together, identical twins or their parents may make a conscious effort to accentuate their individual identities, whereas when reared apart, they may have less need to be different.

Concordance A key concept in twin study research, **concordance** is the genetics term for the degree to which related pairs of subjects both show a particular behavior or condition. It is usually expressed in percentages. Assume that we want to determine the concordance of intelligence among 20 pairs of identical twins and 20 pairs of fraternals. If we find that 10 pairs of the identical twins have approximately the same IQ score, but only 5 pairs of the fraternals obtain the same score, our concordance is 50% for identicals and 25% for fraternals. The concordance for identicals would be twice that of fraternals, suggesting that hereditary factors play an important role in intelligence. If, however, the two concordances were about the same, we would conclude that genetics is irrelevant, at least as represented in our sample and measured by our methods.

Concordance
A term used in genetics to represent the degree to which related pairs of subjects both show a particular behavior or condition. It is usually expressed in percentages.

Numerous early twin studies using this concordance method have indicated that heredity may be a powerful determinant of intelligence, schizophrenia, depressions, neurotic disorders, alcoholism, and criminal behavior (Claridge, 1973; Hetherington & Parke, 1975; McClearn & DeFries, 1973; Rosenthal, 1970, 1971). The first such study relative to criminality was reported by the Munich physician Johannes Lange (1929) in his book *Crime as Destiny* (Christiansen, 1977; Rosenthal, 1971). The title reflects Lange's conviction that criminal conduct is a predetermined fate dictated by heredity. He found a criminality concordance of 77% for 13 pairs of adult identical twins and only 12% for 17 pairs of adult fraternal twins. Auguste Marcel Legras (1932) then found a 100% criminal concordance for five pairs of identicals. Note that both of these studies used small samples. Subsequent studies, using more sophisticated designs and methods of twin identification and sampling, continued to find a substantially higher criminal concordance for identical twins when compared with fraternals. The levels were not as high as those reported by either Lange or Legras, however. Although these tabulated investigations differed in method and definitions of criminality, the combined concordance levels demonstrate that, where criminal behavior is concerned, identical twins seem better matched than fraternal twins.

The Twins' Early Development Study (TEDS)

One of the most closely watched series of twin studies is the ongoing longitudinal research being conducted in the United Kingdom involving a large sample of twins born in 1994, 1995, and 1996 in England and Wales. Called the **Twins' Early Development Study (TEDS)**, it explores behavior problems as well as problematic development in language, cognition, and academic abilities from early childhood through adolescence (Haworth, Davis, & Plomin, 2012; Oliver & Plomin, 2007; Tourton et al., 2002). Although there has been some attrition since data were first collected, over 10,000 pairs of twins have remained involved in the research (Ayorech, Krapohl, Plomin, & von Stumm, 2017). It should be noted that between January 2012 and December 2014, all of the TEDS twins turned age 18, enabling the researchers to examine the developmental pathways of twins from early childhood to young adulthood. Consequently, the study offers one of the most extensive investigations of the developmental patterns of twins to date. The ongoing project is based at King's College London and is under the leadership of Professor Robert Plomin.

Twins' Early Development Study (TEDS)
Ongoing study of twins examining behavior and cognitions from early childhood through adolescence.

As we have indicated throughout this chapter, both nature and nurture contribute to human behavior, and—not surprisingly—this is supported in TEDS research studies. However, TEDS research indicates that nature has considerable influence over some behavior problems or disorders (e.g., ADHD, autism spectrum disorder). With respect to antisocial behavior, which is our main concern, the TEDS data suggest heritability seems to play a modest role. Nevertheless, at least one personality feature that has been associated with antisocial behavior—the callous-unemotional trait—shows very high heritability and little shared environmental influence (Oliver & Plomin, 2007; Viding, Blair, James,

Moffitt, & Plomin, 2005). The callous-unemotional trait pattern, which will be discussed again in Chapter 6, is characterized by a lack of empathy and compassion toward others, resulting in severe and chronic antisocial behavior.

In another study facilitated by the TEDS database, Jaffee and her colleagues (2005) used MZ and DZ twin pairs to study the interplay between genetic and environmental risks on the development of antisocial behavior in a cohort of 1,116 5-year-old twin pairs and their families. These participants are members of the Environmental Risk (E-Risk) Longitudinal Twin Study. The Jaffee researchers ascertained the children's antisocial behavior through interviews with parents, assessments of the children, and questionnaires administered to teachers. The environmental risk factor in the study was the amount of maltreatment the child reportedly received from parents, because research shows that early maltreatment, through a series of cascading events, often leads to antisocial behavior (Lansford et al., 2002). Not surprisingly, Jaffee et al. (2005) discovered that the effect of maltreatment on the risk to develop antisocial behavior was strongest among those at higher genetic risk. In other words, those children with a genetic predisposition to become troublesome and antisocial were especially likely to be that way if they were mistreated. These findings and those of many other studies continue to support the general consensus that environmental changes turn genetic influences on and off during the developmental years, and that biological factors and environmental influences do interact (Raine, 2002, 2013). There is also emerging evidence that suggests the social environment (e.g., parenting) can affect people who are at genetic risk more strongly than previously appreciated (Hou et al., 2013; Maes et al., 2006; Moffitt, 2005).

These environmental influences seem to wane somewhat as a person moves into adulthood, however. For example, as mentioned previously, some evidence suggests that the magnitude of familial or parental influences on aggressive behavior decreases with increasing age, and genetic factors may increasingly play a prominent role in the stability of aggression and antisocial behavior later in the life span (Rhee & Waldman, 2002; van Beijsterveldt, Bartels, Hudziak, & Boomsma, 2003). This effect seems to be particularly strong in males. Female aggressive behavior, on the other hand, seems to be more strongly affected by the family environment (van Beijsterveldt et al., 2003). In other words, family influences appear to be more powerful in the inhibition of antisocial behavior in girls than in boys, particularly as the girls approach adolescence and early adulthood.

Twin Study of Child and Adolescent Development (TCHAD)

Another longitudinal research project is the Twin Study of Child and Adolescent Development (TCHAD), using data from the Swedish Twin Registry. Tuvblad, Eley, and Lichtenstein (2005), studying 1,226 twin pairs, employed a well-researched behavioral scale to measure parental-reported aggression in children ages 8 and 9. They then asked the same group of children to report their own delinquent behavior 8 years later. The researchers used both MZ and DZ twins in their effort to disentangle genetic factors from environmental factors. They found that genetic factors played an important role in the early onset of aggressive behavior in children, but appeared to play a less important role in the development of delinquent behavior as reported by male adolescents. A similar finding was reported by Taylor, Iacono, and McGue (2000), who found that genetics played a more prominent role in early-onset delinquency (life-course-persistent offenders), whereas the social environment (e.g., delinquent peers) was more influential in late-onset delinquency (adolescent-limited offenders). The subjects in the study were all boys. Surprisingly, genetics appeared to play a much more prominent role in development of *both* aggressive behavior and delinquency in girls in the Tuvblad et al. (2005) study. These results appear to be

in contrast to the study of Rhee and Waldman (2002), who concluded that the magnitude of genetic and environmental influences on antisocial behavior is equal for both genders. It is clear from these two contrasting studies that further research on the relative influence of genes on gender differences in antisocial behavior is warranted. It should be noted that the twin pairs of the TCHAD are still being followed by other researchers examining the genetic relationship to behavioral problems (Narusyte, Ropponen, Alexanderson, & Svedberg, 2017). At this point, it is clear that the study of genetics across the lifespan is highly complex and presents many challenges.

Adoption Studies

Another method used to identify crucial variables in the interaction between heredity and environment is the adoption study, which helps identify environments most conducive to criminality. The adoption study capitalizes on the assumption that adoptive parents and their adopted children are not genetically related (Jaffe, Strait, & Odgers, 2012). There have been exceedingly few such investigations, however, and those few have been fraught with methodological problems.

One of the first adoption studies was carried out in Denmark by Schulsinger (1972), who explored the incidence of psychopathy in the biological relatives of adopted adults. Schulsinger compared 57 adopted adults whom he diagnosed psychopathic to a control group of 57 nonpsychopathic adopted adults. The two groups were matched for sex, age, social class, and age of transfer to the adopting family. The study's direct implications for criminal behavior are questionable, because Schulsinger defined psychopathy by his own loose criteria. Individuals who were impulse-ridden and who exhibited acting-out behavior qualified. As we will see in Chapter 7, these descriptions do not necessarily connote either psychopathy or criminality. Nevertheless, impulsivity is associated with some forms of criminal behavior, so the study has some relevance.

Schulsinger found that 3.9% of the biological relatives of psychopathic adoptees could also be classified as psychopathic, whereas only 1.4% of the control group's biological relatives could. The results just failed to reach statistical significance, indicating that we should be very cautious about accepting their implications. It is interesting, though, that psychopathy—even given its loose definition—was about two and a half times greater in the family backgrounds of acting-out adoptees.

Crowe (1974) conducted a better-designed study, a follow-up of 52 persons relinquished for early adoption by female offenders. Ninety percent of the biological mothers were felons at the time of the adoptive placement, the most common offenses being forgery and passing bad checks. Twenty-five of the adoptees were female, and all were white. Another 52 adoptees with no evidence of criminal family background were selected as a control group and matched for sex, race, and age at the time of adoption.

For the follow-up phase of the study, Crowe selected 37 index and 37 control subjects who had by then reached age 18. (Index subjects in research are those subjects who are of major concern.) Seven of the index adoptees had arrest records: As adults, all seven had at least one conviction, four had multiple arrests, two had multiple convictions, and three were felons. Of the 37 matching controls, two had adult arrest records and only one of these had been convicted. Each subject's personality was diagnosed by three clinicians based on test results and data gathered in an interview; no family background was included. The clinicians made their diagnoses independently of one another and without knowing the subject's group. Six of the adoptees born of female offenders were labeled "antisocial personality"; one control group subject was labeled "probable antisocial personality."

Crowe found a positive correlation between the tendency of the index group to be antisocial and two other variables: the child's age at the time of adoptive placement and

the length of time the child had spent in temporary care (orphanages and foster homes) prior to that placement. The older the child of an offender upon adoptive placement and the longer the temporary placement, the more likely the child would grow up antisocial. The control group members were not affected by these conditions. This suggests either that the two adoptee groups responded differently to similar environmental conditions or that the adoption agency placed the offspring of female offenders in less desirable homes—and there was no indication that this selective placement had occurred.

Hutchings and Mednick (1975) also conducted a study examining the effects of genetics and environment. They reasoned that if there is a genetic basis for criminality, then there should be a significant relationship between the criminal tendencies of biological parents and those of their children who were adopted by someone else. In 1971, using Copenhagen adoption files, Hutchings and Mednick identified 1,145 male adoptees, who were by then 30 to 44 years old. They were matched with an equal number of nonadoptee controls on sex, age, occupational status of fathers, and residence. The researchers learned that 185 adoptees (16.2%) had criminal records, compared with 105 nonadoptees (8.9%). A check on the biological fathers of the adoptees revealed that they were nearly three times more likely to be involved in criminal activity than were either the adoptees' adoptive fathers or the fathers of the nonadopted controls. Furthermore, there was a significant relationship between the criminality of the sons and that of the fathers. Where the biological father had a criminal record and the adoptive father had none, a significant number of adoptees still became criminal (22%), but where the biological father had no record and the adoptive father had a criminal record, the number of adoptees who pursued criminal activities was lower (11.5%). If both the biological and adoptive fathers were criminal, the chances were much greater that the adoptee would also be criminal than if only one man was criminal. Hutchings and Mednick concluded that genetic factors continue to exert strong influences in the tendency toward criminality, even though environmental factors also play important roles.

One serious limitation to the Hutchings–Mednick data, as well as to any adoption study, is that agencies might try to match the child with the adoptive family on the basis of the child's biological and sometimes socioeconomic background as well. The Crowe study involving the children of offenders found no evidence of this, but the Danish agency used in the Hutchings–Mednick investigation confirmed that this was done. The researchers not only recognized this problem but also admonished that extrapolations to American society should be made cautiously, since Danish society at the time was more homogeneous in cultural values and race.

The most comprehensive adoption study to date was conducted some years ago by Mednick, Gabrielli, and Hutchings (1984, 1987). These researchers compared the court convictions of 14,427 adoptees (adopted between the years 1927 and 1947) in a small European country with conviction records of their biological and adoptive parents. The study showed a significant relationship between the conviction history of the adoptees (for both males and females) and their biological parents. Specifically, if either biological parent had been convicted of a crime, the risk of criminality in the adoptee (the biological child) increased significantly. This relationship was especially strong for male adoptees who were chronic or persistent offenders. As we might expect, chronic offenders accounted for a disproportionate share of the total offending for the entire cohort. Interestingly, there was no evidence that the type of crime committed by the biological parent had any relation to the type of crime committed by the biological child. Both the biological parent and biological child tended to engage in crime but selected different kinds of crime. There was also no indication that the adopted children knew about the criminality of their biological parents. The researchers concluded that some factor transmitted by criminal parents increased the probability that their children would engage in criminal behavior. Elsewhere, Gabrielli and Mednick (1983, p. 63) commented, "It is reasonable . . . to conclude that some people inherit biological characteristics which permit them to be antisocial more readily than others."

In summary, both twin and adoption studies suggest that genetic components may contribute moderately to a tendency to become criminal, but they have also found that environment is highly important (Raine, 2002). According to biopsychologists, the available data so far indicate that some people may be born with a biological predisposition to behavior that runs counter to social values and norms, but environmental factors may either inhibit or facilitate it. For example, adoptees at genetic risk for antisocial behavior because their biological parents were antisocial are more likely to become antisocial themselves if their adoptive parents provided stressful home environments, such as by abusing or neglecting them (Johnson, 2007; Raine, 2002). Genes may not influence criminal behavior directly, but genes may act to influence people's susceptibility or resistance to environmental risk factors.

Molecular Genetics

Molecular genetics attempts to answer such question as, "Which genes predispose to which kinds of antisocial behavior?" (Raine, 2008, p. 323). Some answers are beginning to emerge. For example,

> If the monoamine oxidase A (MAOA) gene is knocked out (neutralized) in mice, they become highly aggressive, becoming 'knock-out' fighters themselves. Knock the gene back in, and they return to their normal behavior patterns (Raine, 2008, p. 323).

MAOA and MAOA-L gene
Gene that is believed to play an instrumental role in antisocial behavior, either preventing it or—in low form—contributing to such behavior.

The **MAOA** gene appears to play an instrumental role in preventing antisocial behavior in humans (Kim-Cohen, Caspi, Taylor, Williams, Newcombe, Craig, & Moffitt, 2006). Interestingly, the low-activity form of the MAOA gene (abbreviated MAOA-L), which has been commonly linked to aggression and violence, has been nicknamed "the warrior gene" by some researchers in the field (McDermott, Tingley, Cowden, Frazzetto, & Johnson, 2009). It is estimated that **MAOA-L** is carried by roughly one-third of the population in some societies and usually comes into play after some form of provocation (McDermott et al., 2009). In a recent study, those persons with the MAOA-L gene who were exposed to adversity in their childhoods were significantly more likely to report offending in late adolescence and early adulthood (Fergusson, Boden, Horwood, Miller, & Kennedy, 2012). Again, this study highlights the importance of considering the effects of the environment on genes rather than simply assuming that genes directly cause behavior.

Raine further notes that at least seven genes have been identified by molecular genetic research to be associated with antisocial behavior in humans. In most cases, these genes appear to contribute to impairments in brain structure and function that, in turn, result in antisocial or abnormal aggressive behavior. Structural or functional problems in the prefrontal cortex (executive function) are associated with impulsively violent offenders. For example, some research has discovered reduced glucose metabolism in the prefrontal cortex of convicted murderers (Raine, Buschsbaum, & LaCasse, 1997) and a reduction of gray matter in the prefrontal cortex of criminal psychopaths (Yang, Raine, Lencz, Bihrle, LaCasse, & Colletti, 2005). Both studies found no obvious evidence that these brain abnormalities were due to trauma or disease but seemed to reflect the direct influence of genes.

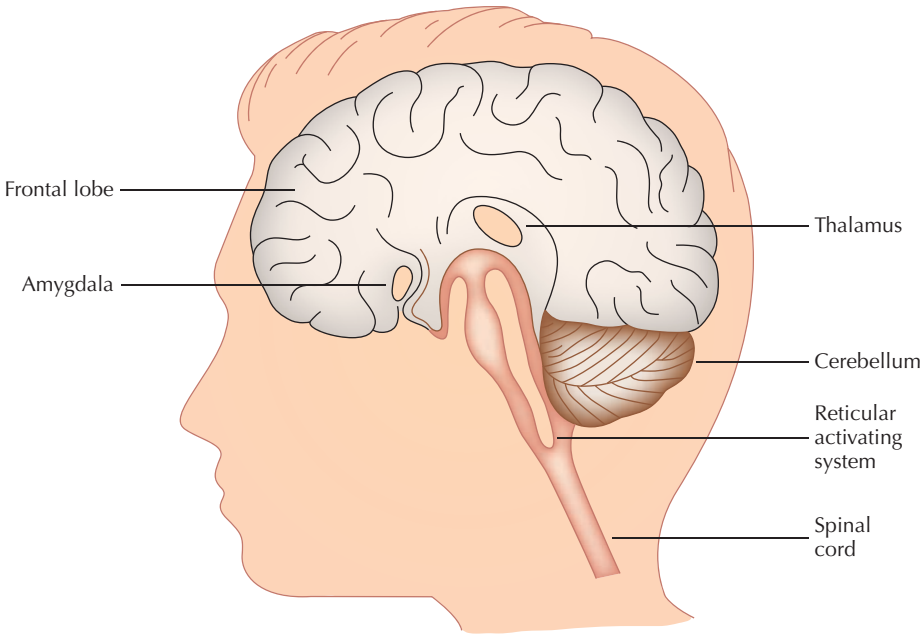
Psychophysiological Factors

Psychophysiology
The study of the dynamic interactions between behavior and the autonomic nervous system.

Psychophysiology is the study of the dynamic interactions between behavior and the autonomic nervous system. The autonomic nervous system is the subdivision of the peripheral nervous system that regulates involuntary functions, such as heartbeat, blood pressure, breathing, and digestion, and is closely connected to the genetic makeup of the individual.

FIGURE 3–1

Brain Diagram of Frontal Cortex and Amygdala.



Heart rates (cardiovascular activity) and electrical conductance in the skin (electrodermal activity) are the usual measures of psychophysiological investigations examining the relationship between antisocial behavior and autonomic activity. Autonomic arousal theory of crime hypothesizes that persistent, chronic offenders, compared with those with no or little offending history, will exhibit low levels of autonomic arousal across a wide variety of situations and conditions. Presumably, low levels of arousal predispose a person to crime because this produces some degree of fearlessness, and also because it encourages antisocial stimulation (excitement) seeking (Raine, 2002). That is, persistent offenders experience little anxiety and fear and are not troubled about getting caught and punished. Furthermore, they find certain aspects of crime exciting and challenging. On the other hand, high levels of autonomic arousal, in light of the amount of fear and anxiety involved, encourage childhood socialization because of fear of disapproval and punishment. According to DeLisi, Umphress, and Vaughn (2009), the **amgydala** is a brain structure that is particularly important to consider in light of its role in regulating fear and other emotional responses. (See Figure 3–1 for a view of the structure of the brain.) The amygdala, they contend, is crucially related to psychopathy and to the callous-unemotional traits that are often associated with persons who engage in chronic antisocial activity.

Amygdala
Part of brain that regulates fear and other emotional responses.

Some studies reveal that antisocial boys and criminal psychopaths do appear to have lower levels of physiological arousal (as measured by electrodermal and cardiovascular activity) than their non-antisocial counterparts (Raine, 2002; Raine, Venables, & Williams, 1995, 1996). We cover this in more detail when we discuss the psychopath in Chapter 7.

Temperament

A child's **temperament**—defined as a "natural" mood disposition determined largely by genetics and biological influences—may offer important clues about criminal behavior. How we approach and interact with our social environment influences how that environment will interact with us. This is true even of infants and very young children. Parents, teachers, physicians, and caretakers know very well that infants and young children differ in activity, emotionality, and general sensitivity to stimuli. A smiling, relaxed, socially interactive child is apt to initiate and maintain a different social response than a fussy, tense, and withdrawn

Temperament
A natural mood disposition determined largely by genetic and biological influences.

one. A consistently ill-tempered child may become so frustrating to his parents that they feel overwhelmed and helpless in dealing with him. The parents' resulting irritability may feed into the behavior of the child in a reciprocal fashion, producing a serious disruption in the parent–child relationship. Frustration may progress into physical or emotional abuse or neglect by the parent(s). In essence, the child and his or her parents or other caregivers are active agents, who, by continuous transactions, cocreate their emerging relationship (Kochanska, Friesenborg, Lange, & Martel, 2004). The overwhelming consensus among experts is that parental responsiveness, nurturance, and warmth have emerged as critical core determinants of the early parent–child relationship (Chen, Deater-Deckard, & Bell, 2014; Gallitto, 2014; Kochanska et al., 2004). The quality of parent–infant relationships plays a pivotal role in preventing children from cascading into later behavioral problems (Winsper & Woke, 2014).

One of the most influential perspectives on temperament was developed by Thomas and Chess (1977). They contend that temperament is an innate readiness to respond to events and objects across a variety of situations. In addition, it is continually evolving and is strongly influenced by family, parental styles, and the social environment in general. Thomas and Chess systematically studied temperament by asking parents to report on nine characteristics of their infants: (1) rhythmicity of biological functions, such as regularity of bowel movements, sleep cycles, and feeding times; (2) activity level; (3) approach toward or withdrawal from new stimuli; (4) adaptability; (5) sensory thresholds; (6) predominant quality of mood; (7) intensity of mood expression; (8) distractibility; and (9) attention span or persistence. Based on these data, the researchers were able to classify child temperament into three styles: (1) the easy child, (2) the difficult child, and (3) the slow-to-warm-up child.

Table 3–2 summarizes the characteristics of each style. The easy child is characterized by high rhythmicity, positive moods, high approachability, high adaptability, and low intensity of mood expression. The difficult child shows the opposite patterns: irregular biological functioning, initial aversion, and slow adaptability to environmental changes, high intensity of emotional expression, and generally a negative mood. It is important to note that many children exhibit these patterns, particularly in infancy, and not all can be said to have a difficult temperament. For example, it is estimated that approximately 20% of all infants show symptoms of excessive crying, sleeping, or feeding problems during the first year, but a much smaller number (1 to 2%) qualify as truly difficult (Winsper & Woke, 2014). The slow-to-warm-up child displays high activity, withdrawal from new stimuli and people, low adaptability, negative mood, and low intensity. According to Thomas and Chess, it is the difficult children who have the specific cluster of inborn temperamental attributes that make child rearing more challenging for many parents or caregivers.

It is suggested here that temperament increases or decreases the *probability* of antisocial behavior, not that it determines directly whether an individual will or will not engage in antisocial behavior. That is, the concurrence of these temperaments and certain kinds of family environments and parenting style may lead to delinquent or criminal outcomes.

TABLE 3–2 Thomas–Chess Categories of Child Temperaments

Behavioral Characteristics	Easy Child	Difficult Child	Slow-to-Warm-Up Child
Rhythmicity	Regular	Irregular	Regular
Moods	Positive	Negative	Negative
Approach to others	High	Low	Low
Adaptability	Rapid	Slow	Slow
Intensity	Low	High	Low

Source: Adapted from Thomas & Chess (1977).

Studies have continually discovered significant *links* between children's "difficult" temperament and the occurrence of persistent antisocial behavior (e.g., Bates, Pettit, Dodge, & Ridge, 1998; Chen et al., 2014; Galileo, 2014; Rubin, Burgess, Dwyer, & Hastings, 2003; Shaw, Owens, Giovannelli, & Winslow, 2001). Usually, temperament is measured from reports from parents or caregivers.

Features of Temperament As it is currently used in the research and scholarly literature, "temperament" is assumed to: (1) have a constitutional or biological basis, (2) appear in infancy and continue throughout life, and (3) be influenced by the environment (Bates & McFadyen-Ketchum, 2000). Most developmental experts today believe that temperament has biological underpinnings that are best identified at birth (Bates, Pettit, Dodge, & Ridge, 1998; Dodge & Pettit, 2003; Lahey & Waldman, 2003). Else-Quest, Hyde, Goldsmith, and Van Hulle (2006) write, "Temperament reflects biologically based emotional and behavioral consistencies that appear early in life and predict—often in conjunction with other factors—patterns and outcomes in numerous other domains such as psychopathology and personality" (p. 33). Most of the contemporary research on temperament, therefore, focuses on the infant, because the connection between temperament and behavior seems uncomplicated at this stage and becomes more complex as the child matures and interacts with the psychosocial environment.

Contemporary research also indicates that different temperamental characteristics reflect different susceptibility to socializing influences (Chen et al., 2014). "Generally, children with difficult temperaments are more susceptible to their rearing environment and it is claimed that difficult temperaments reflect high neural sensitivity to both positive and negative environmental influences" (Chen et al., 2014, p. 1252). This suggests that children with difficult temperaments not only respond more poorly to negative parenting than other children but also may benefit even more from warm, sensitive parenting.

Currently, most developmental experts agree that activity and emotionality are two of the behaviors that are strong indicators of temperament. Activity, the most widely studied, refers to gross motor movement across a variety of settings and times, such as the movement of arms and legs, squirming, crawling, or walking. Emotionality refers to such features as irritability, sensitivity, ability to be soothed, and general intensity of emotional reactions. Self-regulation (a technical term for controlling impulsivity) is another behavior that is often included in descriptions of temperament. As covered earlier in this chapter, self-regulation refers to the extent that a child controls his or her own behavior, independent of the control of others and the social environment. Highly impulsive and unmanageable children (poor self-regulators) move into (and often against) their environments at a higher pace and more aggressively than less impulsive children. Research has shown a strong connection between poor self-regulation and antisocial behavior across different social situations (Olson, Sameroff, Kerr, Lopez, & Wellman, 2005).

Failure to acknowledge these dispositional or temperamental variables may leave researchers and practitioners with an incomplete picture of the development of antisocial behavior, especially in cases of individuals who demonstrate a persistent pattern of violent or serious offending. Else-Quest et al. (2006) report that girls temperamentally seem better able than boys to manage and regulate their attention and inhibit their impulses (self-regulation). Henry, Caspi, Moffitt, and Silva (1996) found that children considered temperamentally explosive and lacking in self-control were more likely to become violent adolescents compared with their more temperamentally stable peers. In a recent study, Honomichl and Donnellan (2012) found that preschoolers with difficult temperaments (characterized by negative moodiness and low soothability) demonstrated a significantly higher incidence of antisocial problems and reckless risk-taking at age 15 compared to their peers. However, although temperament is present at birth, it must be emphasized that its

manifestations can be modified by the social environment, especially by parents and significant caregivers. As noted in this section, difficult temperaments can be challenging, but a nurturing and warm parenting style, in which rules are firmly laid out and appropriate self-regulation is encouraged, can prevent, change, or eliminate antisocial behavior in children (Moffitt, 2005; Veenstra, Lindenberg, Oldehinkel, De Winter, & Ormel, 2006). On the other hand, a difficult temperament combined with parental rejection or parental coercion offers a high risk for antisocial behavior (Dekovic, Janssens, & Van As, 2003; Veenstra et al., 2006).

Likewise, the temperament of parents must also be considered as a possible component in the development of the criminal behavior. Moffitt (1993b) suggests that parents and their offspring often resemble each other in temperament and personality. An irritable, temperamental child may have a high probability of being born to highly irritable, temperamental parents. Thus, parents of difficult children often lack the necessary psychological and emotional resources to cope effectively with a difficult child.

In the next section, we will take a closer look at additional environmental factors that may facilitate or inhibit antisocial tendencies. These are distinct from the social environmental risk factors covered in Chapter 2, in that they are more likely to influence the child's physiological and neurological makeup. These factors include prenatal influences, postnatal diseases and experiences, and inadequate nutrition and medical care.

Environmental Risk Factors

In addition to genetic and temperamental factors, in utero experiences may also play a role in predisposition toward criminal behavior. During pregnancy, the fetus is exposed to various influences that may adversely affect development, especially in the prefrontal cortex and other brain areas, leading to potential risks for serious antisocial behaviors later in life. Exposure to a toxic or diseased prenatal environment is one example. "Fetuses exposed to opiates or methadone are at heightened risk for conduct problems 10 to 13 years later, as are fetuses exposed to alcohol, marijuana, and cigarette by-products during pregnancy" (Dodge & Pettit, 2003, p. 351). **Fetal alcohol spectrum disorder (FASD)**—which we discuss in more detail later in the chapter— is another example. This is a broad term for several serious medical conditions that result from prenatal exposure to alcohol (Brown, Connor, & Adler, 2012). Youth on the FASD continuum are linked to a high rate of executive function problems, antisocial behavior, and conduct disorders (Brown et al., 2012). However, one of the greatest early dangers to the developing brain (especially but not exclusively children and adolescents living in poverty) are prenatal and postnatal exposure to environmental pollutants and toxic materials, such as neurotoxins.

Fetal alcohol spectrum disorder (FASD)
Broad term for a continuum of conditions that result from alcohol exposure in utero.

Neurotoxins

"Neurotoxins are trace elements, pesticides, chemicals, and biological elements that have toxic effects on the human nervous system" (Hubbs-Tait et al., 2005, p. 58). These toxic effects may damage, destroy, or impair neurons (nerve cells) or other brain-supporting cells, which produces changes in behavior, emotions, and cognitive ability. However, the stage of human development at which exposure to neurotoxins occurs is a critical variable. The fetus and children less than 2 years of age appear to be the most vulnerable, because this is the time when central nervous system development is most active. The extent of exposure to these neurotoxins is also important.

Neurotoxins are relevant because their effects on the nervous system have been linked to a variety of behavior disorders and antisocial acts, including aggression and violence.

Basically, neurotoxins have the potential of producing neurocognitive dysfunction, which predisposes individuals to antisocial behavior and violence (Raine, 2013). We emphasize, however, that while neurotoxins may play a role in the development of such behavior, it takes an amalgam of a wide spectrum of factors to directly produce it. No one single neurotoxin is likely a causal factor by itself. On the other hand, an accumulation of exposure to neurotoxins, poor nutrition, and an inadequate social environment can lead to deleterious effects on memory, learning, and executive function processes and may lead to behavioral disorders in children, adolescents, and young adults. Poor nutrition usually involves a deficiency in micronutrients (especially iron, calcium, zinc, and selenium), which have the ability to neutralize the negative effects of many neurotoxins on the human nervous system. In other words, micronutrients serve as protective factors against neurotoxins. We will discuss micronutrients in more detail later in the chapter.

Three neurotoxins have received sufficient research to connect them to the development of antisocial behavior: lead, cadmium, and manganese. Of the three, lead has drawn the greatest amount of research attention. Two additional prominent neurotoxins, mercury and polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), have been linked to nervous system problems, but current evidence has yet to connect them significantly to cognitive and behavioral outcomes related to criminal behavior.

Lead

Over the past three decades, a large segment of the research on neurotoxins has focused on the effects of exposure to lead, both before and after birth. Research is very clear that abnormal levels of lead in the human body predict a variety of academic, emotional, cognitive, and developmental delay problems in children (Biglan, Flay, Embry, & Sandler, 2012). Young children absorb lead more easily, and it is more harmful to them compared to older children and adults. In fact, Raine (2013) asserts that lead is a leading candidate for some of the structural and functional impairments found in the brain. Citing a number of studies, Biglan et al. (2012) conclude that "lead exposure is associated with an increased lifetime burden of special education, attention deficit disorder, crime, and even homicide" (p. 260). Raine asserts that lead exposure is a strong environmental risk factor for antisocial and aggressive behavior in delinquent children and violence in adults. Several other studies have found a strong connection between high lead levels and antisocial behavior and delinquency (Dietrich et al., 2001; Needleman, 2004; Needleman et al., 2002; Nevin, 2000, 2007; Olympio et al., 2009, 2010; Sampson & Winter, 2018; Wright et al., 2008). A recent summary of the research literature on the topic (Yolton, Cornelius, Ornoy, McGough, Makris, & Schnatz, 2014) concluded:

> A large body of research implicates lead in a multitude of health and neobehavioral disorders. The findings on neurobehavior include clearly identified links to behavior problems and ADHD, as well as delinquency and criminal activity (p. 40).

Where is lead found in the everyday environment? In 1977, the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission banned the sale of leaded paint (Cole & Winsler, 2010). The ban, however, does not extend to buildings and houses built or painted before 1977, meaning that children living in old houses continue to be exposed to lead-paint particles and dust if steps are not taken to remove these contaminants. In 1996, the sale of all leaded gasoline in the United States was banned, although leaded jet fuel was not affected by the regulation. Despite these regulations and other attempts at eliminating lead, it continues to be present in soil, air, and water (Narag, Pizarro, & Gibbs, 2009). For example, lead residue still lingered in the soil near major roads and expressways many years after leaded gasoline was banned (Raine, 2013). Because lead continues to be widely used in manufacturing

outside the United States, it can also be found in car batteries, toys, toy jewelry, cosmetics, tobacco, leaded-coated ceramic pottery, crystal baby bottles, imported cosmetics, imported spices, herbal medicines, and imported plastic containers that come into contact with food (Advisory Committee on Childhood Lead Poisoning Prevention [ACCLPP], 2012; Cole & Winsler, 2010; Olympio et al., 2010). More importantly, another source of lead exposure today is tap water. "Lead leeches into tap water though contact with lead-based piping or through the corrosion of pipes in water treatment systems and household plumbing" (Cole & Winsler, 2010, p.12). This potential danger is especially prevalent in older housing. The disastrous water-quality problems publicized in recent years in Flint, Michigan, and other cities are good examples. (See Box 3–2 for more on this topic.)

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 3–2 LEAD AND ITS HARMFUL EFFECTS

In 2014, the United States was alerted to a water crisis in Flint, Michigan, after the city changed its water supply to the Flint River and did not adequately treat the water that subsequently flowed through lead pipes into many homes. Approximately 5% of children tested were found to have high levels of lead in their blood. A timeline of events over the next 4 years includes residents contracting illnesses, boil water orders, civil suits, criminal investigations, disaster relief in the form of bottled water, a Michael Moore documentary, and instances of Legionnaire's disease (including deaths) attributed to the contaminated water. Various state and local public officials entered guilty or no-contest pleas to crimes such as conspiracy, misconduct in office, and willful neglect of duty as late as 2019. In June of that year, however, prosecutors also dropped charges against eight public officials who were awaiting trial.

Environmental toxins are often associated with antisocial behavior, primarily as one of numerous risk factors and particularly in the lives of children. As noted in the text, researchers have linked high exposure to toxins with hyperactivity, impulsivity, deficiencies in executive functioning, and even aggression. As seen from the above illustration, lead is often singled out as one of the worse culprits. High lead levels in both children and adults can also cause heart, kidney, and neurological problems.

Also as noted in the text, various state and federal regulatory agencies over the years have established standards for testing and reducing lead in the environment, including in schools, public housing, and consumer products. The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) has recommended intervention strategies for people, particularly children, exposed to lead contamination. The Environmental Protection Agency in the past established standards for testing for lead levels in schools (e.g., pipes conveying water or residues of leaded paint) and taking action to reduce them. In the current climate of federal deregulation, however, these standards have been relaxed.

Interestingly, a link between lead exposure and crime has circulated among some researchers for a few decades (Doleac, 2017). Some have even theorized that the overall decrease in violent crime levels in the 1990s could be attributed to the removal of lead from gasoline. Until that time, people living near highly traveled roads and in urban areas were exposed to heavy lead contamination, compared with people who lived in more rural environments. When gasoline no longer contained lead, crime rates went down.

A direct link between lead and antisocial behavior or crime has not been empirically established. There are too many other variables to consider. Nevertheless, in recent years some researchers have been interested in studying a possible lead-crime connection. Controlling for family income, for example, Aizer and Currie (2017) examined matched groups of children and found that those who had high blood lead levels in preschool were more likely to be suspended from school and (for boys) more likely to be incarcerated as juveniles. Others have searched for protective factors or effective interventions. Billings and Schnepel (2017) found that nutritional assessment, referrals to public assistance, and medical evaluations—all interventions recommended by the CDC—significantly

(*continued*)

reduced the likelihood of cognitive and behavioral impairment down the line.

Questions for Discussion

1. Public schools require children to be vaccinated against communicable diseases, although in some states some children are exempted for religious or health reasons. Should preschools and kindergartens also require children to be tested for lead levels in their blood?
2. The CDC-recommended interventions mentioned above were health or social service related. Are there other ways we might intervene to reduce the health and behavior risks posed by excessive blood lead levels?
3. Although Flint is singled out here, other parts of the United States and the world are not immune. In Los Angeles County, for example, 17% of young children tested had high levels, attributed to lead ingested from the environment. Obtain information on any other geographical location with a lead problem and discuss how other cumulative or cascading risk factors might contribute to negative outcomes.
4. What is your reaction to the lead-crime hypothesis as it relates to crime rates? ■

Although there have been serious attempts to remove lead contaminants, many children continue to show some lead exposure. In one comprehensive study, Apostolou et al. (2012) conclude: "Despite a dramatic overall decline in lead levels in children and young adults over the last few decades, inner-city children and young adults of low socioeconomic status continue to experience high lead exposure" (p. 717). The researchers discovered that one surprising source of lead exposure in children and adolescents is second-hand tobacco smoke. Children who live with one, two, or more smokers had higher blood lead levels than children who lived in nonsmoking households.

How high is too high in blood lead level? For years the "level of concern" standard for the CDC was blood lead levels (BLL) of 10 μg/dl (10 micrograms per deciliter) and above. With new federal standards in place, BLL has decreased dramatically in recent years. The percentage of children with BLLs higher than 10 μg/dl reported to the CDC decreased from 7.6% in 1997 to 3.1% in 2001 (ACCLPP, 2012). In 2008 the percentage was down to 0.83%. Although 10 μg/dl was considered a "level of concern," many studies following this standard found that significant and troubling behavioral and health effects occurred at lower levels (Biglan et al., 2012; Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2005; Min, Singer, Kirchner, Minnes, Short, Hussain et al., 2009). Significant amounts of research have revealed that blood levels less than 5 μg/dl are associated with deficient cognitive development, behavioral problems, and poor academic performance (ACCLPP, 2012; Min et al., 2009). Based on the extensive research literature that found no level of blood lead is without its effects on health and neurological development, the ACCLPP (2012) concluded: "Because no measurable level of blood lead is known to be without deleterious effects, and because once engendered, the effects appear to be irreversible in the absence of any other interventions, environmental and housing policies should encourage prevention of *all exposure to lead*" (p. 5; italics added).

Many children continue to have BLLs at or above 5 μg/dl, and these children are predominantly in homes with incomes below poverty level (Dietrich, Ris, Succop, Berger, & Bornschien, 2001; Needleman, McFarland, Ness, Fienberg, & Tobin, 2002). Some racial and ethnic groups may be particularly susceptible (e.g., African American children, 19%; Mexican American children, 7%). These differences can be traced to disparities in housing quality, environmental conditions, nutrition, and other factors. In addition, childhood studies published since 2005 have established the importance of BLLs to reductions in cognitive functioning, especially memory and learning ability (ACCLPP, 2012).

Cadmium

In his review of neurotoxins and violence, Raine (2013) concludes that high levels of cadmium in the body have been linked to violent behavior in a number of studies. He summarizes studies that show that hair samples from violent offenders often indicate they have significantly more cadmium in their tissues than nonviolent offenders. Raine further notes that high hair-cadmium levels are also found in U.S. elementary school schoolchildren with behavioral problems. Scalp hair analysis is considered a decent measure of the accumulation of neurotoxins because hair incorporates toxins during its growth cycle and provides a permanent record of toxin levels in the body at the time of hair growth (LeClair & Quig, 2001).

Extensive cadmium exposure during development appears to be related to learning difficulties and lower cognitive functioning in children and adolescents (Hubbs-Tait et al., 2005). Learning difficulties and deficient cognitive functioning pose lifelong and widespread difficulties in holding employment, learning new skills, and working with others (Koger, Schettler, & Weiss, 2005). The learning disabled are "more likely to enter the criminal justice system for delinquency and adult criminal behavior, possibly because of academic difficulties that lead many to drop out of school" (Koger et al., 2005, p. 243).

Cadmium is a soft, malleable metal heavily used largely in the production of nickel–cadmium rechargeable batteries and as corrosion-protection coating for iron and steel (Occupational Safety and Health Administration, 2014). Currently, about three-fourths of the world's use of cadmium is used in the manufacture of nickel–cadmium batteries, which are used in almost every electronic device used today (Haider et al., 2015). It is considered a toxic environmental and industrial pollutant that has been linked to several biochemical and neurological disorders in animals and humans. It is also found in significant amounts in tobacco products.

In humans, cadmium gains entry into the body via three *primary* sources: (1) maternal smoking during pregnancy, (2) postnatal exposure to environmental tobacco smoke, and (3) exposure to smoke and particles from the burning of fossil fuels and the incineration of municipal and industrial waste (Environmental Protection Agency, 2000; Hubbs-Tait et al., 2005). To some extent, food may have traces of cadmium, but research is lacking for determining whether food sources really present a danger. Smoking is probably the major source of cadmium in humans today. For example, some research indicates that smokers have approximately twice as much cadmium in their bodies as do nonsmokers (Paschal et al., 2000). For children who have been exposed to maternal smoking during prenatal and environmental tobacco smoke during postnatal development, cadmium levels in their young bodies may be distressingly high.

In children and adolescents, cadmium has been linked to deficiencies in intellectual functioning. For example, Hubbs-Tait et al. (2005) find that "recent investigations have shown that children who live near waste sites and who have higher body burdens of cadmium are at increased risk for learning disorders" (p. 99). Raine (2013) cites a study conducted in Guangdong province, China (Bao, Lu, Song, Wang, Ling et al., 2009). The researchers found schoolchildren living downstream from a cadmium mine had heavy concentrations of the metal in their scalp hair. The children with high amounts of hair cadmium demonstrated higher rates of aggression and delinquency than their low-cadmium counterparts.

Manganese

Environmental exposure to manganese presents a complicated challenge to investigators. The metal is both an essential trace element and a potent neurotoxin (Abdelouahab, Huel, Suvorov, Foliguet, Goua, Debotte et al., 2010). Major food sources of this essential element

are nuts, tea, legumes, pineapple, and grains—the consumption of which is a good thing. However, toxicity comes into play when there is an excessive intake or exposure to the element, such as may occur in some occupations, like welding. Welding aerosols may contain high amounts of manganese, depending on the welding method and consumables used (Ellingsen et al., 2014). Several studies reveal that welders who have been in the occupation for some time often exhibit a variety of neurological problems (Ellingsen et al., 2014). Raine (2013) writes: "perhaps it's not too surprising that *fifteen studies* on workers exposed to manganese in all corners of the world—including Chile, Great Britain, Egypt, Poland, Brazil, the United States, Scotland, and Canada—without exception report significant mood disruption, including aggression, hostility, irritability, and emotional disturbances" (p. 230, italics in original quote). Moreover, antisocial acts committed by workers exposed to high amounts of manganese are often due to brain impairment and are characterized by poor emotional regulation and impulsivity (Raine, 2013).

In children, overexposure of manganese may come prenatally and from infant feeding. In utero, manganese passes easily through the placenta of the pregnant mother, depending on the level of exposure of the mother. However, this is most apt to happen when the pregnant mother has a deficiency of iron. Women who have a deficiency of the micronutrient iron absorb about four times more manganese than women with sufficient iron levels (Finley, 1999). Therefore, excessive manganese exposure of the mother is highly likely to find its way into the developing fetus. Maternal exposure may include living near a manufacturing plant that engages in toxic chemical release, and manganese-containing pesticides and fungicides. Municipal drinking water may also contain manganese, depending on certain bedrock formations and pollution levels in the local environment.

The nervous system is the principal target of manganese, especially the central nervous system (Ellingsen et al., 2014; EPA, 2007). Excessive manganese accumulation in the child's nervous system may result in poorer brain functioning, lower intellectual functioning, and a tendency toward aggression and violence during adolescence and adulthood (Raine, 2013).

Erickson and his colleagues (Ericson et al., 2007) discovered that prenatal exposure to manganese, as measured in tooth enamel deposits dating to the 20th gestational week, is significantly associated with childhood behavioral outcomes. Specifically, the researchers found: "Children with higher levels of prenatal manganese were more impulsive, inattentive, aggressive, defiant, disobedient, destructive, and hyperactive" (p. 185). Raine (2013) reviews several studies that have found that many violent offenders have higher levels of manganese in their scalp hair samples than nonviolent people.

Mercury (Methylmercury)

A vast number of behavioral disturbances are associated with mercury exposure, especially memory, cognition, and learning problems (Freire et al., 2010; Hubbs-Tait et al., 2005). Mercury is toxic and damaging to the brain and other body organs (Raine, 2013). Human exposure to mercury comes primarily from eating mercury-contaminated fish and marine mammals, and to a much lesser extent from dental fillings. A *direct* link of mercury exposure to criminal or antisocial behavior has yet to be established, primarily because of the inconsistency of research findings (Raine, 2013). Raine refers to mercury as "mysterious mercury" because—for a variety of reasons—its effect on human health and behavior is extremely difficult to measure accurately.

Although the criminal behavior–mercury exposure link has not been established, the mercury connection to neurodevelopmental deficits in children has been a relatively consistent finding (Grandjean et al., 2014; Oken et al., 2008). Mercury from contaminated seafood consumption by pregnant mothers easily crosses the placenta and rapidly passes

through the blood–brain barrier to the developing fetus (Karagas et al., 2012). High levels of mercury are known to contribute to extreme fetal abnormalities and neurotoxicity among infants, including microcephaly, blindness, and severe mental and physical developmental retardation (Karaga et al., 2012). It is also known to act directly in the central nervous system by destroying or damaging nerve cells (Koger, Schettler, & Weiss, 2005). Lower levels of mercury exposure have been found to be associated with decrements in memory, attention, language, intelligence, and visual-motor skills in children (Freire et al., 2010; Karagas et al., 2012). Freire and associates (2010) write: "Our results support the findings of some studies that higher mercury exposure in young children is associated with lower cognition, even at relatively low-exposure levels" (p. 101). Several other studies have also discovered that low-level mercury exposure in U.S. populations can contribute to childhood neurodevelopmental problems, especially if exposure occurs during the prenatal period (Oken et al., 2012). Consequently, it is safe to assume—in line with the risk accumulation model—that mercury exposure from eating contaminated food may play some role in the formation of behavioral problems in children, adolescents, and adults. For example, mercury is not the only neurotoxic substance found in certain kinds of fish. Other pollutants, such as PCBs, other heavy metals, pharmaceuticals, and other damaging compounds, are often found in seafood as well.

Fish has long been believed to be a healthy food, providing protein and other nutrients, and for many reasons it is unlikely that it will be eliminated from most diets. Scientists who are concerned about its harmful effects indicate that consumers must seek information about which fish to eat and which to avoid, along with supporting efforts to eliminate the sources of contamination—such as mercury and other toxic materials in the world's oceans. Information about sustainable seafood initiatives is widely available to the public and is often summarized in research reports (e.g., Oken et al., 2012). (See Table 3–3 for a summary of the four neurotoxins discussed in this section.)

Protective Properties of Micronutrients

Although the above material may suggest that environmental contaminants create irrevocable damage to human development, the situation is not that dire, even from purely physiological and neurological standpoints. One positive factor is the presence of trace elements in the human body. The trace elements represent, or are, essential micronutrients found

TABLE 3–3 A List of Neurotoxins That Present the Strongest Connections to Aggressive and Violent Behavior

Neurotoxin	Effects
Manganese	Depletes the neurotransmitters of dopamine, serotonin, and norepinephrine. Long-term negative effects on brain and nervous system development and functioning. Excessive exposure has been linked to poor attention, poor impulse control, and other neurological deficits.
Cadmium	Has a nonspecific effect on most neurotransmitters. Restricts calcium-mediated release of the transmitters. Long-term negative effects on brain development and intelligence. Excessive exposure may lead to aggression and violence.
Lead	Damages functioning of neurotransmitters and destroys neurons relevant to learning, memory, cognition, and self-regulation. Especially affects the prefrontal cortex. Exposure is associated with a variety of behavioral problems including ADHD, distractibility, poor organization skills, and violence.
Mercury	Damages functioning of neurotransmitters. Adversely affects functioning and development of central nervous system. Research suggests it contributes to problems in vision, learning, memory, attention, and behavioral control. At high doses, it appears to damage wide areas of brain functioning.

in the human body in small amounts (Hubbs-Tait et al. 2005). "The trace minerals for which a mammalian requirement has been established include iron, zinc, iodine, selenium, copper, manganese, fluoride, chromium, and molybdenum" (Hubbs-Tait et al., 2005, p. 58). Although each of these trace elements may be toxic and neurologically destructive in excessive amounts, at low amounts they also may serve as protective factors for healthy outcomes. For example, iron and zinc are essential micronutrients in cognitive development in children. Adequate intake of zinc, iron, and calcium in the diet appears to reduce the effects and accumulation of the neurotoxins cadmium and lead in the body, especially the brain (Hubbs-Tait et al., 2005). Selenium modifies the neurological influences of mercury. Iron appears to reduce the negative effects of excessive levels of manganese.

One of the effects of living in poverty is that children (and adults) often have insufficient dietary intake of these important micronutrients, rendering them subject to a greater impact of the pollutants and neurotoxicants in their environments. Diets supplemented with micronutrients will at least have the effect of reducing the accumulating risk factors that accompany a child's exposure to the many chemicals inherent in a polluted environment.

Prenatal and Postnatal Malnutrition

Malnutrition affects the neurodevelopment of 167.2 million preschool-aged children worldwide (Waber et al., 2014). As noted by Waber and her associates (2014), pre- and postnatal nutritional deprivation can result in long-term changes or alteration of brain development. Pertinent to our discussion here, several studies have indicated that prenatal and early childhood malnutrition "is associated with adverse outcomes in school-aged children and adolescents, including an increased prevalence of conduct problems and aggressive behaviors" (Galler et al., 2013, p. 239). For example, one early well-cited study (Neugebauer, Hoek, & Susser, 1999) found that maternal malnutrition during pregnancy in combination with adverse caregiving conditions may also be closely linked to violent behavior in the offspring. Recently, the Barbados Nutrition Study (BNS) represents one of the most comprehensive studies on the effects of malnutrition on child development ever undertaken. The BNS over the course of decades has followed the development of a group of Barbadian children with normal birth weights who experienced moderate to severe malnutrition during their first year of life. From their analysis of the data, Galler and her associates (2013) discovered that conduct problems and aggressive behavior were significantly elevated when these children reached preadolescence and adolescence, despite improvements in diet after the first year. The earlier study by Neugebauer et al. (1999) reported similar results, showing that those children exposed to intrauterine malnutrition demonstrated high levels of antisocial behavior in adulthood.

Other researchers also have associated infant and early childhood malnutrition with deficits in cognitive functioning down the line. For example, Lieu and associates (2004a) found that malnutrition at age 3 predisposes a child to neurocognitive deficits, which in turn predispose a child to persistent antisocial behaviors throughout childhood and adolescence. Malnutrition, then, has been indicated as a crucial factor impeding both cognitive functioning and prosocial behavior into adulthood.

Although infant and child malnutrition may be linked with cognitive impairment, malnutrition by itself is unlikely to be the sole cause of a lifetime of serious, aggressive, or violent behavior. Galler and associates express the same cautions. They write: "Later vulnerability to increased conduct problems appears to be mediated by the proximal neurobehavioral effects of malnutrition on cognitive function and by adverse conditions in the early home environment" (Galler et al., 2013, p. 239). The researchers did control for some adverse conditions, such as maternal depression and family standard of living. Nonetheless, some observers have noted that the children in the BNS differed in their physical and

social environments from the better nourished groups and likely were exposed to a different set of cumulative risks (Waber et al., 2014).

The BNS study examined cognitive difficulties, deficiencies in executive function, and acting-out behaviors among children, not serious violent behavior. Throughout this text we emphasize that most serious violent and antisocial behavior is a result of cumulative and cascading factors, not just one factor. There are exceptions, of course, such as serious brain damage due to trauma, that may promote aggressive outbursts, but malnourishment usually represents only one potentially damaging link in a chain of events that can lead to aggressive and violent behavior. It is more likely that the malnutrition–*violence* relationship requires the presence of negative environmental circumstances and additional heightened psychosocial risks in general. For example, *chronic* malnutrition during early childhood is most likely to have a negative impact on children's abilities to learn to self-regulate their behavior. In addition, the hungry or malnourished child is unlikely to be able to concentrate in school and achieve success in the academic realm. Clearly, school breakfast and lunch programs providing nutrition to students who might not otherwise have adequate food are an important component of educational services.

Nicotine, Alcohol, and Drug Exposure

There is substantial literature on the effects of prenatal exposure to drugs on child development in general. However, the prenatal effects of substance and alcohol abuse on antisocial behavioral development have received relatively little attention, although a few studies have examined these effects. According to Raine (2002, p. 317), "The effects of fetal exposure to alcohol in increasing risk for conduct disorders are well known, but recently a spate of studies has established beyond reasonable doubt a significant link between smoking during pregnancy and later conduct disorder and violent offending." As mentioned earlier in the chapter, youth with diagnoses associated with exposure to alcohol in utero are far more likely to exhibit aggressive behavior, violence, and other conduct problems than the general youth population (Brown et al., 2012). In fact, some studies suggest that "a large percentage of youth in confinement suffer from undiagnosed FASD" (Brown et al., 2012, p. 773).

FASD is an umbrella term for a continuum of conditions that result from alcohol exposure in utero. Specific medical diagnoses include Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS), Partial Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (pFAS), Alcohol Related Neurodevelopmental Disorder (ARND), and Alcohol Related Birth Defects (ARBD). All may produce cognitive and behavioral problems, such as difficulty with memory, reasoning, and abstract language, as well as problems engaging in activities of daily living. It is important to stress that, although conduct disorder and violence are mentioned above, they are not the only effects of FASD and are probably not the major ones for most FASD children. It should not be assumed that a child with FASD is destined to be aggressive; it is likely, however, that some degree of difficulty in neurological functioning will be experienced.

The evidence for the relationship between maternal smoking during pregnancy and antisocial behavior in children is quite strong for boys but weak for girls (Wakschlag & Hans, 2002). In addition, women who stopped smoking during pregnancy gave birth to children who demonstrated lower levels of antisocial behavior in life than women who did not quit smoking (Jaffee, Strait, & Odgers, 2012; Robinson et al., 2010). One study (Brennan, Grekin, & Mednick, 1999), using a birth cohort of 4,169 males, found a strong connection between adult violent offending and smoking by their mothers during their pregnancy. On average, the mothers smoked 20 cigarettes a day. This relationship was especially strong (increasing by fivefold) when the offspring were both exposed to nicotine and had birth complications. In another study that used a large sample from the general population of

Finland, Räsänen et al. (1998) found that, compared with the sons of mothers who did not smoke, the sons of mothers who smoked during pregnancy had more than a twofold risk of having committed a violent crime or having repeatedly committed crimes. This finding held even when other biopsychological risk factors were controlled. The available evidence suggests that smoking during pregnancy may contribute to brain deficits that frequently have been found in adult offenders (Raine, 2002).

However, Jaffee et al. (2012) caution that, despite the consistency across studies, it remains difficult to firmly conclude that maternal smoking promotes or *causes* antisocial behavior in children. They point out that mothers who smoke during pregnancy are different in many aspects from those who do not. Mothers who smoke tend to have less income, less education, are of lower socioeconomic status, and experience more stress in pregnancy than nonsmoking mothers. In addition, smokers are more likely to have a history of antisocial behavior themselves compared to nonsmokers (Jaffee et al., 2012). As with all other risk factors, one factor alone is not responsible for antisocial behavior. It is clear, though, that the infants of smoking mothers have significant health problems, including slower brain development (Roza et al., 2007; Shah & Bracken, 2000).

Exposure to secondhand smoke—such as might occur when someone other than the pregnant woman smokes in close quarters—is also a risk factor. For example, since 1964, approximately 2.5 million nonsmokers have died from health problems primarily caused by exposure to secondhand smoke (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015). Secondhand smoke is also believed to be responsible for some cases of sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS).

Maternal substance abuse during pregnancy does show a link to substance abuse by their offspring during adolescence, but it is difficult to determine whether this link is due to a shared genetic predisposition between parent and child, the child modeling the parents' behavior, or the in utero effects of the substances themselves (Allen, Lewinsohn, & Seeley, 1998). Identifying the differential effects of maternal substance abuse of specific drugs is also daunting because the drug-abusing mother rarely uses a drug in isolation.

Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI)

Traumatic brain injury (TBI)
Injury to the brain occurring either in utero, during birth, or at any time in a person's life and having a significant effect on functioning. Sometimes used as an excusing or mitigating condition for violent behavior.

Whether it occurs in children or adults, **traumatic brain injury (TBI)** is frequently associated with neuropathological changes in cognition, emotion, and behavior. It is also often linked to serious and violent antisocial behavior (Colantonio et al., 2014; Ishikawa & Raine, 2004; Raine, 2013) and other antisocial behaviors (Scott et al., 2014). It appears this connection is particularly relevant in the case of pathological violence (such as impulsive violence occurring in the context of emotional arousal and provocation) (Siever, 2008).

Approximately 60% of the incarcerated population in the United States is believed to have some evidence of TBI in their background (Shiroma, Ferguson, & Pickelsimer, 2010), compared to 8.5% in the general population (Piccolino & Solberg, 2014; Wald, Helgeson, & Langlois, 2008). Some researchers (e.g., Piccolino & Solberg, 2014) have reported data suggesting that as many as 82% of offenders meet the criteria for having incurred a TBI at some point.

The offending-TBI link is especially strong if the brain dysfunction is located in the frontal lobe (Cusimano et al., 2014), which comprises about one-third of the front part of the human brain (see Figure 3–1). Organized thought, planning, and self-regulation are located in this area.

The importance of the frontal portion of the brain was revealed in the classic case of Phineas Gage. In September 1848, Gage worked as a construction foreman for the Rutland & Burlington Railroad in Vermont. The work crew was blasting rock while clearing the

roadbed for a new rail line outside the town of Cavendish. But during the preparation for the next blast, something suddenly went wrong. A premature explosion sent an iron rod, used for tamping the gunpowder into the blasting hole, into Gage's head. The 3-foot iron, which Gage was using, entered the side of his face, shattering the upper jaw, passing through the frontal lobe, out the top of his head, and flew another fifty feet in the air. The frontal lobe area of his brain was badly damaged. Surprisingly, Gage spoke within a few minutes after the blast, walked with little or no assistance, and sat in a cart that took him to the town doctors. Although Gage lived for another 12 years, the accident dramatically changed his personality. Before the accident, Gage was controlled, playful, friendly, and competent. He was a responsible and dependable employee for the railroad. After the accident, he became hostile, ill-tempered, profane, highly unreasonable, and showed poor social judgment. He demonstrated uncontrolled anger, a pattern that led to his inability to hold down a job. Although one could argue that anyone who had experienced this trauma might display some personality changes, the extent of the changes and their radical nature were attributed to the physical damage to his brain.

We do not have to go back more than a century to find other examples of individuals with frontal lobe damage and subsequent personality change, however. Traumatic brain injury is widely believed to affect one's personality, not infrequently leading to increased aggression (Barash, Tranel, & Anderson, 2000; King, Rolin, & Frost, 2017). Researchers studying Vietnam War veterans found that those with head injuries scored higher than those without such injuries on tests of violence (Grafman et al., 1996). Numerous studies indicate that veterans of later conflicts, such as wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, were even more likely to experience and survive traumatic brain injuries (see, e.g., Christy, Clark, Frei, & Rynearson-Moody, 2012, and references therein). Based on available research, it has been clearly established that individuals with frontal lobe damage are far more likely to use physical intimidation and violence in conflict situations (Grafman et al., 1996; Siever, 2008). This is especially the case in impulsive violence, where self-regulation and self-control appear to be lacking. In recent years, attention has also been brought to the violence associated with some sports, particularly football and boxing. Head injuries in young as well as older football players may lead to brain damage that could, in turn, facilitate personality changes and aggressive behavior.

Although research has not addressed this issue, it is possible that domestic violence committed by professional athletes might be explained, at least in part, by concussions experienced in the past. This is not to excuse the behavior, nor is to say that other factors (like the learning factors to be considered in the following chapter) are not relevant. Like all other risk factors, TBI is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for antisocial behavior; however, it may be one among several cumulative factors in the developmental sequence of some offenders.

Brain Development Abnormalities

While brain damage due to accidents and physical trauma can result in a propensity toward impulsive violence, the quality of the prenatal environment is also clearly important in brain development. The brain is highly vulnerable to intrinsic hazards (cell development gone wrong) and to external insults resulting from viral infection, drug or alcohol exposure, malnutrition, or other teratogens. Nutritional adequacy is crucial for both prenatal and postnatal brain development because of the growing brain's reliance on folic acid, iron, vitamins, and other nutrients. As noted previously, malnutrition is a biological risk to which the developing infant brain is especially vulnerable. Other hazards include fetal exposure to maternal viruses like HIV and rubella, illicit drugs such as cocaine and heroin, maternal alcohol ingestion, exposure to environmental neurotoxins, pollutants, pesticides, and other

teratogens. The developing brain's vulnerability to many of these risk factors continues throughout the early years after birth. As we learned in the beginning of this section, unsafe lead levels found in the paint of older homes or in the environment may be a contributing factor in the development of serious antisocial behavior.

Another area of the brain, the *limbic system*, which consists of a diverse group of loosely connected brain structures and circuitry, has also emerged as an important component associated with impulsive violence. The most important brain structure in the limbic system involved in aggressive behavior is the amygdala (see Figure 3–1). The amygdala is a small, almond-shaped group of nerve cells that appears to play a major role in learning, memory, and the experience of emotions. Impulsive aggression and violence appear to be related to activity in the amygdala (DeLisi, Umphress, & Vaughn, 2009; Jones et al., 2009; Siever, 2008). Developmental influences that adversely affect the amygdala (and the limbic system generally) are very likely to affect various emotional responses, especially anger.

Hormones and Neurotransmitters

Neurotransmitters
Biochemicals directly involved in the transmission of neural impulses and without which communication would not be possible.

Serotonin
A neurotransmitter in the nervous system that usually prompts the activity of neurons.

Neurotransmitters are chemicals, manufactured in the brain, that are intimately involved in biochemical activity and transmission of messages throughout the nervous system. Research has consistently suggested that the neurotransmitter **serotonin** may play the most significant role in aggression and violence (Coscina, 1997; Lesch & Merschdorf, 2000; Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1998; Moffitt et al., 1997; Vaughn, DeLisi, Beaver, & Wright, 2009). Serotonin is a key modulator of emotional behavior and emotional regulation (Aslund & Nilsson, 2018). Serotonin exists in large amounts in the frontal lobe, which we have learned is involved in planning, impulse control, and executive function. It has been commonly concluded in the biopsychology literature that a deficiency in serotonin in the forebrain is largely responsible for aggressive, antisocial, and violent behavior. "This *serotonin deficiency hypothesis* of human aggression has been tested hundreds of times over the past several decades and remains the most common hypothesis of serotonin's role in pathological aggression" (Duke, Bègue, Bell, & Eisenlhr-Moul, 2013, p. 1148; italics in the original quote). In fact, one well-cited author (Fishbein, 2001) proclaimed the relationship between serotonin and aggression "perhaps the most reliable finding in the history of psychiatry" (p. 15). There is also some evidence that levels of serotonin were believed to explain to some extent the general differences in physical aggression between men and women (Verona, Joiner, Johnson, & Bender, 2006).

Duke and his colleagues (2013) comprehensively examined 144 published and unpublished studies that investigated the serotonin deficiency hypothesis over the past three decades. Combined, the studies included over 6,500 participants. Their findings, however, were not promising. The researchers found a very weak relationship between a deficiency in serotonin and aggression, anger, and hostility. Consequently, the researchers concluded that the relation between serotonin and human aggression as well as the validity of the serotonin deficiency hypothesis remain open to debate. They point out that "[O]ver the past several decades, rapid advances in technology and copious amount of research have led to a much clearer understanding of serotonin's role in the brain; however, with increased understanding has come an increased awareness of the complexity of serotonin's role in regulating behavior" (p. 1162). In other words, serotonin's role in aggression and other behavior is far more complicated and mysterious than previously assumed. In addition, as emphasized previously, focusing on a single risk factor, such as serotonin levels, rather than multiple risk factors is likely to result in an incomplete understanding of the development and maintenance of antisocial behavior.

The neurotransmitter dopamine has also been considered a possible candidate for involvement in human aggression and violence (Pihl & Benkelfat, 2005; Raine, 2013).

However, the research has not been as extensive as found for serotonin, and the jury is still out as to whether it plays a significant role in the aggressive or antisocial behavior. Several other neurotransmitters (e.g., norepinephrine, gamma-aminobutyric acid [GABA]) have also been suggested as contributors to antisocial behavior, aggression, and violence but the evidence remains inconclusive (Pihl & Benkelfat, 2005).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Realizing that crime, like all human behavior, may result from an interaction among heredity, neurophysiology, and the environment, we in this chapter have looked at the research on the genetic and biological makeup of persons who engage in persistent antisocial behavior, particularly that which is defined as criminal. The biopsychological approaches of today are far more sophisticated compared with very early efforts to link biology with criminal behavior. These early efforts associated criminal activity with (for example) the size of one's skull or one's physique. Contemporary biopsychologists assert that, while some people may be predisposed toward aggressive behavior or behavior that indicates a need for stimulation, socialization or medication can keep inappropriate expressions of those behaviors in check. However, although the past decade has seen a resurgence of interest in this biosocial perspective, many criminologists resist any notion of biological or genetic predispositions. Some, while veering away from predispositions, do agree that factors like toxins, hormones, or brain injuries can influence one's behavior, however. Most encouraging from all perspectives, though, is current research that emphasizes neuroplasticity across the life span. That is, although childhood and adolescence are crucial periods for brain development, we can continue to learn and to change throughout adulthood.

The genetic factor has been explored in twin and adoption studies and in the work of molecular biologists. Despite the continuing research, such as the TEDS and TCHAD twin studies discussed in the chapter, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the magnitude of genetic and environmental influences on antisocial behavior. Some empirical studies, however, have found a high concordance rate between identical twins engaged in crime, lending some credence to genetic predisposition. These studies have shown that even when separated at birth, identical twins tend to be similar in their pursuit of criminal careers. However, researchers continually have difficulty separating the social environment (shared or nonshared) from the nature–nurture equation, and it is becoming increasingly clear that the social and biological approaches to understanding human behavior are complementary rather than antagonistic (Cacioppo et al., 2000). There have been relatively few adoption studies conducted, primarily because of the inaccessibility of records. Researchers in this area, who say their research supports the genetic viewpoint, admonish that the social environment can either stimulate or inhibit any inborn tendency toward criminality. In the field of molecular genetics, researchers have isolated genes that they believe are particularly significant in predisposing individuals to violent or other antisocial behavior. The prominent biopsychologist Adian Raine has stated that at least seven genes are associated with antisocial behavior. For example, a low form of the MAOA gene (known as MAOL-L) is associated with aggression, and some polymorphisms are associated with low self-control.

Considerable research also has explored temperament, a mood disposition determined largely by genetics and biological influences, and its relationship with antisocial or criminal behavior. Temperament appears in infancy and continues throughout one's life. An irritable baby, according to these researchers, is a challenge to parents or caregivers who may become highly frustrated dealing with him. Likewise, a child who is impulsive is a poor self-regulator who often comes into conflict with the environment. On the other hand, nurturing and warm caregivers can override the effects of such difficult temperaments.

The structure of the brain, and specifically the amygdala, also has been scrutinized. The frontal lobe of the human brain, which includes the amygdala, is the location for organized thought, planning, and self-regulation. Faulty brain development in utero or trauma to the brain in childhood may predispose someone to behaviors linked with criminality, including low impulse control, callous-unemotional traits, or poor self-regulation. Some environmental hazards that have been studied include exposure to lead and other toxic substances, maternal smoking and alcohol use, and malnutrition. In recent years, scientists have focused on the deleterious effects of environmental toxins like cadmium, manganese, and mercury on the developing brain. Brain injuries in later life, which have received increasing attention in recent years because of survival rates of veterans who have experienced such trauma, can also contribute to aggressive behavior. Nevertheless, even "normal" brain development has been associated with antisocial behavior, particularly in adolescents. The research of Lawrence Steinberg, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, demonstrates persuasively that much of the "acting out" behavior characteristic of adolescence is related to the risk-taking that occurs because of lack of brain maturation.

We emphasize that most studies in this area focus on violent crime or aggressive antisocial behavior and, with just a few exceptions, have not focused on nonviolent crimes. The interest is mainly on exploring the relationship between "violence and the brain." However, assigning a *major* role in the causation of such behavior to diverse neurological deficits and nervous system functioning is unwarranted.

KEY CONCEPTS

Amygdala, 82
Behavior genetics, 74
Biopsychologists, 70
Concordance, 77
Executive function (EF), 71
Fetal alcohol spectrum disorder (FASD), 85
Fraternal twins (dizygotic twins), 75
Identical twins (monozygotic twins), 75
MAOA, 81
MAOA-L, 81
Molecular genetics, 74
Neuroplasticity, 73
Neurotransmitters, 96
Nonshared environments, 76
Psychophysiology, 81
Self-regulation, 70
Serotonin, 96
Shared environments, 76
Temperament, 82
Traumatic brain injury (TBI), 94
Twins' Early Development Study (TEDS), 77

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the neuroplasticity of the brain, and how does this relate to the study of criminal behavior?
2. In what ways has behavior genetics contributed to our knowledge about the role genetics plays in criminal behavior?
3. Summarize the findings of adoption studies on the interaction between heredity and environment.
4. Define and explain the significance of the following: concordance, serotonin, and executive function.
5. What is meant by the term "shared environment" and why is it important in genetic research on crime?
6. Explain how temperament plays a role in the development of antisocial behavior.
7. Provide examples of any three environmental hazards that have been linked with aggressive behavior.
8. What are some of the effects of traumatic brain injury on behavior?

4

Origins of Criminal Behavior: Learning and Situational Factors

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Present learning and cognitive factors as key elements in the development of delinquent and criminal behavior.
- Review the historical background of behaviorism and its contributions to understanding human learning of delinquent and criminal behavior.
- Define and describe classical conditioning, operant conditioning, and social learning.
- Review the fundamental principles of social learning and its contributions to understanding antisocial behavior.
- Introduce frustration-induced crime.
- Describe the power of the social situation, authority, and deindividuation in instigating criminal actions.
- Discuss and review research on the bystander effect.
- Provide an overview of recent research on moral development and moral disengagement.

People do not come into situations empty-headed. Unless they have experienced memory loss (e.g., as the result of a brain injury or some form of dementia), they remember what just happened and what has happened in the past. They also have a store of living experiences and an extensive repertoire of strategies for reacting to events. Up to this point, we have not highlighted these cognitive strategies, concentrating instead on various individual and family risk factors that can contribute to the development of criminal behavior.

A basic premise of this text is that criminal behavior is learned, even though neuropsychological, genetic, and biological factors contribute to the equation. Traditionally, psychologists have delineated three major types of learning: **classical** or **Pavlovian conditioning, instrumental learning** or **operant conditioning**, and **social learning**. The reader with a background in introductory psychology will recall Ivan Pavlov's famous experiments with dogs that learned to salivate at the sound of a bell, because the bell had been associated with the arrival of food. Even when the food was not presented, the dogs salivated when the bell was rung. When

classical conditioning is applied to people, it suggests that they, too, can "learn" if they have been rewarded or punished for behavior. Biological factors, such as those discussed in Chapter 3, appear to account in part for individual differences in susceptibility to classical conditioning (Eysenck, 1967). The classical conditioning perspective presumes, however, that the human being is an automaton and acts in a monotonous, routine manner without active intelligence. Pair a neutral stimulus with a closely following rewarding or painful event and the alert, intact robot will eventually, and automatically, connect the stimulus with the reward or the pain. This sequence may be a powerful factor in some behaviors, but certainly not in all or even most. Conditioning is only one of several factors involved in the acquisition (or avoidance) of criminal behavior. We will discuss classical conditioning again later in the chapter.

In instrumental learning, the process is quite different. Here, the learner must do something to the environment in order to obtain a reward or, in some cases, to avoid punishment. Instrumental learning is based on learning the consequences of behavior: if you do something, there is some probability that a certain rewarding event (or perhaps an avoidance of punishment) will occur. A child may learn, for example, that one parent will give her a piece of candy to quell a temper tantrum; the other parent will not yield. The child will eventually learn to use temper tantrums when one parent is around, but not the other.

Social learning is more complex than either classical conditioning or instrumental learning, because it involves learning from watching others and organizing social experiences in the brain. Of the three types of learning, social learning is the most representative of contemporary psychology. It enables us to integrate knowledge from varied aspects of a person's environment, including the biological, social, and cognitive environments. In this chapter, we will revisit classical and instrumental learning, but we focus primarily on social learning.

In order to understand criminal behavior in some depth, it is crucial that we regard all individuals—whether or not they violate the rules of society—as *active* problem solvers who perceive, process, interpret, and respond uniquely to their environments. For the moment, think of unlawful behavior as subjectively adaptable rather than deviant. In this sense, unlawful conduct or antisocial behavior is a response pattern that a person has found to be effective, or thinks will be effective, in certain circumstances.

Violent crimes like aggravated assault and murder are sometimes called "irrational," "uncontrollable," or "motiveless," but in reality they usually are not. We know that crimes, including violent crimes, are often planned. The gunman who opened fire from a hotel suite, killing 58 concert goers in Las Vegas in 2017 and injuring many others, had barricaded himself in the hotel with multiple weapons and rounds of ammunition. Those who entered the Paris offices of the satirical publication *Charlie Hebdo* in January 2015 and killed twelve people had methodically planned their actions, as became apparent from recorded videos of their behavior before and after the incident. Similar comments could be made of other shocking incidents. Furthermore, even when a decision to act violently is a quick one and not planned—as would be the case when an armed gunman shoots an unanticipated witness or a police officer shoots an unarmed suspect in the back—the action is not uncontrollable.

Engaging in criminal behavior, violent or nonviolent, might be one person's way of adapting or surviving under physically, socially, financially, or psychologically dire conditions. For another person, the behavior reflects a belief that what one is doing is justified. Although terrorist activities immediately come to mind, this should not be limited to a terrorist context. Child abusers may say they were teaching a child a lesson. White-collar criminals may say their illegal activities are common and are not really wrong. Political figures may justify torture in the name of national security. Even behavior that can be attributed to a severe mental disorder may be adaptive, though it may not be legally culpable, a topic we will discuss in Chapter 8. In all these cases the person is choosing what he or she

believes is the best alternative for that particular situation (although real choice may be illusory in the case of the person with a severe mental disorder). It is not, of course, necessarily the alternative that others would choose or what society condones.

Besides susceptibility to classical conditioning, what accounts for the choice to act in a violent or otherwise antisocial manner? In a very general sense, learning—both operant (or instrumental) and social learning—is an extremely important component in the behavioral equation. Because these concepts spring from the school of psychological thought called behaviorism, we will begin our discussion there.

Behaviorism

Behaviorism officially began in 1913 with the publication of a classic paper by John B. Watson (1878–1958), "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It." The paper, which appeared in the journal *Psychological Review*, is considered the first definitive statement on behaviorism, and Watson is acknowledged as the school's founder. However, Watson was by no means the first to discuss the basic elements of behaviorism. Its roots can be traced back at least to Aristotle (Diserens, 1925). Watson's behaviorism represents a recurring phase in the cyclical history of psychology. A psychology of consciousness or mind is followed by a psychology of action and behavior (behaviorism), from which a psychology of mind and consciousness reemerges. Today psychology is immersed once again in a psychology of mind, especially cognitive processes and the neuropsychological aspects of the brain. **Cognitive processes** are those internal mental processes that enable humans to imagine, to gain knowledge, to reason, and to evaluate information. Although some theorists have suggested that cognitive psychology does not sufficiently recognize the importance of self-reflectiveness or self-agency (Bandura, 2001), to others cognitive psychology does encompass these aspects. Interestingly, contemporary psychology also is embracing biological and developmental influences on human behavior, as we learned in Chapter 3. For the moment, however, let's return to Watsonian behaviorism, which has heavily influenced psychological interpretations of criminal behavior.

Behaviorism
A perspective that focuses on observable, measurable behavior and argues that the social environment and learning are the key determinants of human behavior.

Cognitive processes
Internal mental processes that enable humans to imagine, gain knowledge, reason, and evaluate information.

Watson frequently declared that psychology was the science of behavior. He believed that psychologists should eliminate the "mind" and all of its related vague concepts from scientific consideration because they could not be observed or measured. He was convinced that the fundamental goal of psychology was to understand, predict, and control human behavior and that only a rigidly scientific approach could accomplish this.

Watson was greatly influenced by Pavlov's famous research on **classical conditioning**, alluded to briefly above. Pavlov (1849–1936) was a Russian physiologist interested in studying the digestive system. His subjects were dogs. He strapped them in harnesses, placed different types of food in their mouths, and then measured the flow of saliva through a tube he had surgically placed in their cheek. During these experiments, he began to notice a curious fact. The dogs began to salivate *before* they received the food. He observed that some began to salivate at the mere sight of the container where their food was kept, and some salivated at the sight of the caretaker who usually fed the dogs. Dog owners will easily recognize this pairing. A dog will become excited—some even start slobbering—as you begin opening a bag of dog chow or shaking a box of dog biscuits. Pavlov quickly recognized the importance of this connection and spent the rest of his life studying it.

Classical conditioning
The process of learning to respond to a formerly neutral stimulus that has been paired with another stimulus that already elicits a response. Also called **Pavlovian conditioning.**

Pavlov expanded his laboratory conditions by controlling the dog's associations between events or things and the delivery of food. He began to present a neutral event (an event not previously associated with food) just before food delivery. In his well-known laboratory conditions, he presented a bell just before meat powder. The meat powder was termed the *unconditioned stimulus* because its ability to produce salivation was innate and did not

depend on the dog's having to learn the response. Likewise, the salivation was an unconditioned response because it too does not depend on learning. The bell became the *conditioned stimulus*, because the dog quickly learned that the sound of the bell (or even the presence of the bell) preceded the treat. Similarly, salivation to the bell became the *conditioned response* because the association was learned. As we will learn in later chapters, classical conditioning is relevant to the understanding of some crimes, particularly some sexual offenses.

Stimulus
A person, object, or event that elicits behavior.

Watson thought that psychology should focus exclusively on the interplay between stimulus and response. A **stimulus** is a person, object, or event that elicits behavior. A **response** is the elicited behavior. Watson was convinced that all behavior—both animal and human—was controlled by the external environment in a way similar to that described by Pavlov in his initial study—stimulus produces response (sometimes called S-R psychology). Therefore, for Watson, classical (or Pavlovian) conditioning was the key to understanding, predicting, and controlling behavior, and its practical applicability was unlimited.

The chief spokesperson for behaviorism for several decades was B. F. Skinner (1904–1990), who was the most influential psychologist in the United States in the 20th century. The Skinnerian perspective especially dominated the application of behavior modification or behavior therapy in the correctional system and in many institutions caring for those with intellectual disabilities or mental disorders. Patients or offenders earned rewards for good behavior and lost items or points when good behavior was not forthcoming. As the history of institutional confinement demonstrates, there were many abuses associated with these practices; for example, some rewards were basic necessities, such as adequate food or clothing, which should have been provided regardless of one's behavior (Rothman, 1974). In addition, "good behavior" within an institutional setting did not necessarily carry over to the outside world.

Later theories on criminal behavior (e.g., Akers, 1985) tried to integrate Skinnerian behaviorism with sociological perspectives. Concepts associated with behaviorism are entrenched in many other theories as well. It is worthwhile, therefore, to spend some time sketching the Skinnerian approach to human behavior in general before assessing its impact on the study of criminal behavior.

Skinner's Theory of Behavior

Like Watson, Skinner believed that the primary goal of psychology is the prediction and control of behavior. And like Watson, he believed that environmental or external stimuli are the primary—if not the sole—determinants of all behavior, both human and animal. The environmental stimuli become **independent variables**, and the behaviors they elicit the **dependent variables**. In the behavioral sciences, a **variable** is any entity (or behavior) that can be measured. A behavior (or response) is called "dependent" because it is under the control of (or dependent on) one or more independent variables. The consistent relationships between independent and dependent variables (stimulus and response) are scientific laws. Thus, according to Skinner, the goal of behavioristic psychology is to uncover these laws, making possible the prediction and control of human behavior, including criminal behavior.

Independent variable
The measure whose effect is being studied, and, in most scientific investigations, that is manipulated by the experimenter in a controlled fashion.

Dependent variables
The variables that are measured to see how they are changed by manipulations of the independent variables.

Variable
Any entity that can be measured.

Unlike Watson, Skinner did not deny the existence and sometimes usefulness of private mental events or cognitive processes. He emphasized, however, that these stimuli are not needed by a *science* of behavior, since the products of mental activity can be explained in ways that do not require allusion to unobserved mental states. Specifically, mental activity can be explained by observing what a person does, and it is what a person does that counts. Watson, remember, insisted that consciousness and mind simply do not exist. Thought, to Watson, was little more than tiny movements of the speech apparatus. To Skinner, thought and cognitive processes existed, but studying them is unlikely to lead to the "hard"

science of behavior. Consequently, in order to understand and modify criminal behavior, the thoughts, values, decisions, and intentions of a person who commits crime are irrelevant. According to Skinner, to understand the development of delinquency and criminal behavior, we must focus on environmental stimuli, observable behavior, and rewards.

Behaviorism as a Method of Science

As a method of science, behaviorism posits that knowledge about human behavior can be best advanced if scientists use referents that have a physical basis and can be *publicly observed* by others. Since private events that happen inside our heads cannot be seen by others, they cannot be subjected to the rules of science. According to Skinner, behavioral science data must be comparable to be verified or disconfirmed. Otherwise, psychology would remain a philosophical exercise steeped in armchair speculation and untestable opinions. Some psychologists, psychiatrists, and other professionals could continue to assert that shoplifting and gambling are addictions, without being taken to task about the validity of their statements. Only a well-executed, systematic study in which the terms *shoplifting*, *gambling*, and *addiction* are clearly spelled out and rigorously tested will advance our knowledge about the accuracy of the shoplifting–addiction connection. Therefore, every psychological experiment, every sentence written into a psychological report, should be anchored to something that we can all observe, or that is testable by another professional. Rather than merely saying that someone is anxious or angry, we must identify the precise behaviors that prompt us to make these interpretations. This offers a basis for others, including the person being observed, to agree or disagree with us.

Clearly, Skinner was a strong situationist. In its present form, **situationism** refers to the belief that a person's interaction with the environment and the situation are the primary determinants of behavior. Personal characteristics and other internal factors of the person have little to do with determining behavior. Independent thinking and free will are largely myths. Animals, including humans, react, like complicated robots, to their environments. The environmental stimuli and the range of reactions are complex and infinite, but with careful research, this complexity is not unmanageable. Complex human behavior can be broken down into more simple behavior, a procedure sometimes referred to as **reductionism**. In other words, complicated behavior can be best understood by examining the simplest stimulus-response (S-R) chains of behavior. This point brings us to the issue of operant conditioning and other Skinnerian concepts.

Situationism
A theoretical perspective that argues that environmental stimuli control behavior.

Reductionism
A research approach that argues that in order to understand highly complex events or phenomenon, one must start examining the simplest parts first.

Skinnerian Concepts

Operant Conditioning

Skinner accepted the basic tenets of classical conditioning but asserted that we need an additional type of conditioning to account more fully for all forms of behavior. In Pavlov's experiments on classical conditioning, the dogs did not operate on their environments to receive rewards; the event (food) occurred regardless of what they did. Skinner called this "responding conditioning" and contrasted it with a situation in which a subject does something that affects the situation. In other words, subjects—now called participants in psychological experiments—behave in such a way that reinforcement is forthcoming. To uncover this operant conditioning principle, Skinner established an association between *behavior* and its *consequences*. He trained pigeons (apparently less troublesome, less expensive, and perhaps less lovable than dogs) to peck at keys or push levers for food. The pecking and pushing are operations on the environment. **Operant conditioning**, then, is learning to either make or withhold a particular response because of its consequences. Operant conditioning (or operant learning) is a fundamental learning process that is acquired (or eliminated) by the consequences that follow the behavior. Recall the child

Operant conditioning
A form of learning in which a voluntary response is strengthened or diminished by its consequences. Also called instrumental learning.

who learned the effectiveness of the temper tantrum in the company of one parent but not the other. Children often operate on their environments in this way, "learning" the effectiveness of certain behaviors as they go along—but so do adults. You may have learned that complimenting a coworker improves the quality of your day, while being the office grump drives people away. If you prefer to be a loner, however, the office grump strategy could be effective.

The learning that comes about through operant conditioning was described before Skinner's time, but he is credited with drawing contemporary attention to it and studying it scientifically. Recall from Chapter 1 that the classical school of criminology, which had its roots in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, believed that human conduct was controlled by the seeking of pleasure and the avoidance of pain. In essence, this is what is meant by operant learning. It assumes that people do things solely to receive rewards and avoid punishment. The rewards may be physical (e.g., material goods, money), psychological (e.g., feelings of importance or control over one's fate), or social (e.g., improved status, acceptance).

Reinforcement
Anything that increases the probability of responding.

Positive reinforcement
The acquisition of something desired as a result of one's behavior.

Negative reinforcement
The reward received for avoiding a painful or aversive condition, or stimuli.

Reinforcement

Skinner called rewards **reinforcement**, defining that term as anything that increases the probability of future responding. Furthermore, reinforcement may be either positive or negative. In **positive reinforcement**, we *gain* something we desire as a consequence of certain behavior. We spend hours practicing a difficult piece on the keyboard or perfecting a ski jump and are rewarded by praise from listeners or a gold medal in the Olympics. In **negative reinforcement**, we *avoid* an unpleasant event or stimulus as a consequence of certain behavior. For example, if as a child you were able to avoid the unpleasantness of certain school days by feigning illness, your malingering was negatively reinforced. Therefore, you were more likely to engage in it again at a future date, under similar circumstances—you were "sick" on high school dress-up day, class discussion day in a difficult college course, or the day the district supervisor was scheduled to visit the office. Thus, both positive and negative reinforcement can increase the likelihood of future behavior.

Punishment
An event by which a person receives a noxious, painful, or aversive stimulus, usually as a consequence of behavior.

Extinction
The decline and eventual disappearance of a conditioned or learned response when it is no longer reinforced.

Punishment and Extinction

Negative reinforcement is to be distinguished from punishment and extinction. In **punishment**, an organism receives noxious or painful stimuli as consequences of behavior, such as being slapped or hit for "being bad." In **extinction**, a person or animal receives neither reinforcement nor punishment (see Table 4–1). Skinner argued that punishment is a less effective way to eliminate behavior, because it merely suppresses it temporarily. At a later time, under the right conditions, the response is very likely to reoccur. Extinction is far more effective, because once the organism learns that a behavior brings no reinforcement, the behavior will be dropped from the repertoire of possible responses for that set of circumstances.

According to Nietzel (1979), C. R. Jeffrey (1965) was one of the first criminologists to suggest that criminal behavior was learned according to principles of Skinnerian operant conditioning. Shortly afterward, Burgess and Akers (1966) agreed with this and further

TABLE 4–1 Skinner's Basic Principles of Operant Learning

	Goal	Action
Positive reinforcement	Increases a desired behavior	Introduction of a pleasant stimulus following a desired behavior
Negative reinforcement	Increases a desired behavior	Removal of aversive stimulus following a desired behavior
Punishment	Decreases undesired behavior	Introduction of aversive stimulus following undesired behavior
Extinction	Eliminates undesired behavior	No reinforcement or punishment for undesired behavior

hypothesized that criminal behavior was both acquired and maintained through operant conditioning. But, as Nietzel points out, most of the direct evidence for this claim comes from experiments with nonhuman animals. Evidence that the same occurs in humans is scarce and replete with possible alternate interpretations.

Nevertheless, neither Jeffrey nor Burgess and Akers relied exclusively on Skinnerian theory. Rather, they combined sociologist Edwin Sutherland's principles of social learning with operant conditioning, particularly the reinforcement aspect, to suggest explanations for criminal behavior (Williams & McShane, 2004). We will return to Sutherland's theory shortly.

Operant Learning and Crime

The premise that operant conditioning is the basis for the origin of criminal behavior is deceptively simple: Criminal behavior is learned and strengthened because of the reinforcements it brings. According to Skinner, human beings are born neutral—neither good nor bad. Culture, society, and the environment shape behavior. Therefore, behavior will be labeled good, bad, or indifferent, as society chooses. What is judged "good" behavior in one society or culture may be labeled "bad" in another. Members of one group in a society may believe that it is "bad" for a child to masturbate or to pretend that a block of wood is a toy truck and "good" to hit the child to stop these behaviors. To others, the behavior of the adults who hit the child is "bad." Depending on the severity of the punishment, it may also be aggravated assault, a crime as defined in the law. In fact, even corporal punishment that is not severe—such as a slap—qualifies as criminal activity according to the legal definition of assault. To many it is "bad," not because it is a crime, but because of its effect on the child's development.

Skinner was convinced that searches for individual dispositions or personalities that lead to criminal conduct are fruitless, because people are ultimately determined by the environment in which they live. He did not completely discount the role of genetics in the formation of behavior, but he saw it as a very minor one; the dominant player is operant conditioning. According to Skinner and his followers, if we wish to eliminate crime, we must change society through behavioral engineering based on a *scientific* conception of humans. Having agreed on rules and regulations (having defined what behaviors constitute antisocial or criminal offenses), we must design a society in which members learn very early that positive reinforcement will not occur if they transgress against these rules and regulations, but will occur if they abide by them.

This is a tall order, since the reinforcements for antisocial behavior are already occurring, are not always obvious, and may actually be highly complex. Property crimes such as shoplifting and burglary, or violent crimes such as robbery, appear to be motivated in many cases by a desire for physical rewards. However, they may also be prompted by a desire for social and psychological reinforcements, such as increased status among peers, self-esteem, feelings of competence, or simply for the thrill of it. It is a safe bet that much criminal behavior is undertaken for reinforcement purposes, positive or negative. The problem then becomes, how do we identify those reinforcements and how do we prevent them from happening, or at least minimize their value?

Contemporary psychology still embraces a behavioristic orientation toward the *scientific* study of behavior, but not all behaviorists are Skinnerians. Today, most find Skinner's brand of behaviorism too limiting and find the many facets of social learning—to be discussed below—far more appealing. While they agree that a stimulus can elicit a reflexive response (classical conditioning) and that a behavior produces consequences that influence subsequent responding (operant conditioning), they are also convinced that additional factors must be introduced to explain human behavior.

This brings us to the topic of mental states and cognitive processes, which Skinner urged all behavioral scientists to shun. Most psychologists today examine the roles played by self-reinforcement, anticipatory reinforcement, vicarious reinforcement, and all the symbolic, cognitive processes that occur within the human brain. To avoid confusion, we must now begin to distinguish Skinnerian behaviorism from other forms, including social behaviorism (social learning) and differential association-reinforcement.

Social Learning

Early learning theorists worked in the laboratory, using nonhumans as their primary subjects. Pavlov's, Watson's, and Skinner's theories, for example, were based on careful, painstaking observations and experiments with nonhuman animals, especially rats, pigeons, and dogs. Cats were never cooperative. The learning principles gleaned from their work were generalized to a wide variety of human behaviors. In many cases, this was a valid process. Few psychologists would dispute the contention that the concept of reinforcement is one of the most soundly established principles in psychology today.

However, behaviorists also suggested that since all human behavior is learned, it can also be changed, using the same principles by which it was acquired. This generated a plethora of behavior therapies or behavior modification techniques. Use learning principles to establish conditions that change or maintain targeted behaviors and voilà! Therapeutic success! The apparent simplicity of the procedures and methods was especially appealing to many clinicians and other professionals working in the criminal justice system, and behavior modification packages sometimes guaranteed to modify criminal behavior were rushed to various institutions, including facilities for juveniles. Patients in mental institutions, prisoners, and juveniles in treatment centers would be rewarded for good behavior with such incentives as cigarettes, canteen privileges, or an extra shower. As noted above, the incentives were sometimes basic necessities that should have been available as a matter of course, such as a towel or a mattress to sleep on.

But oversimplification is dangerous when we deal with human complexity. Human beings do respond to reinforcement and punishment, and behavior therapy based on learning principles can change certain elements of behavior, as long as the recipient wants to change. Moreover, humans also can be classically conditioned, although there are individual differences in their susceptibility. When we lose sight of the person and overemphasize the environmental or external determinants of behavior, however, we may be overlooking a critical level of explanation. Remember that human beings are, in large part, active problem solvers who perceive, encode, interpret, and make decisions on the basis of what the environment has to offer. Thus, internal factors, as well as external ones, may play significant roles in behavior. This is the essence of **social learning theory**, which suggests that to understand criminal behavior we must examine perceptions, thoughts, expectancies, competencies, and values. Each person has his or her own version of the world and lives by that version.

Social learning theory
A theory of human behavior based on learning from watching others in the social environment. This leads to an individual's development of his or her own perceptions, thoughts, expectancies, competencies, and values.

To explain human behavior, social learning theorists place great emphasis on cognitive processes, which are the internal processes we commonly call thinking and remembering. Classical and operant conditioning ignore what transpires between the time the organism perceives a stimulus and the time it responds or reacts. Skinnerian behaviorists claim, "If we can account for the facts by using observable behavior, why worry about the labyrinths of internal processes?" Social behaviorists, however, counter that this perspective offers an incomplete picture of human behavior.

The term *social learning* reflects the theory's strong assumption that we learn primarily by observing and listening to people around us—the social environment. In fact, social

learning theorists believe that the social environment is the most important factor in the *acquisition* of most human behavior. Humans are basically social creatures. These theorists do accept the necessity of reinforcement for the *maintenance* of behavior, however. Criminal behavior, for example, may initially be acquired through association and through observation, but whether or not it is maintained will depend primarily upon reinforcement (operant conditioning). For example, if a boy sees someone he admires (i.e., a role model) successfully pilfering from the local sporting goods store, the boy may try some pilfering of his own. Whether he continues that behavior, however, will depend on the personal reinforcement or value it assumes. If no reinforcement is forthcoming (he fails to pocket items because other customers are inevitably about or there are clerks in the vicinity), then the behavior will probably drop out of his response repertoire (extinction). If the behavior brings aversive results (punishment), this might inhibit or suppress future similar behavior, but the suppression or inhibition is unlikely to be long lasting. This is because once the punishing agent is no longer around, the unwanted behavior returns.

Several clusters of psychologists are enrolled in the social learning school of thought. Additionally, the discipline of sociology has its own social learning school. We will focus first on the work of two prominent representatives, psychologists Julian Rotter and Albert Bandura, since they seem to have the most to offer to the study of criminal behavior from the social learning perspective.

Expectancy Theory

Julian Rotter is best known for drawing attention to the importance of expectations (cognitions) about the consequences (outcomes) of behavior, including the reinforcement that will be gained from it. In other words, before doing anything, we implicitly and quickly ask ourselves, "What has happened to me before in this situation, and what will I gain this time?" According to Rotter, whether a specific pattern of behavior occurs will depend on our expectancies and how much we value the outcomes. To predict whether someone will behave a certain way, we must estimate that person's expectancies and the importance he or she places on the rewards gained by the behavior. Often, the person will develop "generalized expectancies" that are stable and consistent across relatively similar situations (Mischel, 1976). **Expectancy theory**, therefore, argues that a person's performance level is based on that person's *expectation* that behaving in a particular way will lead to a given outcome.

Expectancy theory
A theory of motivation that takes into account both the expectancy of achieving a particular goal and the value placed on it.

The hypothesis that people enter situations with generalized expectancies about the outcomes of their behavior is an important one for students of crime. Applying Rotter's theory to criminal behavior, we would say that when people engage in unlawful conduct, they *expect* to gain something in the form of status, power, security, affection, material goods, or living conditions. The embezzler takes funds from his company in order to purchase a recreational vehicle; the father who physically abuses his children thinks they will comply with his wishes or learn to respect adults; the woman who poisons an abusive husband looks for an improvement in her life situation. Simply to label a person who breaks laws as immoral, impulsive, crazy, or lacking in ego control fails to include other essential ingredients in the act. Although self-regulation, executive function, and moral development are involved, people who act unlawfully perceive and interpret the situation and select what they consider to be the most effective behavior under the circumstances. Usually, when people act violently, for example, they do so because that approach has been used successfully in the past (at least they believe it has been successful). Less frequently, they have simply observed someone else gain by employing a violent approach, and they try it for themselves. This brings us to Bandura's imitational model of social learning.

Imitational Aspects of Social Learning

Observational learning (modeling)
The process by which individuals learn patterns of behavior by observing another person performing the action.

Models
Individuals or groups of individuals in the environment whose behavior is observed and imitated.

An individual may acquire ways of doing something simply by watching others do it; direct reinforcement is not necessary. Albert Bandura (1973b) introduced this idea, which he called **observational learning** or **modeling**, to the social learning process. Bandura contends that much of our behavior is initially acquired by watching others, who are called models. **Models** are those significant persons in the social environment that provide cues for how to do something. For example, a child may learn how to shoot a gun by imitating television or video characters. He or she then rehearses and fine-tunes this behavioral pattern by practicing with toy guns. The behavior is likely to be maintained if peers also play with guns and reinforce one another for doing so. Even if the children have not pulled the triggers on real pistols or rifles, they have acquired a close approximation of shooting someone by observing others do it. It is likely that just about every adult and older child in the United States knows how to shoot, even if they have never actually done so: "You aim and pull the trigger." Of course, shooting safely and accurately is much more complicated, but the rudimentary know-how has been acquired through **imitational learning** (also called modeling or observational learning). The behavioral pattern exists in our repertoires, even if we have never received direct reinforcement for acquiring it.

According to Bandura, the more significant and respected the models, the greater their impact on our behavior. Relevant models include parents, teachers, mentors, siblings, friends, and peers, as well as symbolic models like literary characters or television, video, or movie personages. Aging athletes and performers tout cosmetics, smart phones, reverse mortgages, weight-loss programs, brands of yogurt, and homes for senior living. Well-known individuals also appear in public service announcements, such as those promoting health care or a drug-free life, or telling viewers that domestic violence is "not o.k." Interestingly, these public service advertisements often miss the point. In observational learning, it is not so much what the model says as what the model does that is effective. Accounts of popular public figures engaging and allegedly engaging in domestic violence, animal abuse, substance abuse, rape, assault, bullying, and tax evasion suggest to some observers that such behavior is normative, and these accounts may counteract any positive message promoted by public service announcements.

The observed behavior of the model is also more likely to be imitated if the observer sees the model receive a reward, such as fame plus millions of dollars per year. It is less likely to be imitated if the model is punished, such as receiving a prison sentence. Thus, according to social learning principles, convictions of sports and entertainment figures charged with the crimes mentioned above would suggest that the behaviors will not be imitated. On the other hand, if they serve little or no time and write a best-selling book about their experiences, or subsequently receive a lucrative contract as a sports commentator, an observer might not perceive this as a punishment. Bandura believes—much like Rotter—that once a person decides to use a newly acquired behavior, whether he or she performs or maintains it will depend on the situation and the expectancies for potential gain. This potential gain may come from outside (the praise of others, financial gain) or it may come from within (self-reinforcement for a job the individual perceives as well done).

Much of Bandura's original research was directed at the learning of aggressive and violent behavior through modeling. We will be returning to his theory, therefore, in Chapter 5 on aggression and violence. At this point, however, be aware that a substantial body of experimental findings gives impressive support to his theory. In a classic study, preschool children who watched a film of an adult assaulting an inflated plastic rubber doll were significantly more likely to imitate that behavior than were a comparable group who viewed more passive behavior (Bandura & Huston, 1961; Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963). Many studies employing variations of this basic procedure report similar results, strengthening the

hypothesis that observing aggression leads to hostility in both children and adults (Walters & Grusec, 1977).

This research has been extended to viewing media violence and playing violent video games (Calvert et al., 2017; Dodge & Pettit, 2003). While the research in these areas is not totally conclusive, the growing evidence is that people who observe aggressive acts not only imitate the observed behavior but also become generally more hostile and aggressive themselves (Anderson & Prot, 2011; Bryant & Zillman, 2002; Bushman, 2014; Huesmann, Moise-Titus, Podolski, & Eron, 2003). Specifically, with respect to playing violent video games, a task force commissioned by the American Psychological Association (Calvert et al., 2017) concluded that exposure to these games was associated with increased aggressive behavior, cognitions, affect, desensitization to violence, and decreased empathy. Nevertheless, research has not demonstrated a *direct* causal link between playing these games and engaging in violent behavior.

To some extent, social learning, as it is discussed by Rotter and Bandura, humanizes the Skinnerian viewpoint, because it provides clues about what transpires inside the human brain, especially the cognitive processes involved. It draws our attention to the cognitive aspects of behavior, while classical and operant conditioning focus exclusively on the environment. Social learning theorists use environment in the social sense, which includes the internal as well as the external environment. Skinnerians prefer to limit relevant stimuli to external surroundings.

Differential Association-Reinforcement Theory

Ronald Akers (1977, 1985; Burgess & Akers, 1966) proposed a social learning theory of deviance that tries to integrate the core ingredients of Skinnerian behaviorism, the social learning theory as outlined by Bandura, and the differential association theory of criminologist Edwin H. Sutherland (1947). Akers called his theory **differential association-reinforcement (DAR)**. Briefly, the theory states that people learn to commit deviant acts through interpersonal interactions with their social environment.

Differential association-reinforcement (DAR) theory
A theory of deviance developed by Akers that combines Skinner's behaviorism and Sutherland's differential association theory. The theory states that people learn deviant behavior through the reinforcements they receive from the social environment.

To understand DAR theory, we must grasp Sutherland's differential association theory, which dominated the field of sociological criminology for over four decades. It was first set forth in the third edition (1939) of Sutherland's *Principles of Criminology* and restated in 1947. Although Sutherland died in 1950, the theory was left intact in Donald R. Cressey's subsequent revisions of the original text (Sutherland & Cressey, 1978; Sutherland, Cressey, & Luckenbill, 1992).

Sutherland, a sociologist, believed that criminal or deviant behavior is learned the same way that all behavior is learned. The crucial factors are with whom a person associates, for how long, how frequently, how personally meaningful the associations are, and how early they occur in the person's development. According to Sutherland, in our intimate personal groups, we all learn definitions, or normative meanings (messages or values), favorable or unfavorable to law violation. A person becomes delinquent or criminal "because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law. This is the principle of differential association" (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974, pp. 80–81).

Note that criminal behavior does not invariably develop out of association or contacts with "bad companions" or people who commit crime. The messages, not the contacts themselves, are crucial. Furthermore, in order for the person to be influenced toward delinquent behavior, the deviant messages or values from the "bad companions" must outweigh conventional ones. Therefore, Sutherland also believed that criminal behavior may develop even if association with criminal groups is minimal. For example, law-abiding groups—such

as parents—may communicate subtly or bluntly that it is all right to cheat, or that everyone is basically dishonest. This is an extremely important point that will be reiterated when we discuss moral disengagement later in the chapter. Nevertheless, contemporary reviews of differential association theory emphasize that the associations with deviant peer groups have a major effect on illegal behavior (Williams & McShane, 2004). What is not known is which comes first: the behavior or the associations (Williams & McShane, 2004).

Sutherland's theory is probably popular among social scientists because, as one writer put it, "it attempts a logical, systematic formulation of the chain of interrelations that makes crime reasonable and understandable as normal, learned behavior without having to resort to assumptions of biological or psychological deviance" (Vold, 1958, p. 192). However, the theory is also ambiguous; because of this feature, it did not at first draw much empirical research (see Gibbons, 1977, pp. 221–228). How are a person's contacts to be measured and weighed? Also, as Cressey (Sutherland & Cressey, 1974) admits, the theory does not specify what kinds of learning are important (e.g., operant, classical, modeling). Neither does it adequately consider individual differences in the learning process. Among some sociologists, however, differential association theory remains popular and continues to attract research interest (Pratt et al., 2010; Williams & McShane, 2004).

Akers (1985) tries to correct some of the problems with differential association theory by reformulating it to dovetail with Skinnerian and social learning principles. He proposes that most deviant behavior is learned according to principles outlined in Skinner's operant conditioning, with classical conditioning playing a secondary role. Furthermore, the strength of deviant behavior is a direct function of the amount, frequency, and probability of reinforcement the individual has experienced by performing that behavior in the past. The reinforcement may be positive or negative in the Skinnerian meanings of the terms.

Crucial to the Akers position is the role played by *social* and *nonsocial reinforcement*, the former being the more important. "Most of the learning relevant to deviant behavior is the result of social interactions or exchanges in which the words, responses, presence, and behavior of other persons make reinforcers available, and provide the setting for reinforcement" (Akers, 1985, p. 45). It is also important to note that most of these social reinforcements are symbolic and verbal rewards for participating or for agreeing with group norms and expectations. For example, doing something in accordance with group or subcultural norms is rewarded with "Way to go," "Great job," a pat on the back, a high five, a fist bump, or a friendly grin. Nonsocial reinforcement refers primarily to physiological factors or material acquisition that may be relevant for some crimes, such as drug-related offenses or burglary.

Deviant or antisocial behavior, then, is most likely to develop as a result of social reinforcements given by significant others, usually within one's peer group. The group first adopts its own *normative definitions* about what conduct is good or bad, right or wrong, justified or unjustified. These normative definitions become internal, cognitive guides to what is appropriate and will most likely be reinforced by the group. In this sense, normative definitions operate as **discriminative stimuli**—social signals transmitted by subcultural or peer groups to indicate whether certain kinds of behavior will be rewarded or punished within a particular social context.

Discriminative stimuli
Social signals or gestures transmitted by subcultural or peer groups to indicate whether certain kinds of behavior will be rewarded or punished within a particular social context.

According to Akers, two classes of discriminative stimuli operate in promoting deviant behavior. First, positive discriminative stimuli are the signals (verbal or nonverbal) that communicate that certain behaviors are encouraged by the subgroup. Not surprisingly, they follow the principle of positive reinforcement: The individual engaging in them gains social rewards from the group. The second type of social cue, *neutralizing* or *justifying discriminative stimuli*, neutralizes the warnings communicated by society at large that certain behaviors are inappropriate or unlawful. According to Akers, they "make the behavior, which others condemn and which the person himself may initially define as bad, seem all right, justified, excusable, necessary, the lesser of two evils, or not 'really' deviant after all" (Akers, 1977, p. 521).

Statements like "Everyone has a price," "I can't help myself," "Everyone else does it," or "She deserved it" reflect the influence of neutralizing stimuli.

The more people define their behavior as positive or at least justified, the more likely they are to engage in it. If deviant activity (as defined by society at large) has been reinforced more than conforming behavior (also defined by society), and if it has been justified, it is likely that deviant behavior will be maintained. In essence, our behavior is guided by the norms we have internalized and for which we expect to be continually socially reinforced by significant others.

Akers accepts the validity of Bandura's modeling as a necessary factor in the initial acquisition of deviant behavior. But its continuation will depend greatly on the frequency and personal significance of *social reinforcement*, which comes from association with others.

Akers's social learning theory has received its share of criticism. Some scholars consider it circular and difficult to follow: Behavior occurs because it is reinforced, but it is reinforced because it occurs. Kornhauser (1978) asserted that there was no empirical support for the theory. During the 1980s and 1990s, though, Akers himself—along with research colleagues—published a number of studies supportive of his theory, particularly as it related to drug use (e.g., Akers & Cochran, 1985; Akers & Lee, 1996; Krohn, Akers, Radosevich, & Lanza-Kaduce, 1982). Like Sutherland's differential association theory, Akers's approach retains respectability within sociological criminology (Pratt et al., 2010).

Frustration-Induced Criminality

It is a long-held observation that when organisms—including humans—are prevented from responding in a way that had previously produced rewards, their behavior often becomes more energetic and vigorous (Amsel, 1958; Brown & Farber, 1951). Cats bite, scratch, snarl, and become irritable; humans may snarl and become irritable and rambunctious (and may also bite and scratch). Researchers assume that these aroused responses result from an aversive internal state of arousal that they call **frustration**.

Frustration
An aversive internal state of arousal that occurs when one is prevented from responding in a way that previously produced rewards (or that one believes would produce rewards).

Thus, when behavior directed at a specific goal is blocked, arousal increases, and the individual experiences a drive to reduce it. Behavior is energized, but more significantly the responses that lead to a reduction in the arousal may be strengthened or reinforced. This suggests that people who employ violence to reduce frustration will, under extreme frustration, become more vigorous than usual, possibly even resorting to murder and other violent actions. Many incidents of workplace violence, for example, happen after the perpetrator has experienced a series of failures on the job or has been fired. Likewise, school shootings often occur after a student has been bullied or suspended. This also suggests that violent behavior directed at reducing frustration will be reinforced, since it reduces unpleasant arousal by altering the precipitating event or stimuli. The supervisor who gave a poor performance evaluation has been injured; the principal who suspended the student has been killed.

The Socialized and Individual Offender

Leonard Berkowitz (1962) conducted numerous studies relating frustration to criminality. He divided criminal personalities into two main classifications: the **socialized** and the **individual offender**. You have already met socialized offenders. We have discussed them throughout this chapter as products of learning, conditioning, and modeling. They offend because they have learned to, or expect rewards, as a result of their interactions with the social environment. The individual offender, by contrast, is the product of a long, possibly intense series of frustrations resulting from unmet needs. According to Berkowitz, both

Socialized offender
A person who violates the law consistently because of learning the behavioral patterns from his or her social environment.

Individual offender
In Berkowitz's theory, the person who offends after a series of frustrations and unmet needs.

modeling and frustration are involved in the development of criminal behavior, but one set of life experiences favors a particular criminal style. "Most lawbreakers may have been exposed to some combination of frustrations and aggressively antisocial models, with the thwartings being particularly important in the development of 'individual' offenders and the antisocial models being more influential in the formulation of the 'socialized' criminals" (Berkowitz, 1962, p. 303).

Berkowitz adds an important dimension to frustration, suggesting that it is particularly intense if an individual has high expectancy of reaching a goal (Berkowitz, 1969). People who anticipate reaching a goal, and who feel they have some personal control over their lives, are more likely to react strongly to interference than those who feel hopeless. In the first case, delay or blockage may generate intense anger and even a violent response, if the frustrated individual believes that type of response will eliminate the interference. The power of frustration may well have been what Maslow (1954) was referring to when he stated that crime and delinquency represent a legitimate revolt against exploitation, injustice, and unfairness. The frustration hypothesis also fits neatly into theories offered by critical or conflict criminologists. Individuals who feel suppressed by the power elite and feel they have a right to reap society's benefits may well experience intense frustration at continuing domination. These criminologists would prefer, though, that the focus be on those who hold the power rather than on those who commit crime out of possible frustration.

Frustration-Induced Riots

The frustration-induced theory helps to explain the behavior of looters during unexpected events like floods, fires, violent storms, or electrical blackouts. The theory is also cited when criminal activity occurs following controversial decisions associated with the criminal justice system. For example, after a jury in 1993 acquitted four Los Angeles police officers of aggravated assault in the beating of Rodney King, four days of rioting and looting ensued, 58 people were killed, and damage was estimated to be at least $1 billion. The LA riots were widely perceived to be a reflection of frustration with what was perceived to be a racist criminal justice system. The officers were white and King was black. Although many of the rioters were black, not all were. People of all ages and diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds stole food, alcohol, firearms, and stereos. (Later, a federal jury convicted two of the four officers on federal charges.)

Twenty years later, in Fall 2014, much of the nation's attention was riveted on Ferguson, Missouri, after the shooting of an unarmed young black man by a white police officer. Tensions were high as competing accounts of what had occurred appeared in the media. A grand jury refused to indict the officer. Marches, protests, and public demonstrations marked the weeks following the incident as well as the days following the grand jury's decision. But the widespread violence and looting that had been feared never materialized, though some violence did occur. Similarly, when an unarmed black man in Staten Island was confronted for selling loose cigarettes and was subsequently placed in an illegal choke hold by a police officer and died, and when a grand jury again declined to indict, there were numerous protests and marches, but they were by and large peaceful. In both of these situations, as well as many others, the theory of frustration-induced criminality would have predicted more criminal activity, including violence, but it did not materialize.

Violence did materialize in Baltimore, Maryland in April 2015, after a young black man was arrested by police and taken in a van to the police station. He suffered severe spinal injuries, was hospitalized, and subsequently died. In this case both peaceful protests and violence erupted, particularly on one afternoon and evening. Peaceful marchers streamed through city streets, but cars were also set afire, businesses looted and destroyed,

and police officers were injured from bricks thrown at them. National Guard troops were called in, and the violence was followed by appeals for calm from many segments of the community. Citizens were seen cleaning up the streets following the effects of the looting and burning.

In sum, there have been numerous accounts of peaceful demonstrations and protests after a perceived injustice, even when major disruptions or even riots had been feared as they were in Ferguson, Baltimore, and Staten Island. The injustices did not always involve police activity. In the fall of 2011 the Occupy Wall Street movement that began in New York City spread rapidly across the United States as well as in other countries. It was fueled by intense disenchantment with financial markets and corporate greed. Despite the large numbers of individuals who turned out for these protests, there was no widespread looting or violence, although there were reports of minor vandalism, disruption of traffic, and property damage. Likewise, in the aftermath of the 2012 death of a 17-year-old unarmed black youth by a white (Hispanic) neighborhood watch volunteer in Florida, many protests occurred across the nation. The protests were held to bring attention to the fact that no arrest had been made many weeks after the boy's death. The Neighborhood Watch volunteer was subsequently brought to trial and was acquitted by a six-person jury. Again, violent protests were predicted as a result of that acquittal, but they did not occur. Likewise the lethal shooting of a black 17-year-old in Chicago by a white police officer in 2014 prompted citizens to hold demonstrations. The officer was convicted of second-degree murder in 2018 and three other officers were later found not guilty of obstructing justice by lying about the incident. Again, citizens were likely frustrated, but did not act violently. As a general rule, the protests and marches that happen are peaceful and nonviolent, even though tempers may flare and minor scuffles may erupt.

There is no question that frustration played a large role in prompting all of the above protests. In the case of the young black men, frustration was directed at perceived racial profiling, delay in attending appropriately to victims, disrespect of the deceased person's body, the police code of silence, and the reluctance of the criminal justice system to promptly investigate the deaths. The Occupy protesters were frustrated at the nation's economic systems and policies. Nevertheless, the frustration-aggression hypothesis would not be supported in these instances because frustration was turned into something more positive—peaceful and dignified marches to bring public attention to perceived injustice and to call for change. On the other hand, frustration may play an important role in explaining crime committed by individuals, as we discuss next.

Frustration and Crime

The role of frustration in criminal behavior can be complex, and it may be a matter of degree. Berkowitz hypothesizes that the more intense and frequent the thwarting or frustration in a person's life, the more susceptible and sensitive the person is to subsequent frustration. Thus, the individual who frequently strikes out at society in unlawful or deviant ways may have encountered numerous severe frustrating incidents, especially during early development, but has not given up hope. In support of this argument, Berkowitz cites early research findings on delinquency (e.g., Bandura & Walters, 1959; Glueck & Glueck, 1950; McCord, McCord, & Zola, 1959), revealing that delinquent children, compared with nondelinquents, have been considerably more deprived and frustrated during their lifetime.

Berkowitz also suggests that parental neglect or failure to meet the child's needs for dependency and affection are internal, frustrating circumstances that germinate distrust of all others within the social environment. This generalized distrust is carried into the streets and school, and the youngster may exhibit a "chip on the shoulder." The frustration of not

having dependency needs met prevents the child from establishing emotional attachments to other people. The individual may thus become resentful, angry, and hostile toward other people in general.

Current psychological approaches to delinquency would not disagree, but would place far less blame on the parent. They are more likely to recognize the restrictions that parents face as a result of social problems like racism and economic inequality. For example, over 20% of children under the age of 18 in the United States live in households below the official poverty line, and another 20% are near poor (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2018; Yoshikawa et al., 2012). The negative effects of poverty on the mental, emotional, and behavioral health of children are well recognized, as we noted in Chapters 2 and 3. In addition, contemporary psychologists recognize the influences of other social systems in the juvenile's life, including peers and the educational system. Just as importantly, however, protective factors in a child's life play a significant role in counterattacking the effects of these risk factors.

Situational Instigators and Regulators of Criminal Behavior

Most contemporary theories and research support the view that human behavior results from a mutual interaction between personality and situational variables. However, several behavioral and social scientists (e.g., Alison, Bennell, Ormerod, & Mokros, 2002; Gibbons, 1977; Mischel, 1976) have observed that much crime research and theory neglects situational (external) variables in favor of dispositional (internal) factors. They contend that criminality in many cases may simply reflect being in the wrong place at the wrong time with the wrong people. For example, Gibbons comments, "In many cases, criminality may be a response to nothing more temporal than the provocations and attractions bound up in the immediate circumstances out of which deviant acts arise" (Gibbons, 1977, p. 229). Skinner, of course, exemplifies the position that behavior is controlled by environmental (external) contingencies and events.

Fundamental attribution error
A tendency to underestimate the importance of situational determinates and to overestimate the importance of personality or dispositional factors in identifying the causes of human behavior.

Haney (1983) discusses **fundamental attribution error**, which refers to a common human tendency to discount the influence of the situation and explain behavior by referring to the personality of the actor instead. Fundamental attribution error is a concept that applies to making attributions about others, not ourselves. For example, when correctional counselors were asked why inmates had committed the crimes that put them in prison, the counselors attributed the causes almost exclusively to dispositional or personality factors (such as laziness, or meanness) rather than to environmental factors (such as upbringing, poverty, or social factors) (Saulnier & Perlman, 1981). The inmates, on the other hand, said that factors they believed landed them in prison were largely external in nature, such as poverty, poor employment opportunities, and physical and sexual abuse. When it comes to ourselves, we engage in **self-serving biases**, in which we tend to attribute good things about ourselves to dispositional factors, and bad things to events and forces outside ourselves. For example, when we do well on an exam, we tend to attribute the cause to our intelligence and study habits. Although Tessa may humbly explain her high grade by saying the test was easy, this is probably an atypical response. On the other hand, when we do poorly, we tend to attribute the cause to a poorly designed, unfair, or "tricky" exam. Tessa, again an exception, would say she just did not study hard enough.

Self-serving bias
A tendency to attribute positive things that happen to us to our abilities and personalities, and to attribute negative events to some cause outside ourselves or beyond our control.

Haney believes that personality or internal states account very little for how we act. He contends that the important determining influence is the situation in which we find ourselves. In essence, Haney is arguing that, given the appropriate circumstances, anyone might engage in culpable criminal behavior—that we all have our price.

Authority as an Instigator of Criminal Behavior

Sometimes, people behave a certain way because someone with power told them they must, even though the actions do not "set right" with their own principles. Kelman and Hamilton (1989) refer to this phenomenon as **crimes of obedience**. "A crime of obedience is an act performed in response to orders from authority that is considered illegal or immoral by the larger community" (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989, p. 46). Crimes of obedience have occurred throughout human history. Nazi concentration camps and orders to kill innocent civilians in wartime are two horrifying examples, but destructive crimes of obedience also occur in corporate business practices, such as were illustrated in the criminal cases of Enron, WorldCom, and Arthur Anderson (Carsten & Uhl-Bien, 2013). They also occur in the political world. The classic example of the influence of authority is the military order to kill indiscriminately or to commit some other atrocity, such as then-Lieutenant William Calley's carrying out the massacre of villagers at My Lai in the Vietnam War. An example of crimes of obedience in a political/bureaucratic context is the Watergate scandal, when, on June 17, 1972, a group of men under the auspices of the Nixon administration burglarized the Democratic National Headquarters in the Watergate apartment complex. The concept also came to mind in the midst of scrutinizing the interrogation tactics and the treatment of detainees in the wake of September 11, 2001. (See Box 4–1 for more discussion on this.)

Crimes of obedience
Illegal acts that are committed under the order of someone in authority.

In an attempt to delineate some of the variables involved in obedience to authority, Stanley Milgram (1977) designed a series of experiments. Participants were persons who volunteered (for money) in response to a newspaper ad. The experiments, which eventually received intensive public scrutiny and are now cited in nearly every introductory psychology textbook, studied the amount of electrical shock people were willing to administer to others when ordered to do so by an apparent authority figure.

The Milgram experiments revealed the overwhelming power of situations to dramatically influence human behavior. In addition, a burgeoning amount of archival literature has grown in recent years, based on a Papers Archive at Yale University (Gibson, 2017). This recent research is primarily designed to generate new insights into the original Milgram experiments.

In the original experiment, participants were adult males, ages 20–50, who represented a cross section of the socioeconomic classes. They were told that the researchers were studying the effects of punishment on memory. The experiment required a "teacher" and a "victim." Unknown to the volunteers, the victim was part of the experiment, a confederate who had been trained to act in a certain manner as part of the experimental design. In a rigged coin toss, the naive participant (the volunteer) always became the teacher and the confederate the victim. The victim-learner was taken to an adjacent room and strapped into an "electric chair" in the presence of the "naive" teacher.

Next, the teacher was led back to a room where he saw a simulated shock generator—a frightening apparatus with 30 toggle switches presumably capable of delivering 30 levels of electric shock to the learner in the adjacent room. Each level was marked in volts ranging from 15 to 450 and accompanied by a switch. In addition, labels indicated "slight shock," "danger: severe shock," and beyond, to an "XXX" level. Each time the learner gave an incorrect answer to a learning task, the teacher was instructed to administer a stronger level of shock. The victim, who did not receive any shock at all, purposefully gave incorrect answers; he had also been trained to scream in agony, plead with the subject to stop, and pound on the wall when the higher levels of shock were administered.

Milgram wanted to discover how far people would go under the orders of an apparent authority figure (the experimenter). He may have found more than he bargained for. Almost two-thirds of the subjects obeyed the experimenter and administered the maximum shock

levels. When the participant resisted giving the shock, the experimenter was instructed to pressure them with a graded series of prods. For example, if a participant hesitated, the experimenter would say "please continue." A second hesitation would prompt the experimenter to admonish "The experiment requires that you continue," and so on. The strongest and final prod demanded "You have no other choice; you must go on." For many of the participants who refused to continue, the last prompt generated even more resistance from them and they immediately stopped.

In subsequent experiments, using similar experimental conditions but different subjects (including both males and females), Milgram's colleagues and followers continued to find similar results. (See Blass (2009) for a detailed review of the Milgram experiments.) Interestingly, when Milgram originally asked mental health experts to predict the outcome of this experiment, the majority of them thought that only a pathological few would obey the experimenter's commands to incrementally increase the shock to dangerous levels (Tsang, 2002). The experts apparently discounted the enormous pressures that the experiment placed on subjects and committed the fundamental attribution error, assuming that "the obedient person who obeys evil commands is sadistic and ill" (Tsang, 2002, p. 27).

Many of Milgram's subjects, while obeying the experimenter's instructions, demonstrated considerable tension and discomfort. Some stuttered, bit their lips, twisted their hands, laughed nervously, sweated profusely, or dug their fingernails into their flesh, especially after the victim began pounding the wall in protest (Milgram, 1963). As noted by Reicher and his colleagues (2012), "Listening to any of the sessions, one is struck by the ways in which participants struggle to reconcile the unreconcilable, the ways in which they shift from one position to another, and their deep ambivalence about what to do" (p. 319). After the experiment, some reported that they wanted to stop punishing the victim but continued to do so because the experimenter would not let them stop. Milgram (1977, p. 118) concluded, "The individual, upon entering the laboratory, becomes integrated into a situation that carries its own momentum."

As noted above, Milgram and his followers conducted more research, which modified his original study. Milgram himself died in 1984. In approximately 30 additional studies (Reicher, Haslam, & Smith, 2012), the Milgram group not only included women but also tried to determine more precisely what conditions inhibited or promoted this extreme obedience. For example, they varied the psychological and physical distance between the participant and the victim. To increase the psychological distance between the two, they eliminated the cries of the victim that had been programmed into the original experiment. In another experiment, to minimize the physical and psychological distance between them, the participant sat next to the victim.

In general, the studies found that the participants obeyed the experimenter less as physical, visual, and auditory contact with the victim increased. However, the nearer the *experimenter* got to the "teacher," the more likely the teacher was to obey. There was no evidence of significant personality or gender differences as far as shocking behavior was concerned, but female "teachers" were more distressed about their task than their male counterparts.

The psychological and physical distance variable suggests some interesting implications. If we were to analogize between Milgram's studies and violent actions, we would expect that the more impersonal the weapon or situation (psychological and physical distance), the greater the likelihood for destruction and serious violence. Certainly, killing someone with a firearm at a distance versus killing someone point-blank are two different tasks. And both methods differ from choking someone to death with one's bare hands. It would appear that the firearm offers a more impersonal and possibly easier way to eliminate someone, and thus is more likely to lead to violent behavior. Admittedly, this suggestion makes some quantum jumps from a psychological experiment in an artificial setting, but it is a point worth considering when we discuss the relationship between weapons and violence later in the book.

In assessing the profound influence of commands from an authority figure, we should also pay close attention to the reactions of the participants in Milgram's study. As noted above, individual differences were detected in the way they reacted to the situation, but not in their actual willingness to shock. Although some refused to continue with the experiment when they believed that they were hurting the victim, most (about 65%) administered the full range of shock levels. Most also displayed anxiety and conflict.

Milgram noted a curious dissociation between word and action. Many participants said they could not go on, but nevertheless they did. Some justified their action by concluding that the experimenter would not permit any harm to come to the victim. "He must know what he is doing." Others expressed different interpretations and expectancies, such as the belief that the scientific knowledge gained in the experiment justified the method. It is interesting to note that people who have not undergone the ordeal are quite convinced that they would be members of the defiant group who refused to deliver the extreme levels of shock. Later studies conducted both in the United States and other countries confirmed Milgram's findings, however (Burger, 2009; Penrod, 1983).

Milgram hypothesized that the obedient behavior could be explained by a shift in the perceived role played by the participant. He referred to this shift in role as an "agentic state," where "a person sees himself as an agent for carrying out another's wishes" (Milgram, 1974, p. 133). In other words, the person believes he is no longer acting on his own accord but for another authorized agent. Tsang (2002, p. 28) notes that Bandura (1999) also theorizes "that many individuals in an obedient situation have a shift in attention from their responsibility as *moral agents* to their duty as obedient subordinates" [italics added]. Similar points of view have been expressed by Kelman and Hamilton (1989) and Blumenthal (1999) who, like Milgram, suggest that social institutions may not provide adequate models for disobedience to authority.

Interestingly, some scholars today have questioned whether participants in these experiments were obeying out of choice. Instead, they felt coerced, and this is where the emphasis should lie (Brannigan, Nicholson, & Cherry, 2015; Gibson, 2017; Gibson, Blenkinsoff, Johnstone, & Marshall, 2018; Kaposi, 2017). From that perspective, more blame is placed on the person directing the illegal behavior than on the individual who carries it out. As you can see, Milgram's experiments continue to draw considerable debate.

Some years after Milgram's experiments, Burger (2009) replicated the original work in an effort to discover if people today would still obey commands from authority figures if they were uncomfortable about doing what was asked. He discovered that obedience rates were only slightly lower than those Milgram had found 45 years earlier. In addition, contrary to expectations, participants who witnessed another person refusing to obey the experimenter's instructions obeyed just as often as those who did not witness another person refusing to obey. Moreover, men and women did not differ in their rates of obedience. The findings suggest that the same situational factors appear to be operating today. Burger also found that individuals who were high in empathy expressed a reluctance to continue to obey earlier than those who were low in empathy. However, even though they expressed reluctance, these participants continued to follow procedure nonetheless. As noted above, however, we may not be as quick to condemn their actions if they were a result of coercion rather than obeying by choice.

Milgram's original experiment was controversial for a number of reasons, but most particularly for deceiving its participants and not adequately deprogramming them after the experiment had ended. There are a number of other ethical concerns expressed by scholars in recent years (see Nicholson (2011) for a comprehensive review of these concerns). Over the years, some participants have stated that they suffered emotionally as a result of their willingness to harm others, even though they were told the shocking had been a ruse. In his replication, Burger (2009) took a few additional precautions. He excluded people with

a history of psychological or emotional problems from the study. He also stopped the experiment at 150 volts for all participants. In addition, participants who had at least three college-level psychology classes were excluded because there was high probability they would know the results of the original experiment.

Milgram's theory—supported by later research—may account to some extent for immoral, despicable, and illegal acts committed under the influence of authority. These include not only physically and psychologically harmful acts directed at individuals (e.g., assault, torture) but also criminal acts like lying under oath. Following the events of September 11, 2001, U.S. policy on interrogation of detainees at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq, and other detention centers came into question. The euphemism "enhanced interrogation" was applied to what critics saw as torture. Some of the soldiers who were guards came forward to reveal reprehensible actions they took under orders from supervisors. (See Box 4–1 for a discussion on psychology's role in coercive interrogation techniques.)

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 4–1 NATIONAL SECURITY INTERROGATIONS: PSYCHOLOGY'S ROLE

The interrogation tactics used in military detention centers across the world came under scrutiny in the years after the events of September 11, 2001. Declassified government reports as well as investigative stories by independent journalists revealed that many different techniques—some questionable, some illegal—were used in an attempt to extract information from individuals suspected of direct involvement in terrorist activities, or with knowledge of such activities. The most controversial techniques were waterboarding; sleep deprivation; confinement in small, cagelike structures; loud, piped-in aversive music; forced feeding of detainees who refused to eat; sexual shaming and degradation; and threats of harm to loved ones. The widely circulated photos of hooded detainees at Abu Ghraib prison standing on boxes with nooses around their necks, or detainees on the floor while guards urinated on them were a shock to many consciences.

Military psychologists work in these settings, although they are typically not directly involved in interrogation. Nevertheless, some psychologists have given direct advice on how to break down the spirit of detainees. In a declassified Senate report on the CIA interrogation program, made public in the fall of 2014, two psychologists were said to have devised a list of brutal interrogation methods. They were apparently paid $81 million to run interrogation programs for the U.S. government in secret prisons in countries like Poland, Lithuania, and Romania. Although pseudonyms were used in the report (Grayson Swigert and Hammond Dunbar), the real names (James Mitchell and Bruce Jessen) have been widely publicized since.

Before the Senate report, realizing that some psychologists were complicit with or did not speak out against practices that many defined as physical or psychological torture, the Board of Directors of the American Psychological Association issued a policy statement condemning the participation of psychologists in questionable interrogation tactics (APA, 2009). However, the organization did not issue a complete ban at that time, and many questions were left unanswered. Shortly thereafter, following a series of news stories and a damaging book by investigative reporter James Risen (Risen, 2014), the APA commissioned former federal prosecutor David Hoffmann to conduct an independent investigation. Risen had suggested that the APA had been complicit with the Bush administration in facilitating abusive interrogation techniques, including torture, and that high officials in the organization had protected psychologists who had contributed to the interrogation process. The Hoffman report, which was delivered to the APA Board of Directors in late June 2015, confirmed much, but not all, of the damning material reported by Risen.

As a result of the Hoffman report, as well as the strong and fervent activism of members of the APA, that group's

Council of Representatives issued a total ban on psychologists' participation in national security interrogations—including noncoercive interrogations—conducted by military or intelligence entities, including private contractors working on their behalf. This new policy was approved by the general membership at their annual convention in August 2015. The policy allows psychologists to be present in detention settings that have been deemed to be in violation of international law only if they are working directly for detainees or for an independent third party working to protect human rights. They also may be in these settings for purposes of providing treatment to military personnel.

A suit brought against Mitchell and Jessen by the American Civil Liberties Union was settled secretly in 2017. In a joint statement, the two psychologists admitted to developing a program for the CIA that contemplated using specific coercive methods of interrogation. However, they denied responsibility for the abuse of detainees.

Questions for Discussion

1. Do you believe the ban on psychologists' participation in national security interrogations is an appropriate action? Why or why not? To whom does the ban apply? It appears that psychologists do not directly interrogate detainees. If they devised interrogation tactics and suggested how far the interrogators could go, does that make them more or less blameworthy?
2. Shifting from the role of psychologists to the actions of the interrogators themselves, which psychological concepts covered in this chapter are relevant to the behavior of these individuals? ■

Generalizations from the psychological laboratory to the real-world scenarios of illegal or violent conduct in response to a command from authority must remain tentative for the time being. However, the relevance of the Milgram-type studies to actual situations cannot be overlooked. Milgram appeared convinced that situational factors normally override individual factors, and he would probably find personality or the morality of the individual fundamentally irrelevant in the explanation of the behavior. Other theorists, however, argue that it is precisely personality or moral development that account for resistance to authority. Kelman and Hamilton (1989) suggested that one's behavior in high authority situations most likely is a result of an interaction between one's personality characteristics and the roles played. Philip Zimbardo (1970, 1973; Haney & Zimbardo, 1998), on the other hand, is more closely aligned with Milgram, believing that the situation—including the overwhelming power of roles—is the most likely determinant of the behavior. Zimbardo demonstrated this in the famous Stanford Prison Experiment, and more broadly through the concept of deindividuation, which we discuss next. In addition, in recent years, Zimbardo along with other researchers have focused on moral disengagement, a concept we also discuss shortly.

Deindividuation

Deindividuation theory is based on the classic crowd theory of Gustave Le Bon. The theory, formulated in Le Bon's book *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (1885/1995) was introduced into mainstream social psychology by Festinger, Pepitone, and Newcomb in 1952 (Postmes & Spears, 1998) using the concept of deindividuation. According to Festinger et al. (1952), many people lose their sense of individuality when in a crowd or group, remove self-imposed controls, and neutralize their internalized moral restraints. Thus, "deindividuation was closely associated with the feeling of not being scrutinized or accountable when submerged in the group" (Postmes & Spears, 1998, p. 240). Philip Zimbardo (1970) extended and further developed deindividuation theory in a number of well-known research projects. For Zimbardo, deindividuation involved feelings of reduced self-observation, and he sought to identify the things that could induce that state (Postmes & Spears, 1998).

Deindividuation
A process by which individuals feel they cannot be identified, primarily because they are disguised or are subsumed within a group.

Deindividuation, Zimbardo hypothesized, usually follows a complex chain of events. First, the presence of many other persons encourages feelings of anonymity. Then the individual feels he or she loses identity and becomes part of the group. Under these conditions, he or she can no longer be singled out and held responsible for his or her behavior. Apparently, this feeling then generates a "loss of self-awareness, reduced concern over evaluations from others, and a narrowed focus of attention" (Baron & Byrne, 1977, pp. 581–582). When combined, these processes lower restraints against antisocial criminal behavior and appear to be basic ingredients in mass violence. However, they also may be at work in nonviolent offenses, such as looting.

Deindividuation is a commonly used concept to explain various expressions of collective behavior such as violent crowds, mindless hooligans, and lynch mobs, as well as widespread social atrocities such as genocide (Postmes & Spears, 1998). Deindividuation is not necessarily associated with crowds. Nor is a massive population required. The effect may be achieved by a disguise, a mask, or a uniform also worn by others, or it may be achieved by darkness (Zimbardo, 1970). Research data suggest that people may be more abusive, aggressive, and violent when their identity is hidden. This phenomenon *might* explain why, throughout history, war paints, masks, and costumes have been donned by warriors preparing for battle (Watson, 1973). Even contemporary soldiers, guerrillas, and military advisors are deindividuated by their uniforms. Deindividuation also helps explain the apparent ease with which members of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan regressed from being apparently respectable citizens by day to violent, hooded terrorizers by night. Again, however, it is too simplistic to assume that no dispositional or other factors are at work.

In one widely cited experiment, Zimbardo manipulated two variables: feelings of anonymity and features about the victim. He randomly assigned college students to deindividuation and "identifiable" groups. Those in the deindividuation group wore shapeless white lab coats and hoods over their heads and worked in dimly lit conditions. The experimenters avoided using their names. By contrast, participants in the identifiable groups felt anything but anonymous. They wore large name tags, were greeted by name, worked under fully illuminated conditions, and wore their own clothes with no added lab coats or hoods.

The participants were told the project was set up to study empathy. The real purpose, of course, was to study the relationship between deindividuation and aggression. Each one listened to a five-minute recorded interview between the future "victim" and the experimenter. Some victims were portrayed as warm, sincere, honest persons, while others were obnoxious, self-centered, conceited, and critical. After each interview, the participants were allowed to administer shock to the interviewees they had heard on tape. They were allowed to observe the reactions of their victims by way of a one-way mirror. Aggressive behavior was measured by the length of time a painful electrical shock was administered. "Victims"—who actually received no shock—were trained to writhe, twist, and grimace.

Recall now that Zimbardo was manipulating two variables: anonymity (loss of personal identity) and features of the victim (environmental stimuli). Thus, some participants were hooded, others were well identified. Some victims were pleasant and likable, others were obnoxious. Zimbardo reasoned that members of the deindividuation group would administer shocks of longer duration because of the diffusion of responsibility and loss of personal identity. He also hypothesized that victim features would be irrelevant, because the heightened arousal experienced under deindividuation would interfere with the ability to discriminate between the victims. Put another way, the excitement and resulting arousal engendered by shocking someone without the threat of any repercussions would prevent discernment of the target (the person receiving the shock).

One additional hypothesis was tested. Zimbardo predicted that participants in the deindividuation group would administer longer shocks as the experiment progressed. He believed the act of administering shock without responsibility would be exciting and reinforcing for

its own sake (what he called "affective proprioceptive feedback"). Zimbardo predicted that members of the deindividuation group would increase the duration of shock administered to the victim as the experiment progressed. In brief, the person finds that doing the antisocial behavior feels "so good" each time the person does it that the behavior builds on itself in intensity (vigor) and frequency.

Results of the experiment supported all three hypotheses. The deindividuation group shocked victims twice as long as the identifiable group. The deindividuation group also administered the same levels of shock, regardless of the victim's personality features. And, finally, this group shocked for longer periods as the experiment progressed. Essentially, Zimbardo argued that deindividuated aggression is not controlled by the social environment; it is unresponsive to both the situation and the state or characteristics of the victim.

Zimbardo's research design, like that of Milgram, has been criticized extensively for its questionable use of deception and shock (albeit simulated) and its focus on the negative aspects of human behavior. In a sense, these types of experiments constitute a form of psychological entrapment. Would people really act this way if not prompted by an experimenter? In the wake of such experiments, the National Institute of Mental Health, the American Psychological Association, and other organizations have adopted ethical guidelines that are applied to the funding and approval of research. Experiments like Zimbardo's, therefore, are unlikely to be replicated, although we learned above that Milgram's experiment was replicated with modifications that rendered it more ethically acceptable. Moreover, the possible implications of the results of these research studies cannot be ignored.

The Stanford Prison Experiment

The disguise aspect of deindividuation was vividly illustrated in still another sobering Zimbardo experiment (1973) known as the **Stanford Prison Experiment**. Some scholars posit that the experiment is arguably the most famous experiment in the history of psychology (Griggs, 2014; Griggs & Whitehead, 2014). It has even been made into an independent documentary, which debuted at Sundance Film Festival in January 2015, winning several awards, and has been available on streaming devices ever since then.

Zimbardo and his colleagues simulated a prison environment in the basement of the psychology building at Stanford University, with physical and psychological trappings supposedly representative of an actual prison: bars, prison uniforms, identification numbers, uniformed guards, and other features that encouraged identity slippage. (The facility actually represented a jail more than a prison.) Furthermore, as critics of the experiment have noted, the simulation lacked authenticity in a number of ways, including the sack-like uniforms and stocking caps worn by the "prisoners" and the mirrored sunglasses worn by "guards" [Johnson, 1996]. Corrections officers in real prisons and jails also undergo training and are not given the unlimited power that Zimbardo placed in the hands of his experimental subjects, although they certainly wield power.

Student volunteers were screened through clinical interviews and psychological tests to ensure that they were emotionally stable and mature. According to Zimbardo, the participants finally selected were "normal," intelligent college students from middle-class homes throughout the United States and Canada. They were paid $15 a day for participating.

The experiment required two roles, guard and prisoner, which were assigned by random coin toss. The randomization assured that there were no significant differences between the two groups. The "prisoners" were unexpectedly "arrested" and brought to the simulated prison in a police car. There they were handcuffed, searched, fingerprinted, booked, stripped, "deloused," given a number, and issued a prison uniform. Each prisoner was then placed in a six-by-nine-foot cell with two other inmates.

The guards wore standard uniforms and mirrored sunglasses to encourage deindividuation, but as noted, they were not representative of the attire worn by real corrections officers. In addition, they carried symbols of power: a night stick (which many real officers do not carry), keys to the cells, whistles, and handcuffs. Before the prisoners could do even routine things (e.g., write a letter, smoke a cigarette), they had to obtain permission. Guards drew up their own formal rules for maintaining law and order in the prison (16 rules in all) and were free to improvise new ones.

> Within six days, both guards and prisoners had completely absorbed their roles:
>
> Three prisoners had to be released during the first four days because of hysterical crying, confusion in thinking, and severe depression. Many others begged to be paroled, willing to forfeit the money they had earned for participating in the experiment.
>
> About a third of the guards abused their power and were brutal and demeaning. Other subjects did their jobs as tough but fair correctional guards, but none of these supported the prisoners by urging the brutal guards to ease off. The realism of the prison was apparently striking. "The consultant for our prison...an ex-convict with sixteen years of imprisonment in California's jails, would get so depressed and furious each time he visited our prison, because of its psychological similarity to his experiences, that he would have to leave" (Zimbardo, 1973, p. 164).

The situation became such that, at the urging of a psychology professor colleague, Zimbardo decided to terminate the experiment during the sixth day, instead of proceeding through the planned two weeks. Zimbardo believed that due to the power of demands of the situation, the participating college students had actually assumed the role of guards and prisoners, largely independent of personality or individual differences among the participants. Essentially, the situation forcibly overrode individual differences. Interestingly, in later years Zimbardo (2007) commented that the brutality reported in the Stanford study explained the treatment of detainees by U.S. military, intelligence representatives, and government contractors at detention centers worldwide (see Box 4–1). Zimbardo argued that the situation into which they were thrown forced them to do brutal, unthinkable things to other human beings.

Zimbardo's Stanford study prompted him to conclude, "Many people, perhaps the majority, can be made to do almost anything when put into psychologically compelling situations—regardless of their morals, ethics, values, attitudes, beliefs, or personal convictions" (1973, p. 164). Much the same conclusion had been reached by Milgram with respect to the influence of authority figures. Although the Stanford Prison Experiment underscores the crucial importance of situational variables in determining behavior, there were still significant individual differences in the way the participants responded to the conditions. For example, only one-third of the guards became brutally enthralled with their power. Rather than making far-reaching conclusions on the basis of how a total of 21 research participants (both guards and prisoners) responded, it would be much more fruitful to give some attention to individual variables. For example, it would have been helpful to examine the values, expectancies, competencies, and moral development of the participants, in combination with the situational factors. What developmental factors most likely predisposed individuals to act the way they did, and exactly how did they perceive the situation? What did they expect to gain by their behavior?

The BBC Prison Study

The Stanford Prison Study is cited in virtually every introductory psychology textbook and social psychology textbook, and is often mentioned in criminal justice literature as well. A later study is instructive and relevant to deindividuation as well. In December 2001, Alexander Haslam and Stephen Reicher (2012), in conjunction with the documentaries

unit of the British Broadcasting Corporation, conducted the BBC Prison Study. Although some of the procedures were similar, the BBC project was not intended to replicate the Stanford study. Rather, it was designed to revisit some of the questions raised by the Stanford study. The researchers were particularly interested in testing Zimbardo's conclusion that the demands of the situation strongly dictate what a person will do, to the exclusion of individual differences, personality, or character.

Fifteen participants were selected from a pool of 322 obtained in response to a newspaper advertisement. The 15 were selected after the entire sample went through three stages of careful screening. Members of the selected group were then randomly assigned to play the role as either a "guard" or a "prisoner."

As one departure from the methodology of the Stanford Study, the BBC experimenters were careful not to take a leadership role and tell the guards how they should behave. Furthermore, the BBC experimenters were interested in "investigating the conditions under which prisoners would either adapt to or challenge the inequalities of the prison system" (Haslam & Reicher, 2012, p. 158).

The findings of the BBC Prison Study differed markedly from those of the Stanford experiment. For one thing, there was no evidence that the guards assumed their roles naturally or uncritically. Many were reluctant to exercise their authority and disagreed among each other on how their roles should be interpreted. In essence, major individual differences emerged, and the "guard" group lost cohesion and became increasingly incapable of maintaining order over the prisoners. In addition, compared to the Stanford study, the BBC prisoner behavior was substantially different. For instance, Zimbardo (2007) asserted that the Stanford prisoners became "zombie-like in yielding to the whims of the ever-escalating guard-power" (p. 196). Even so, some of the prisoners fiercely protested the treatment they were getting from the guards, at which point they were then thrown into solitary confinement. In the BBC study, "Rather than the scenes of guard brutality witnessed in Stanford, the prisoners began to mock, challenge, and undermine the guards" (Haslam & Reicher, 2012, p. 159). In summary, neither the guards nor the prisoners conformed blindly or mindlessly to their assigned roles as some participants did in the Stanford study.

Even though the BBC project found major differences in the behavior of the participants, these findings by no means should undermine the importance of the Zimbardo study. The Stanford experiment clearly underscores the dangers that can be created when conditions controlled by a powerful, respected authority (Professor Zimbardo) at a prestigious university (Stanford University) are established for trustful, unsuspecting students who volunteered for an experiment. The Stanford experiment, however, does not confirm that *all* powerful situations override the personalities and individual differences of all those persons in the situation.

Deindividuation and Crowd Violence

The powerful effects of crowds on individual behavior have interested social scientists since the early 1900s. Crowd influence is usually studied under the rubric of negative *collective behavior*, which includes riots, gang rapes, panics, lynchings, and violent demonstrations and revolutions. Collective behavior also can have a positive connotation, however, as is the case with peaceful protests, demonstrations, marches, sit-ins, tent-ins, and their variants. For our purposes, we are concerned with collective behavior as it affects the instigation and maintenance of violence or illegal activities, such as looting. Recall that earlier in the chapter we discussed the role of frustration as a possible instigator of riots or other antisocial behavior displayed in group situations. Here, we focus on a different component, the likelihood that, in a crowd, individuals may lose their individual identity and adopt the behavior of those around them.

Most of us have seen dramatizations of a "berserk" mob clamoring for the destruction of some political, social, or physical institution or for swift "justice" for an individual or group. Descriptions of mob actions often liken them to brush fires that grow in intensity and are quickly out of control. There are numerous anecdotal accounts of vandalism and assaults that occur in some communities, often alcohol related and associated with parties, festivals, or celebrations. On one college campus, students raided free book bins placed outside the library and had a middle-of-the night book-burning. In other cases, fans have destroyed property after sports events (both when their teams won and when their teams lost), and people attending certain political rallies have threatened and sometimes shoved members of the press. Controversial judicial decisions (a not-guilty verdict or a failure to indict) have been followed by both peaceful and violent protests. As we noted earlier in the chapter, although observers have sometimes feared and predicted days of violence in these cases, the crowds did not turn into violent "mobs."

True "mob" actions—those that include extensive violence—are a rare occurrence. In the police shootings of black men that have come to attention in recent years, for example, respected public figures as well as average citizens encouraged peaceful protesting and pleaded for calm. Nevertheless, disturbing and disruptive crowd behavior remains a reality in some circumstances, such as the lootings and arsons mentioned above. They cannot be explained only by the presence of alcohol, which is often the explanation given for disruptive group activities on college campuses, festivals, or other celebrations. However, since true mob actions are naturally occurring and spontaneous events, it is difficult to place them under the scrutiny of scientific, systematic investigation. The processes involved in mob action are still not well understood.

Zimbardo (1970) believed that deindividuation accounts for much of the tendency of otherwise "tame" individuals to engage in antisocial, violent behavior. Recall that deindividuation includes a reduction in personal distinctiveness, identifiability, and personal responsibility. You don't stand out, you cannot be identified, and you bear no personal responsibility. Furthermore, in a crowd, the threshold of normally restrained behavior is lowered. In other words, because people feel anonymous and less responsible for their behavior, they are less inhibited. According to Zimbardo, these conditions encourage the antisocial behavior associated with selfishness, greed, hostility, lust, cruelty, and destruction.

The Bystander Effect

The process of deindividuation and diffusion of responsibility may also play significant roles in emergencies, such as decisions as to whether to help a victim of a violent crime. The classic example is the case of Catherine (Kitty) Genovese, which has been recounted in both the media and social psychology textbooks since the incident occurred in 1964. However, as we note below, the actual case was quite different from what has been presented for over half a century. (See also Box 4–2.)

During the early morning hours of March 13, 1964, 28-year-old Genovese was walking home from work to her apartment in Queens, New York. Apparently realizing she was being followed by a strange man, she began running but was unable to get away. He caught her, slammed her to the ground, and stabbed her twice in the back. She screamed for help, but although lights went on in adjacent apartments, no one came to her aid. The assailant retreated for a short time, but when he realized no one was coming to help her he returned, raped her, and stabbed her to death. The incident took approximately 45 minutes, and, according to newspaper reports, none of the 38 witnesses helped her during the entire time. The media publicized the case extensively, and people were shocked and disappointed at the apparent insensitivity and lack of courage shown by the witnesses. Kitty Genovese's attacker (Winston Moseley) was eventually found, arrested, tried, and convicted by a jury.

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 4–2 DO SECURITY CAMERAS AFFECT BYSTANDER APATHY?

Since the concept of bystander apathy was first introduced by Latané and Darley (1970), a large body of research has studied this interesting phenomenon (Fischer et al., 2011). In general, the presence of others is believed to diminish prosocial behavior. "Someone else will jump in or call police. Let them do it." Furthermore, bystander apathy (or nonintervention) seems to increase as the size of a crowd increases, presumably because responsibility is diffused over a greater number of people. However, bystander apathy is *less* likely to occur during an emergency or a serious situation, even when the situation involves criminal activity. People are more likely to come to the aid of someone who is being stabbed than someone whose backpack is being snatched.

As noted in the text, earlier accounts of the Kitty Genovese killing in 1968 were incorrect. It was widely reported at the time—and repeated in both academic and popular literature over the years—that people in the vicinity did not respond to the victim's pleas for help. Over the years, the record has been corrected. Although two individuals walking by did not come to her assistance, many others did try to intervene in a number of ways, including calling police and shouting out to stop the assailant. One person ran out of her apartment and cradled the victim while she was dying. Many people who lived in the vicinity where the attack occurred did not have a direct view of the incident and could not have heard or seen what was happening.

Even though the Genovese incident itself was not what it first appeared to be, it did prompt a line of research on the conditions under which bystander nonintervention is most likely to occur. As a recent example, Marco van Bommel and his colleagues (van Bommel, van Prooijen, Elffers, & van Lange, 2014) posited that apathy might be influenced by still another factor—specifically, the desire to maintain a positive image. If we are being watched, are we more likely to help others, even if we are not obliged to, in the desire to achieve or maintain a good reputation?

The researchers set up an experimental situation in which participants observed someone try to steal money from the experimenter's desk during a brief period when the experimenter had left the room. In one condition, three participants were in the room waiting for the experimenter; in another condition, two participants were in the room. However, in both conditions, there was only one "true" participant, because others were confederates of the experimenter. One confederate played the role of "thief."

Then, there were two camera conditions—in one condition, no security camera was present. In another, a camera was very visibly displayed in the participant's line of sight.

Consistent with other research on bystander apathy, participants tended not to intervene when even one other participant was present. Although the group was a small one, the diffusion of responsibility still seemed to occur. Also consistent with other research, if no other bystander was present, the participant was more likely to intervene by saying something to the "thief" or reporting the incident to the experimenter. In the camera condition, though, the presence of the camera made it even less likely that bystander apathy would occur. As the researchers had hypothesized, when a camera was present, intervention was more likely whether or not another bystander was present. The researchers concluded that the cameras promoted prosocial behavior in the participants, encouraging them to intervene because there was an audience (behind the camera or eventually on video) to impress.

Questions for Discussion

1. Based on the above brief description, the study does not suggest that security cameras reduce crime, but rather that cameras discourage bystander apathy and encourage intervention. What one component is essential in order for this to happen?
2. Form a hypothesis and propose a study to further examine the effect of security cameras on bystander apathy.
3. Security cameras as well as cell phone cameras are ubiquitous today. What are advantages and disadvantages of having these immediate recordings of criminal events? Does it matter whether the cameras are (a) stationary surveillance cameras; (b) cameras worn by police or mounted on patrol cars; or (c) cameras carried by private citizens? ■

Moseley died in prison in 2016 at age 81, after a history of prison transfers, one escape during which he committed another rape, and multiple unsuccessful attempts at being released on parole.

The Genovese incident prompted social psychologists John Darley and Bibb Latané (1968) to conduct an extensive series of experiments designed to determine why there appeared to be so much apathy and callousness displayed by the witnesses. The research, known as the **bystander effect** project, discovered that there is a complicated set of factors that determine who will assist in life-threatening or dangerous situations. For example, a person intervening when another is being stabbed by a third party risks harm and injury. Even to call the police is "getting involved" and risking threats. In addition, seeing an actual violent or criminal event is so unusual that a majority of people are not prepared for appropriate action and have considerable difficulty in deciding on the best course of action. Perhaps the most important finding of the bystander effect studies is that the presence of other persons tends to inhibit one from taking responsibility for doing something for the victim. The basic conclusion of the Darley and Latané research: "The story of the 38 witnesses in psychology tells of the malign influence of others to overwhelm the will of the individual" (Manning, Levine, & Collins, 2007, p. 535). What's more, they found that the more bystanders there are in a dangerous situation, the less likely someone will volunteer to help. The research at that time continually indicated that crowds diminish personal responsibility and individual differences and character. "In this tradition, crowds are a dangerous threat to social stability; crowds and people in crowds lack rationality; the irrationality of crowds reveals a primitive nature stripped of constraints usually provided by other psychological qualities; people in crowds lose their sense of individuality and so on" (Manning et al., 2007, p. 560).

Bystander apathy, or nonintervention, is a reality, but unfortunately the 38 witnesses to the original crime against Kitty Genovese "got a bad rap," as documented in various accounts (Cook, 2014; Manning et al., 2007; Pelonero, 2014). The most significant inaccuracy was the conclusion that no one came to aid of the victim or bothered to call the police. However, evidence gathered by the police, revealed in court documents, and entered at the trial of the assailant revealed that several witnesses did call the police. At least one said the police did not respond quickly, or did not respond at all because the call was inadvertently made to the wrong precinct. One neighbor yelled, "Leave that girl alone," causing the attacker to leave the scene temporarily, only to later return to complete the assault. Another neighbor courageously left her apartment to go to the crime scene and hold Genovese in her arms, even though she had no way of knowing that the attacker had fled (Lemann, 2014). These were certainly not examples of bystander apathy. Many of the witnesses said that though they heard screams, they could not see what was going on because their apartment location obstructed their view. The second phase of the attack occurred inside part of a building where very few witnesses could see the incident (Manning et al., 2007). There were, however, at least two men who actively refused to help, even though they saw the murder at close range, all of which highlights the spectrum of individual differences that often occur in emergencies.

Despite inaccuracies in reporting the original crime against Kitty Genovese, research demonstrates that the bystander effect does occur, but particularly in relatively non–life-threatening emergency situations. However, it is far more complicated and contingent on more factors than supposed in earlier social psychological studies (Fischer et al., 2011). There appears to be very little bystander effect in dangerous emergencies (Fischer et al., 2006, 2011). People generally come to the aid of a victim in clearly violent events, such as a rape or assault. It is interesting to note that students who had learned about the bystander effect in class were more likely to intervene in an emergency at a later date than were students who were not informed (Beaman, Barnes, Klentz, & McQuirk, 1978;

Fischer et al., 2011). Furthermore, some research has investigated other ways in which the bystander apathy effect can be reduced, such as—perhaps surprisingly—the installation of on-street cameras (see again Box 4–2).

The Genovese incident also has had far-reaching consequences besides the research it engendered. It was instrumental in the push to establish 911 as an easy-to-remember emergency number nationwide (Lemann, 2014). It also helped in the adoption of Good Samaritan laws across the country (Getlen, 2014) as well as similar laws. These laws either require certain individuals to come to the aid of a victim or protect people from civil penalties if they intervene in a crime or an accident and the intervention is ineffective or someone is hurt.

Moral Disengagement

The prominent social psychologist Albert Bandura (1990, 2016) theorized that through social **cognitive learning** people internalize moral principles, and that these principles promote self-worth when they are maintained and self-condemnation when they are violated. The internalization of moral principles is a form of self-regulation. "In the self-regulation process, individuals adopt evaluative standards of conduct, judge their behavior relative to those standards, and respond with self-approval or self-censure, depending on whether the behavior measures up to adopted standards" (Bandura, 2016, p. 5).

Cognitive learning
The acquisition and retention of a mental representation of information, and the use of this representation as the basis of behavior.

Bandura proposed the concept of **moral disengagement** to explain why people do things that they know are not "right," both on their own and when ordered to do so by some higher authority or under high social pressure. The concept of moral disengagement helps explain how otherwise good (and not so good) people can act illegally or inhumanely and still feel good about themselves. It involves the cognitive process of people reconstructing—in their minds—their behavior to make it fit a morally acceptable standard. The standard may be personal, societal, or both. At times the acts are not recognized as immoral, but are more in keeping with occupational roles, such as part of the corporate culture or the culture of the military or law enforcement. In such situations, people "disengage" or detach themselves from what would be their usual moral principles, primarily to avoid self-condemnation. Thus, it is not the situation alone that determines the person's behavior; rather it is the personal attribute—the ability to detach oneself from moral principles—that is critical. (In the prison experiments discussed previously, we would say that some participants were more likely than others to employ moral disengagement.)

Moral disengagement
The process of freeing oneself from one's own moral standards in order to act against those standards. The unacceptable conduct is usually undertaken under orders from someone higher in authority or under high social pressure.

Bandura (2016) notes that "children learn at an early age that they can reduce, and even escape, social reprimands for their misdeeds by shifting the blame to others and invoking extenuating circumstances" (p. 33). In these cases, the child is trying to avoid *social sanctions* from parents or others, as *personal sanctions* or moral standards have yet to develop fully. With the gradual development of self-imposed moral standards, children learn that they have to live with themselves, not just with the evaluations of others. "This marks the developmental shift in the regulation of behavior from social sanctions to self-sanctions" (p. 33). During late adolescence, however, people have generally learned the full array of moral disengagement strategies, to be listed below (see also Table 4–2). Note that morality is learned and governed by society rather than determined by inbred human nature.

Bandura finds in his research that the greater the moral disengagement practiced, the greater the involvement in aggressive and antisocial behavior, and the greater the chances of involvement in delinquency and adult criminal behavior. He also observes that moral disengagement is unrelated to socioeconomic status or any demographic variables other than age. People who are affluent or of high social status are just as likely to use moral disengagement as those who are financially or socially disadvantaged.

TABLE 4–2 Bandura's Strategies/Methods of Moral Disengagement

Method	Brief Summary	Illustration
Moral Justification	Doing it for a greater good	Kill abortion provider to save "unborn babies"
Euphemistic Language	Couch actions in harmless terminology	Innocent civilians are collateral damage
Advantageous Comparison	Not harmful compared to what others are doing	Burn down the sex offender's home; his crimes are far worse.
Displacement of Responsibility	Ordered to by someone in authority	Bookkeeper ordered to keep false records Police officer ordered to lie in court
Diffusion of Responsibility	Others in group also carried out the illegal action	Three juveniles commit a robbery and split the money
Disregard, Distortion, Denial of Harm	Harm is not seen, or belief that harm did not occur	Hazardous materials are dumped illegally, polluter does not see direct effect. No one hurt by my tax evasion
Disengagement by Observers of Harmful Conduct	Not one's business to get involved	Witness sees someone assaulted but does not come to aid or report the assault
Dehumanization of Victim	Person harmed is not "human" or is inferior to the perpetrator	Wartime enemy is less than human; white race superior, therefore acceptable to harm nonwhite victim

In later chapters, we will see that the process of moral disengagement provides a reasonable explanation for much antisocial behavior we will discuss, such as a variety of criminal conduct found in political, corporate, and small business worlds. The concept also provides a powerful explanation for why people engage in terrorism, sexual abuse, sexual assault, domestic violence, school violence, arson, and even mass and serial murder. Among children and adolescents (and some adults), various forms of bullying—a topic covered in Chapter 10—are other good examples of moral disengagement. Bandura (2016) finds that "The higher the moral disengagement, the more abusively bullies behave. Freed from moral restraints, belief in one's efficacy to exercise control by abusive behavior fosters bullying" (p. 37).

Bandura (2016) outlines eight moral disengagement mechanisms that people use to justify their immoral behavior. These psychological mechanisms will be found in the various criminal behaviors discussed throughout the remainder of the book. They are:

1. *Moral justification*: People justify their actions in the service of valued social and moral purposes. In this case, people are able to preserve their sense of self-worth even as they inflict harm on others. For example, terrorists construe their violent actions as morally justifiable because they are defending against atrocities committed by those in power or influence. Bandura gives the example of Paul Hill, a former Presbyterian minister who, after killing a doctor and his assistant outside an abortion clinic, justified his behavior by saying he was simply carrying out God's will to protect the unborn.
2. *Euphemistic language*: For some people, acceptability of behavior often depends on what the behavior is called. "Through the power of sanitized language, killing a human being loses much of its repugnance" (Bandura, 2016, p. 53). For example, when civilians are unintentionally killed by bombs or missiles intended for the enemy, the military simply refers to the civilian deaths as "collateral damage." Other examples include the term "ethnic cleansing" in place of genocide, or enhanced interrogation in place of systematic torture.
3. *Advantageous comparison*: In this personal exoneration, people justify their behavior by comparing their violent acts to more flagrant or horrible inhumanities committed by others, or which may be committed by others in the future. For example, terrorists often describe their harmful behaviors as acts of selfless martyrdom compared to the unjust and selfish cruelty committed by those in power. Compared to the cruel and uncaring acts of the powerful, "the more likely it is that one's own destructive conduct will appear benevolent and righteous" (Bandura, 2016, p. 56).

4. *Displacement of responsibility*: In this case, people justify their harmful actions as arising from the orders or commands of superiors. The person explains that he or she was only following orders or expectations dictated by the leader. For example, some of the participants in the Milgram experiments justified their behavior by asserting that they were only following the commands of the person in charge.
5. *Diffusion of responsibility*: In this case, people absolve themselves of blame if others are also doing it. For example, members of a group can discount their own contributions to acts of cruelty or destructiveness because they view responsibility for the action as resting with the entire group, not themselves personally.
6. *Disregard, distortion, and denial of harmful effects*. In this strategy, the person minimizes, disregards, or disputes the harmful effects of his actions. This situation occurs when the person acts alone and thus cannot easily evade responsibility. It is easier to use this approach when the victims' pain becomes less evident and personalized, such as found in the Milgram experiments. "Even a high sense of personal responsibility for the effects of one's action is a weak restraint on conduct when the perpetrators do not see the harm they inflict on their victims" (Bandura, 2016, p. 65). For example, most organizations have chains of command where those at the top develop plans and goals and then have intermediaries transmit them to contractors or functionaries who carry them out. In these cases, those at the top do not have to bear direct responsibility for their harmful decisions, largely because they are physically and psychologically removed from the injurious effects. The cognitive processes in this approach include "selective inattention to harmful effects, construing them in ways that make them look less harmful, and not remembering them" (Bandura, 2016, p. 66).
7. *Moral disengagement by observers of harmful practices*: This strategy often happens in the work environment, where workers collectively turn a blind eye to wrongdoing by supervisors or associates. Recent illustrations have involved sexual abuses, such as the response of some clergy high in the Catholic hierarchy to sexual abuses perpetrated by priests or corporate figures who might have been aware of the conduct of media personalities. However, workers in many other settings often turn a blind eye to embezzlement or violations of government regulations. Some police and corrections officers look the other way when fellow officers abuse civil rights of suspects or prisoners. Simply put, no occupation is immune from this form of disengagement.
8. *Dehumanization*: This cognitive distortion is the process of maintaining beliefs that strip people of human qualities or invests them with demonic or bestial qualities. It is based on the premise that mistreating or killing someone who is humanized significantly increases the risk of self-condemnation. It is easier to mistreat or even kill strangers who are divested of human qualities. "Once dehumanized, they are no longer viewed as persons with feelings, hopes, and concerns but as subhuman forms" (Bandura, 2004, p. 136). "The victims are then seen as subhuman, without the same feelings or hopes as the perpetrators, and thus one can rationalize that normal moral principles do not apply" (Tsang, 2002, p. 4). It is easier to sexually assault women if one refers to them as dogs, for example, or to kill someone in wartime if they are referred to as goons.

Moral disengagement has remained a provocative topic for contemporary researchers interested in social-cognitive psychology, particularly as it relates to aggressive behavior. Many researchers focus on adolescents (e.g., Gini, 2006; Paciello, Fida, Tramontano, Lupinetti, & Caprara, 2008; Shulman, Cauffman, Piquero, & Fagan, 2011) or young adults (e.g., Caprara et al., 2014). There are interesting exceptions. For example, Osofsky, Bandura, and Zimbardo (2005) studied moral disengagement among prison personnel in facilities where the death penalty was carried out. They included executioners, support teams for the condemned inmates and their families, and corrections officers who were not directly involved in the execution process. They found that the executioners displayed the highest levels of disengagement, as well as dehumanization of the condemned prisoners and justification for their work. Members of the support teams were the least likely to display moral disengagement.

Studies of moral disengagement among adolescents indicate that it often declines with age, and this finding is associated with an accompanying decline in antisocial behavior (Paciello et al., 2008). Thus, in their longitudinal study of 1,169 adolescent felony offenders, Shulman et al. found that as the youths grew older, their attitudes toward wrongdoing also changed in a positive direction—that is they were less likely to condone it—and their offending behavior desisted. The reasons for this, the authors note, remain to be explored, although some preliminary research is available. "Understanding what contributes to this change in delinquent youths' attitudes toward wrongdoing is a worthwhile aim for future studies" (Shulman et al., 2011, p. 1630).

Up to this point, though, social psychologists have focused almost exclusively on aggressive behavior among adolescents and young adults. Moral disengagement is a topic that should be relevant to white-collar offenses, including both political crimes and those in the corporate sphere. We return to this topic in Chapter 11.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has led us away from the biologically oriented approaches of Chapter 3 to the perspective that all behavior, including antisocial behavior, is learned as a result of interactions with the environment—after, not before birth. According to the theories discussed in this chapter, people are not born with a predisposition to violence or deficient conditionability; rather they become that way as a result of social experiences. Furthermore, criminal behavior, again like all behavior, is an individual's way of adapting to his or her environment.

We have reviewed Skinnerian behaviorism, a theory based on the psychology of J. B. Watson and Ivan Pavlov. Together, Skinnerian, Watsonian, and Pavlovian psychology provided the field with some of its most fundamental concepts, such as classical conditioning, operant conditioning, reinforcement, punishment, and extinction. Today, most behaviorists may applaud the basic premise that stimuli elicit responses (classical conditioning), and behavior produces consequences that influence subsequent responses (operant conditioning). However, they also believe other factors must be introduced to explain human behavior. Thus, social learning theorists have focused on cognitions, attitudes, beliefs, and other mental processes that must be taken into consideration.

We covered the expectancy theory of Rotter, the observational learning theory of Bandura, and the social learning theories of Sutherland and Akers to illustrate these mental processes. Sutherland, a sociologist with antipathy toward psychology, probably would not want to be included in this group, but his is still a learning theory. Berkowitz's frustration theory and Zimbardo's concept of deindividuation and accompanying research were also discussed. Each of these emphasizes to varying degrees the importance of learning in the development *and maintenance* of criminal behavior. Most of them also outline the external reinforcements involved in this maintenance, or alternately, its cessation. People who engage in persistent antisocial behavior get tangible rewards, as well as social and psychological ones. Collectively, external reinforcements that bring us material, social, or psychological gain are called positive reinforcements. Behaviors that enable us to avoid unpleasant circumstances are negatively reinforced.

Also included in the regulation of behavior is vicarious reinforcement, which consists of both observed reward and observed punishment. When we observe others (models) receiving rewards or punishments for certain behavior, we tend to alter our behavior

correspondingly. Models are extremely important in the acquisition and regulation of criminal behavior. They are reference points for what we should and can do in a particular set of circumstances. Therefore, models may act as inhibitors or facilitators of behavior. People internalize the actions and philosophies of significant models, thereby making them part of their own behavioral repertoire and cognitive structure. Research in recent years has focused extensively on the models available in the media, violent video games, Internet sites, and social media. There is growing evidence that *some* people who observe aggressive acts to a great degree themselves become more violent and aggressive.

In addition to models, situational factors can be important contributors to criminal behavior. To some theorists, frustration plays a significant role in violent criminality. When children are frustrated at not having their needs met by parents or caretakers, for example, this promotes distrust of other adults and prevents the forming of emotional attachments. Individuals who strike out at society have encountered severe frustration, according to this approach.

We also discussed the influence of authority figures and the environmental factors involved in the process of deindividuation. People sometimes engage in illegal or violent conduct because they are told or ordered to do so, as Milgram's classic shocking experiment demonstrated. It is interesting that Burger (2009) found results very similar to Milgram's. There are many anecdotal illustrations as well in the military, in law enforcement, and in places of business. Some psychologists have searched for individual differences that might predict the extent to which a person will or will not obey an order perceived to be immoral or illegal, such as differences in personality or moral development, a topic that will be covered in Chapter 11. In recent years, researchers have focused on moral disengagement, a process by which people are able to separate themselves from their normal codes of conduct in order to engage in illegal or morally ambivalent behavior. On the other hand, other researchers point to the powerful influence of roles, illustrated by Zimbardo's Stanford experiment. Interestingly, the less well-known BBC Prison Study suggests that individual attributes can strongly challenge situational demands.

The phenomenon of bystander apathy—or bystander nonintervention—remains a fascinating topic of study for contemporary researchers. Over thirty years of research has documented that original assumptions of widespread nonintervention in crisis situations were unwarranted. People do come to the aid of others, but this is most likely to occur in serious situations. In addition, the size of a crowd of witnesses appears to decrease the likelihood that a given bystander will intervene. In recent years, some research has suggested that coming to the rescue may increase if it would improve or maintain one's standing in the community. Bystander response is a complex issue, however, and merits additional study.

KEY CONCEPTS

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Cognitive processes, 101
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REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Describe the process of operant conditioning and give an example of how criminal behavior is acquired.
2. Explain the difference between differential association theory and differential association-reinforcement theory.
3. Explain the concept of deindividuation and illustrate by describing any one experiment in social psychology.
4. What is "frustration-induced criminality"? Provide an illustration.
5. Compare and contrast the behaviorism promoted by B. F. Skinner with the modern behaviorism promoted by Bandura.
6. Describe and discuss the situational factors that can influence criminal behavior. In addition to those mentioned in this chapter, what others might be identified?
7. What is meant by crimes of obedience? Give examples.
8. What is meant by bystander apathy, and under what circumstances is it most likely to occur?
9. Explain the concept of moral disengagement and discuss its relevance to antisocial or morally ambivalent behavior.

5

Human Aggression and Violence

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Explore the multiple ways of defining and identifying aggressive behavior.
- Review the major theories on the development of aggression and violence.
- Emphasize the importance of social-cognitive processes in aggressive behavior.
- Explore the interactions of biology and cognitive processes in aggressive behavior and violence.
- Outline the important key concepts in understanding aggression and violence, such as hostile attribution bias, weapons effect, and contagion effect.
- Introduce the General Aggression Model and I^3 Theory.
- Review the effects of digital, electronic, and other media on aggression and violence.
- Examine the current research on copycat crime.

There is ample evidence of the long history of human involvement in aggression and violence. The more than 5,600 years of recorded human history, for example, include 14,600 wars, a rate of more than 2.6 per year (Baron, 1983; Montagu, 1976). Over the past 3,400 years, humans have been entirely at peace just 8% of the time (Hedges, 2003). Moreover, with each technological advance, the threat of modern warfare takes us a step closer to our annihilation (Hedges, 2014). Today, many people fear not only additional wars and terrorist attacks, but also injuries and deaths associated with lethal weapons, particularly guns.

Although violence is more likely to occur in people's homes or in high-crime areas on the streets, there are ample illustrations of random and mass shootings that make it clear that no locality is immune from violence. People have been targeted by violence in their homes, schools, concert venues, churches, parks, theaters, and shopping malls. Nevertheless, as we noted in Chapter 1, the violent crime rate in the United States has decreased since the mid-1990s (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2014, 2018) with occasional upticks in recent years and in some geographical locations.

Violence and aggression go hand in hand, but—as will be demonstrated in this chapter—not all aggression is violent in the physical sense of that word. Some writers argue that aggression has been instrumental in helping people survive. Through centuries of experience, humans learned that aggressive behavior enabled them to

obtain material goods, land, and treasures; to protect property and family; and to gain prestige, status, and power. Although some might wonder whether the human species could have survived had it not used aggression, others are quick to point out that both historically and in the present, aggressive behavior is at the root of numerous social and individual problems.

Aggression—a psychological concept that we will define shortly—warrants an entire chapter because it is the basic ingredient in violent crime. Be warned, however, that aggression is a highly complex topic that involves many theories and confusing research findings. However, this is typical of all well-executed scientific research. By studying aggression, psychologists have made substantial contributions to society's efforts to understand both violent and nonviolent crime, as well as violent behavior that may not necessarily be defined as crime (e.g., legitimate uses of force). Is human aggression instinctive, biological, learned, or some combination of these characteristics? If it results from an innate, biological mechanism, the methods designed to control, reduce, or eliminate aggressive behavior will differ significantly from methods used if aggression is learned.

Perspectives of human nature emerge very clearly from the scholarly and research literature on aggression. Some writers and researchers believe that aggressive behavior is basically biological and genetic in origin, a strong residue of our evolutionary past. This physiological, genetic contention is accompanied by compelling evidence that explanations of human aggressive behavior may be found in the animal kingdom as a whole. On the other hand, researchers who subscribe to the learning viewpoint believe that, while some species of animals may be genetically programmed to behave aggressively, human beings learn to be aggressive from the social environment. The learning position also offers cogent evidence to support its theory. Other researchers remain on a theoretical fence, accepting and rejecting some aspects of each argument. Research does indicate, however, that the level of aggressive behavior demonstrated by an 8-year-old appears to remain largely unchanged well into adulthood for many children (Kokko & Pulkkinen, 2005). On the other hand, aggressive behavior can be "unlearned," particularly by applying intervention strategies that offer alternative methods to cope with situations that promote aggression.

If aggression and violence represent a built-in, genetically programmed aspect of human nature, we may be forced, as Baron (1983) suggests, toward a pessimistic conclusion. At best, we can only hope to hold our natural, aggressive urges and drives temporarily in check. Furthermore, we should design the environment and society in such a way as to discourage violence, including administering immediate and aversive consequences (punishment) when it is displayed. Even better—and setting aside ethical or legal considerations for the moment—we might consider psychosurgery, electrode implants, and drug control—all effective methods for the reduction, if not the elimination, of violence.

If, on the other hand, we believe that aggression is learned and is influenced by a wide range of situational, social, and environmental variables, we can be more optimistic. Aggression is not an inevitable aspect of human life. Once we understand what factors play major roles in its acquisition and maintenance, we will be able to reduce its occurrence by addressing these factors. There are, of course, both positive and negative aspects of human aggression. What we are concerned with in this chapter is the inappropriate expression of aggression, particularly as displayed in violent behavior. In other words, the focus in this chapter is on the negative aspects, or the forms of aggression that are not socially permissible and may cross over into criminal behavior.

Defining Aggression

The task of defining human aggression is surprisingly difficult, as many social psychologists have discovered. Forcibly jabbing someone in the midsection is certainly defining it by example—or is it? Now what about jabbing someone more softly, in jest? Would everyone

TABLE 5–1 Varieties of Human Aggression

	Active		Passive	
	Direct	**Indirect**	**Direct**	**Indirect**
Physical	Punching Hitting	Mean practical joke Booby trap	Obstructing passage	Refusing to complete a project
Verbal	Insulting the victim	Malicious gossip	Refusing to speak	Refusing to lend someone money

Source: Adapted from Buss, A. H. (1971). Aggression pays. In J. L. Singer (Ed.), The control of aggression and vio-lence. New York: Academic Press.

consider football and boxing aggressive behaviors or are they just sports? If someone pointedly ignores a question, is that an example of aggression? What if someone spreads malicious gossip? If someone interrupts a public speaker by shouting invectives, is that an example of displaying aggressive behavior? If a burglar breaks into your home and you reach for a gun, aim it at the intruder, and pull the trigger, is yours an act of aggression? Is it any less so if the gun does not fire? If someone sits passively on a doorstep and purposefully blocks your entry, is this aggression?

Some social psychologists define aggression as the intent and attempt to harm another individual, physically or socially, or, in some cases, to destroy an object. This definition seems adequate for many situations, but it has several limitations. Refusing to speak does not fit well, since it is not an active attempt to harm someone, nor is blocking someone's entry. Most psychologists place these two behaviors in a special category of aggressive responses and call them **passive-aggressive behaviors**, since they are generally interpreted as aggressive in intent, although the behavior is passive and indirect.

Passive-aggressive behaviors
Hostile behaviors that do not directly inflict physical harm, such as refusing to speak to someone against whom one holds a grudge.

As fascinating as passive-aggressive behavior may be, it is generally irrelevant when we discuss crime, since the aggression we are concerned about is the type that manifests itself directly in violent or antisocial behavior. We might stretch the point by suggesting that the doorstep sitter is trespassing, in which case he or she might be charged with a criminal offense. Likewise, there are other situations in which passive-aggressive behavior could lead to various types of crime. Refusing to file income tax because one is intensely dissatisfied with the policies of the government is one example. In general, however, the aggressive behavior we wish to focus on in this chapter is not of the passive-aggressive kind.

In an effort to conceptualize the many varieties of human aggression, Buss (1971) tried to classify them based on the apparent motivation of the aggressor, although his classification does not refer specifically to motivations (see Table 5–1). You may easily find exceptions and overlapping categories in the Buss scheme, but that emphasizes how difficult it is to compartmentalize human aggressive behavior. It also epitomizes the many definitional dilemmas that hamper social psychologists studying aggression. Still, the Buss classification system is very useful for any meaningful discussion of aggression as well as research on its various forms. For example, researchers have learned that males employ more direct forms of aggression, especially toward other males, whereas females tend to rely more on indirect aggression, regardless of the gender of the target of their aggression (Richardson, 2005, 2014).

Reactive-impulsive aggression
Spontaneous aggression, possibly in response to provocation. Also referred to as reactive aggression or hostile aggression.

Reactive-Impulsive and Controlled-Instrumental Aggression

Before finally settling on a satisfactory definition of aggression (and we will get there), it may be useful to recognize two types of aggression, hostile and instrumental, a distinction first made by Feshbach (1964). In recent years, psychologists have preferred the terms **reactive-impulsive** and **controlled-instrumental**, but in this section we maintain Feshbach's

controlled-instrumental aggression
The type of aggression that is planned and is used to accomplish a specific purpose.

terms. They are distinguished by their goals, or the rewards they offer the perpetrator. Hostile aggression, which we are most concerned with in this chapter, occurs in response to anger-inducing conditions, such as real or perceived insults, physical attacks, or one's own failures. Hostile aggression—later called reactive-impulsive aggression—is an aggressive response to a frustration, perceived threat, or provocation (Deschamps, Verhulp, de Castro, & Matthys, 2018). The aggressor's goal is to make a victim suffer. Most criminal homicides, rapes, and other violent crimes directed at harming the victim are precipitated by reactive-impulsive aggression. The behavior is characterized by the intense and disorganizing emotion of anger, with anger defined as an arousal state elicited by certain stimuli, particularly those evoking attack or frustration. It is important to stress that anger itself is not the culprit. Anger is a normal human emotion, and it becomes a problem only if it is not managed appropriately.

Instrumental aggression, which is more purposeful and goal oriented, begins with competition or the desire for some object or status possessed by another person—jewelry, drugs, electronics, money, territory. The perpetrator tries to obtain the desired object regardless of the cost. This type of aggression is usually a factor in hacking, robbery, burglary, larceny, and various white-collar and political crimes. The perpetrator's obvious goal in a robbery is to obtain items of value. Usually, there is no intent to harm anyone physically. However, if someone or something interferes with the perpetrator's objective, the perpetrator may harm the victim so as not to lose the desired goal. In that sense, a robbery may lead to murder, but the aggression represented is still instrumental. Instrumental aggression is also usually a feature of calculated murder committed by a hired, impersonal killer. Although psychologists make the distinction between hostile and instrumental aggression, the law does not, insofar as responsibility for the crime is concerned, if a crime has been committed.

Some scholars (e.g., Bushman & Anderson, 2001) find fault with a strict hostile-instrumental dichotomy. Bushman and Anderson point out that this two-category division fails to take into account that many aggressive acts have multiple motives. Furthermore, they say, aggressive acts can be better understood if they are placed somewhere along a continuum that runs from controlled aggression at one pole to automatic (impulsive or thoughtless) aggression at the other pole. Bushman and Anderson believe that, although the dichotomy was useful during the early stages of theory development, it is time to move to a more cognitive approach to understanding the various types of aggressive behavior. This is discussed more fully in the section on the cognitive models of aggression later in the chapter.

Interpretation by Victim

As Bandura (1973a) noted, most definitions of aggression imply that aggression revolves around the behaviors and intentions residing within the perpetrator (or performer). Going a step further, he suggests that an adequate definition of aggression must consider both the "injurious behavior" of the perpetrator and the "social judgment" of the victim. Thus, a soft poke in the belly may qualify as aggression if it is both done derisively and the recipient interprets it that way. A textbook on criminal behavior, however, must focus on aggression as manifested in conduct, not as it is perceived by a victim; it is the actions of the perpetrator that are critical. For our purposes, therefore, we define **aggression** as *behavior perpetrated or attempted with the intention of harming one or more individuals physically or psychologically (as opposed to socially) or to destroy an object*. The psychological harm would cover aggressive actions that do not involve physical force but are still criminally accountable, such as intimidation, threats, stalking, or cyberbullying. This definition encompasses all the behaviors described in Buss's typology. Note, however, that aggressive behavior will not *always* qualify as criminal. A law enforcement officer using *reasonable* force against a criminal suspect is

Aggression
Behavior characterized by the intent to harm others or destroy objects.

TABLE 5–2 Violent Behavior Versus Aggressive Behavior

Which of the following illustrate violent behavior? Aggressive behavior? Both? Which behaviors are crimes?
• After a middle-school breakup, A reveals to classmates that B's father is a convicted sex offender.
• C deflated all four tires on D's car after a horrific first date.
• E gets behind the wheel of a car in an inebriated state and kills an oncoming driver.
• F is cleaning a gun in his home when the gun fires, seriously injuring a friend.
• G, H, and I get into a bar fight; all have split lips.
• J sexually assaults K, his wife of 4 years, after learning she wants a divorce.
• L and M send separate anonymous texts to N, threatening to poison N's pet dog.
• O poisons N's dog.

displaying aggressive (and violent) behavior, but it is not criminal. A hunter shooting a deer (in season) falls into the same category. A person who reasonably perceives him or herself in grave danger of serious bodily harm and defends him or herself against an aggressor, *without using disproportionate force*, is not committing a crime.

It should be clear from the above discussion that all aggression is not violence, though some of it is. **Violence** is *destructive physical aggression intentionally directed at harming other persons or things*. Violence may be methodical or random, sustained or fleeting, intensive or uncontrolled. It always harms or destroys the recipient or is intended to do so (Daniels & Gilula, 1970). Therefore, all violent behavior is aggressive behavior, but not all aggressive behavior is violent. Nevertheless, it is not always easy to distinguish between these two concepts. (See Table 5–2.)

Hamby (2017) argues that violence requires at least four definitional components: (1) nonessential; (2) unwanted; (3) harmful; and (4) intentional acts. By *nonessential*, Hamby means that the behavior "does not serve a legitimate function that could not also be obtained by nonviolent means" (p. 170). In other words, the behavior is not essential. *Unwanted* acts are those that the victim does not desire or seek from the perpetrator. *Harmful* refers to those actions that result in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation. Hamby warns that definitions "that suggest that harm requires visible physical injury or death are defining harm too narrowly" (p. 174). *Intentional* acts refers to malicious behavior purposely designed to cause harm or damage. It involves malice aforethought.

Hamby's definitional requirements seem logical, but they still raise conceptual questions. For example, based on these criteria, would a drunk driver who kills an oncoming driver be committing a violent act? Most of us would probably say yes, even though the driver did not intend to harm anyone. Interestingly, Hamby indicates that bullying would certainly qualify as a form of violence, especially if it results in serious lasting psychological harm. "It is not just blurting out an angry response, it is a coordinated, planned attempt to harm someone else" (Hamby, 2017, p. 167). Hamby's definition of violence will help us determine which offenses may qualify as violent in future chapters. (See also Box 5–1 for more discussion of bullying.)

Theoretical Perspectives on Aggression

Behavioral and social scientists have debated for over a half century whether humans are born aggressive and naturally violent, or born relatively free of aggressive tendencies. Several theories have been developed that try to provide some answers to the debate. Each of the theories presented explains different causes of aggressive and violent behavior in humans. The aggression debate, alluded to at the beginning of the chapter, is part of a

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 5–1 TRACKING BULLYING

- Denzel's parents moved to a new location and enrolled him in a different school because he was harassed and shoved in hallways by older boys who became aware that he was transgender.
- Zarina no longer rides the school bus because others on the bus were constantly making fun of her speech pattern and the clothes she wore.
- Cath receives frequent text messages, some arriving late at night, from someone pretending to be a classmate; the messages say she is worthless, ugly, stupid, and has low IQ.

There is some indication that bullying among adolescents is decreasing (Cornell & Heilbrun, 2016; Musu-Gillette et al., 2017), perhaps in response to nationwide school-based efforts to monitor it and educate adults and students. Nonetheless, incidents of in-school and on-line bullying, like those above, continue. Many consider bullying violent activity, even when physical violence does not happen (Hamby, 2017).

Efforts to determine how much bullying occurs encounter several obstacles. First, middle and high school students are often reluctant to report that they themselves have been bullied, for some of the same reasons people are reluctant to admit other victimization. Second, there is no universal definition of bullying in people's minds or even among researchers: some include "teasing"; some consider an action bullying only if it involves physical aggression; and some think "cyberbullying" is too vague a term because "almost everyone gets bashed on social media." (Cyberbullying is covered in more detail in Chapter 15.)

Most research on bullying has attributed it to influences within the family and the school or to individual characteristics of the "bully" (e.g., a hostile attribution bias, callous-unemotional traits, or poor social skills). Interestingly, in a recent study, researchers began to raise questions about broader societal communication, specifically the atmosphere surrounding the 2016 presidential election.

Huang and Cornell (2019) wanted to assess whether bullying had increased from 2013 to 2017. Many statements made by the Republican candidate and the cheers and taunts at his rallies arguably created a social climate where bullying was more acceptable. Then-candidate Trump denigrated not only his political opponents but also immigrants, representatives of the media, judges, women, and individuals with disabilities, among others. He urged police to be rough with suspects, advocated that protesters be pummeled, and encouraged chants of Lock Her Up in reference to his Democratic opponent.

Sampling a large number of participants from public middle schools throughout the State of Virginia, Huang and Cornell reviewed surveys from 2013, 2015, and 2017. They hypothesized that bullying would increase in 2017 in those districts that had supported the Republican candidate. They were particularly interested in studying bullying against ethnicities, races, and sexual orientations.

The researchers analyzed responses to five questions taken from the Prevalence of Teasing and Bullying (PTB) scale. The questions focused on the students' perceptions of the climate of their public school. Specifically, whether (1) students at their school were teased about their clothes or physical appearance; (2) bullying was a problem at their school; (3) students were teased or put down because of their race or ethnicity; (4) there was a lot of teasing about sexual topics; and (5) students were teased or put down because of their sexual orientation. Students were also asked whether they themselves had experienced some form of bullying in the past year.

Comparing preelection results to postelection results, the researchers found that, in districts that favored the Republican candidate—but only in those districts—there was an 18% increase in experiencing bullying and a 9% increase in perceptions that students in their schools were teased or put down because of their race or ethnicity.

Huang and Cornell's study is unique in its examination of the possible influence of a national event (a presidential election) and statements widely circulated in the media on bullying behavior. As the researchers noted, although the results were correlational and do not indicate causality, they suggest experimental research designs for exploring this further.

Questions for Discussion

1. According to a classic definition of bullying (Olweus, 1991), it has three essential characteristics: there is a desire to harm the victim, the bullying is repetitive, and there is a power imbalance between the bullier and the victim. Given these characteristics, is bullying

violent behavior? Is it aggressive behavior? Do you think bullying can occur without power imbalance?
2. What does it mean to say that someone is "teased" about their race, their sexual orientation, or their weight? Is teasing bullying?
3. What point is being made by highlighting this study relating to the 2016 U.S. presidential election? Focus on concepts and theories from Chapters 4 and 5 to answer this question.

wider controversy about the respective merits of nature and nurture. According to the first perspective, humans are programmed aggressive to defend themselves, family, and territory from intruders. According to the second, humans become violent by acquiring aggressive models and actions from society. In this section, the topics will move from the biological perspectives to the more learning-based perspectives.

Ethological Viewpoints

Ethology is the study of animal behavior in relation to the animal's natural habitat, and it compares that behavior to human behavior. In the mid-1960s, a number of ethologists published books and articles about aggression that interested and appealed to the general public. Three especially popular books were Konrad Lorenz's *On Aggression* (1966), Robert Ardrey's *The Territorial Imperative* (1966), and Desmond Morris's *The Naked Ape* (1967). Before his death, Lorenz was the chief spokesperson for a theoretical formulation of ethology as it relates to aggression.

A Nobel laureate in biology, Lorenz believed that aggression is an inherited instinct of both humans and animals. (Although humans are part of the animal kingdom, we make a distinction between humans and nonhuman animals throughout this section.) One of its main purposes is to enable the animal—and the human being—to defend "staked out" territory, a territory that ensures sufficient food, water, and space to roam and reproduce. If this space is violated, Lorenz argued, the instinctive or genetically programmed response is to attack, or at least to increase aggressive behavior toward the intruder, thus preventing further territory violation. The tendency to attack space violators is referred to as **territoriality**. Lorenz believed it is an innate propensity developed through the lengthy, complex process of evolution. This innate aggressive behavior among members of the same animal species (intraspecific aggression) prevents overcrowding and ensures the best and most powerful mates for the young.

Territoriality
The tendency to attack violators of one's personal space.

The more deadly the animal's evolutionarily developed weaponry (e.g., fangs, claws, size, and strength), the more intense the innate inhibitions against engaging in physical combat with members of its own species. This innately programmed inhibition is a form of insurance for species survival, Lorenz believed, since constant intraspecific physical combat would eventually extinguish the species. Intraspecies aggression is accomplished, therefore, not by actual combat but by complicated displays of force and superiority, such as a show of teeth, size, or color array. These displays are referred to as **ritualized aggression**. Through an intricate communication system, the animals transmit signals, after which the more powerful, dominant animal generally wins out. The losing animal demonstrates defeat by various appeasement behaviors, such as rolling over on its back (characteristic of puppies), lowering its tail or head, and emitting cries of defeat. The weaker animal then leaves the territory of the dominant one.

Ritualized aggression
The symbolic display of aggressive intentions or strength without actual physical combat or conflict.

What does all of this have to do with human aggression? Lorenz and other ethologists believe that it is important to understand animal aggression before we try to understand human aggression, since humans are part of the animal world and probably follow many of its basic principles. Efran and Cheyne (1974), for example, observed after studying invasion

of personal space among humans that "human society may operate through mechanisms which are less uniquely human than is currently fashionable to suggest" (p. 225).

Lorenz raised another issue that, if valid, is more significant to criminal behavior, however. He maintained that human beings have outdistanced the evolutionary process of inhibiting aggression. Instead of developing natural weapons and the species-preserving function of ritualized aggression, humans have developed technological weaponry. Thus, he and many other ethologists believed they could provide at least a partial answer to why human beings wantonly maim and kill members of their own species: They have not developed the ability to engage in the species-preserving behavior of ritualized aggression. Instead, through superior learning ability, they have developed the capacity to annihilate.

The ethological position is intriguing, but it has not been supported by human aggression research (Bandura, 1983; Montagu, 1973; Zillmann, 1983). Zoologists, biologists, and psychologists have tried with little success to apply the Lorenzian tenets to humans. One problem is that the ethological position relies on a strong analogy between animals and humans. Lorenz argued, for example, that the Greylag goose is remarkably similar to the human species (Berkowitz, 1973). However, the human brain makes us remarkably unlike the Greylag goose and considerably less likely to rely on instinct for determining behavior. Research has yet to delineate any instinctive or invariant genetically programmed behavior determinant in humans. Furthermore, "the capacity to exercise control over one's own thought processes, motivation, and action is a distinctively human characteristic" (Bandura, 1989, p. 1175).

Ethologists also fail to acknowledge and interpret the vast body of existing scientific research that has tested their position and found it wanting. This curious response—or nonresponse—undermines the validity of their whole presentation. Some critics have referred to ethological theorizing as "scientific-sounding misinformation" (Leach, 1973). To date, therefore, there is little evidence to justify portraying humans as *innately* dangerous and brutal or as controlled by instinct. Some contemporary theories do adopt a biological perspective on violence, however, as we discuss later in the chapter.

Evolutionary psychology
The study of the evolution of behavior using the principles of natural selection.

Perhaps more significantly, the ethological perspective has evolved into what is referred to today as **evolutionary psychology**. Evolutionary psychology is the study of the evolution of behavior using the principles of natural selection. It argues that human evolutionary history provides the fundamental framework for understanding human cognition and behavior. An important point to remember here is that evolutionary psychology does not see aggression as pathology, but something that is normal. The evolutionary perspective views aggression as a behavior that has been naturally selected over the course of human evolution (Bjorklund & Hawley, 2014). VandenBos (2007) defines evolutionary psychology as an approach "that views human cognition and behavior in a broadly Darwinian context of adaptation to evolving physical and social environments and new intellectual changes" (p. 349).

In recent years, evolutionary psychology has taken hold of an increasing number of criminologists and psychologists as providing cogent explanations for violence in contemporary human societies (Pinker, 2014). Lewis et al. (2017) write, "More and more researchers in the psychological and behavioral sciences are seeking to apply evolutionary psychology principles to their empirical research programs, thereby contributing to the unification of the social and behavioral sciences with the rest of the life sciences" (p. 370). For example, Harrison, Hughes, and Gott (2019) apply evolutionary psychology to explain gender differences found in serial killers. As we note in Chapter 10, most serial killers are males who often travel wide geographical areas in search of victims; female serial killers choose victims who are close to home, including people who are in their care. Harrison et al. link this to the evolutionary "hunter-gatherer" differences between males and females. Similarly, Wyckoff, Buss, and Markman (2019) apply evolutionary psychology to gender differences in cyberbullying.

The growth in the popularity of evolutionary psychology is further demonstrated by the introduction of publications, such as the journal *Evolutionary Behavioral Sciences* and chapters in recent leading handbooks of personality psychology and social psychology, as well as textbooks in social psychology and introduction to psychology (Lewis et al., 2017).

Frustration–Aggression Hypothesis

Around the mid-20th century, a group of psychologists at Yale University proposed that aggression is a direct result of frustration (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939). This theoretical approach has survived to this day, although in modified form. According to John Dollard and his colleagues, people who are frustrated, thwarted, annoyed, or threatened will behave aggressively, since aggression is a natural, almost automatic response to frustrating circumstances. Moreover, people who exhibit aggressive behavior are likely frustrated, thwarted, annoyed, or threatened. "Aggression is always a consequence of frustration" (Dollard et al., 1939, p. 1). This does not say that people who are aggressive are invariably frustrated, though.

Frustration-aggression hypothesis
The theory first formulated by Berkowitz that frustration leads to aggressive behavior.

Because of its simplicity and important implications, the **frustration-aggression hypothesis** drew much research, along with much criticism. Psychologists found it difficult not only to decide what frustration was, but also to determine how it could be measured accurately. Researchers also learned that aggression was a much more complex phenomenon than Dollard and his associates had postulated. Frustration does not always lead to aggression, and aggressive behavior does not always signify "frustration." Experiments in social psychology have indicated that people respond to frustration and anger differently. Some do indeed respond with aggression, but others display a wide variety of responses.

Led by Leonard Berkowitz (1962, 1969, 1973, 2012), whose general views on some of the causes of criminality were presented in Chapter 4, researchers began to propose a revised version of the frustration-aggression hypothesis. According to Berkowitz, frustration increases the probability that an individual will become angry and soon act aggressively. In short, frustration facilitates the performance of aggressive behavior. The behavior may be overt (physical or verbal) or implicit (wishing someone dead). Anger, however, is not the only emotion that potentially leads to aggression. Aversive conditions, such as pain, or pleasant states, such as sexual arousal, may also lead to aggressive behavior (Berkowitz, 1973). We will return to this subject shortly.

As we learned in Chapter 4, an important component of the revised frustration-aggression hypothesis is the concept of anticipated goals or expectations. When a behavior directed at a specific goal is thwarted, frustration is likely to result. Thus, the person must have been expecting or anticipating the attainment of a goal or achievement. Mere deprivation of goods will not necessarily lead to frustration. People who are living under deprived conditions may not be frustrated unless they actually expect something better. "Poverty-stricken groups who have never dreamed of having automobiles, washing machines, or new homes are not frustrated because they have been deprived of these things; they are frustrated only after they have begun to hope" (Berkowitz, 1969, p. 15).

Aggression, Berkowitz says, is only one possible response to frustration. The individual may learn others, like withdrawal, doing nothing, or trying to alter the situation by getting out of the situation completely or by compromising. With this approach, Berkowitz not only emphasizes the importance of learning but also stresses the role of individual differences in response to frustrating circumstances.

The revised frustration-aggression hypothesis, therefore, suggests the following steps: (1) the person is blocked from obtaining an expected goal, (2) frustration results, generating anger, and (3) anger *predisposes* or readies the person to behave aggressively. Whether the person actually engages in aggressive actions will depend in part on his or her learning

history, interpretation of the event, and individual way of responding to frustration. It will also depend, however, on the presence of aggression-eliciting stimuli in the environment.

Weapons Effect

Berkowitz notes that the presence of aggressive stimuli in the external environment (or internal environment represented by thoughts) increases the probability of aggressive responses. A weapon is a good example of such a stimulus. Most people in our society associate firearms with aggression. Consider the concern many people have about "open carry" laws that allow people with permits to carry pistols and rifles on the streets and take them to public venues, Berkowitz (1983) likens the firearm to a conditioned stimulus in that the weapon conjures aggressive associations, facilitating overt aggression and violence. A gun, even when not used, is more likely to generate aggressive action than is a neutral object. "The mere sight of the weapon might elicit ideas, images, and expressive reactions that had been linked with aggression in the past" (Berkowitz, 1983, p. 124).

In one early experiment designed to test this hypothesis (Berkowitz & LePage, 1967), angry male subjects were more likely to engage in aggressive action in the presence of a gun than a comparable group of angry subjects in the presence of a badminton racket. This suggests that a visible weapon (such as a law enforcement officer might carry) may actually facilitate, rather than inhibit, a violent response in some people. This is not to say that sworn law enforcement officers should not carry weapons. However, the carrying of weapons by others—such as private citizens, neighborhood watch volunteers, campus police in some colleges and universities, and private security officers—is often a controversial issue. After a mass shooting at a high school in Parkland, Florida, in 2018, some gun advocates suggested that schools should facilitate the arming of teachers, administrators, and monitors, provided they were trained and willing to carry guns. These suggestions were widely derided by parents, high school students, and the educational community, although to this day some continue to advocate that school personnel be armed. Would a visible weapon deter or promote violence? Would knowledge that a gun is present in a classroom setting help or harm the educational environment? These topics will be discussed again in a later chapter. (See also Box 5–2 for more on gun-related issues.)

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BOX 5–2 GUN VIOLENCE: A TRUE NATIONAL EMERGENCY

The statistics are consistent and sobering. In 2018, nearly 40,000 people in the United States died from gun violence. Over two-thirds of those who died had committed suicide. Law enforcement records indicate an unknown number of individuals who have been harmed by guns, either by criminal activity or by an accidental shooting. In early 2019, at least 63 children were unintentionally injured or killed by guns (Everytown for Gun Safety).

Although we focus in this chapter on the visibility of weapons as inducements to violence, in later chapters we will discuss their widespread availability, even to juveniles, and their association with specific crimes, including homicide, mass murders, and domestic violence. Therefore, we introduce this topic now, with the understanding that it will be relevant in later chapters as well.

The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that the Second Amendment right to bear arms is an individual right

(*District of Columbia v. Heller*, 2008; *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 2010), but that restrictions on that right are possible. Many states and local jurisdictions, for example, require waiting periods and background checks, and some have banned some semiautomatic weapons and attachments, such as bump stocks. Some also disallow the purchase and possession by persons with severe mental disorders, ex-felons, domestic abusers, or persons under 21. Three states and Washington, DC, require gun owners to store their guns safely if children have access to them. Some states have also passed "red flag" laws, by which a family member, health professional, human services worker, or law enforcement can petition a court to have a registered gun taken away from a person believed to be a danger to self or others.

In early 2019, the U.S. House of Representatives for the first time in 25 years passed several federal gun control bills. Among other provisions, they expanded the time period for federal background checks, required background checks in private sales, including those at gun shows, and provided protection for victims of domestic violence. However, the bills were not taken up in the Senate. At this point, therefore, gun control at the federal level is virtually nonexistent.

Meanwhile, for the first time in nearly a decade, the U.S. Supreme Court in 2019 agreed to hear arguments in a case involving gun control (*New York State Rifle and Pistol Association* v. *the City of New York*). The law, upheld by the 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals, bars pistol permit holders from transporting their weapons outside the city, including second homes. It is important to note that this pertains only to persons with "premises permits," that is, permits that allow them to have weapons within their own homes and carry their unloaded weapons to shooting ranges within the city. Premises permits are distinct from carry permits, which allow people to own and carry weapons as they see fit, though not openly.

Questions for Discussion

1. What might be the reasoning behind a law that forbids someone from carrying a weapon outside city limits?
2. How is the above New York City case relevant to the weapons effect discussed in the chapter?
3. The question at issue in the above case is a very narrow one, applying only to people who hold "premises permits." Furthermore, the city subsequently modified the law to allow owners to carry registered guns to their second homes and shooting ranges outside the city. This might have made the case moot, but it did not. Why might a gun control advocate worry about this case, and why might a gun rights advocate be inclined to welcome it? If the Court has issued a decision, discuss the holding in the context of its psychological relevance.

The Berkowitz-LePage finding that people acted more aggressively in the presence of a weapon generated much controversy. A number of studies tried to replicate the finding, but failed to find evidence of a **weapons effect**. Some researchers believed that many of the participants used in some of the studies "saw through" the purpose of the study, a research flaw called demand characteristics. However, a comprehensive review of the research literature found strong evidence that the weapons effect does—in fact—exist (Carlson, Marcus-Newhall, & Miller, 1990). Carlson et al., concluded, "Aggression-related cues present in experimental settings act to increase aggressive responding. This cue effect occurs more strongly when subjects have been negatively aroused before their exposure to aggression-facilitating cues" (p. 632).

Weapons effect
Suggestion that the mere presence of a weapon leads a witness or victim to concentrate on the weapon itself rather than other features of the crime.

Cognitive-Neoassociation Theory

Much of Berkowitz's early research and theory focused on the aggression-enhancing influence of situational stimuli and factors, such as the weapons effect. In his reformulation of the frustration-aggression hypothesis, Berkowitz (1989, 2012) emphasized the importance of cognitive factors and negative effects, such as psychological discomfort. The reformulation is called the **cognitive-neoassociation theory**. It operates in the following manner: During the earlier stages, an aversive event produces a negative affect (discomfort). This negative affect may be due to physical pain or psychological discomfort. Physical pain as an aversive circumstance is clear, but psychological discomfort needs further elaboration.

Cognitive-neoassociation theory
A revised theory of the frustration-aggression hypothesis proposed by Leonard Berkowitz.

Being verbally insulted is a good example. While there is no physical pain, personal insults or demeaning comments engender anger, depression, or sadness—all negative affects—in just about everyone. Unpleasant feelings or negative affects presumably then give rise, almost automatically, to a variety of feelings, thoughts, and memories that are associated with flight (fear) and fight (anger) tendencies. During this early stage, mediating cognitive processes have little influence beyond the immediate appraisal that the situation is aversive. Some people may act quickly on the basis of these initial emotions without further deliberation or forethought, sometimes engaging in violence. Berkowitz emphasizes that any unpleasant feeling or arousal can evoke aggressive, even violent responses. A depressed person can murder his or her family or walk into a café and shoot patrons drinking coffee. A thwarted teenager may violently lash out at authority by stabbing the school guidance counselor.

Most of us get past the initial stages of frustration, however. During the later stages, cognitive appraisal may go into operation and substantially influence the subsequent emotional reactions and experiences after the initial, automatic responses. These cognitions mediate and evaluate a proper course of action. During the later stages, roused people make causal attributions about the unpleasant experience, think about the nature of their feelings, and perhaps try to control their feelings and actions. Thus, what began as an angry reaction to someone's critical comments develops into a careful consideration of their merits or a conclusion that they are not worth being concerned about.

Excitation Transfer Theory

Excitation transfer theory
Theory explaining how physiological arousal can generalize from one situation to another; based on the assumption that physiological arousal, however produced, dissipates slowly over time.

Zillmann (1988) has proposed a theory to explain how physiological arousal can generalize from one situation to another. Called **excitation transfer theory**, it is based on the assumption that physiological arousal, however produced, dissipates slowly over time. For example, a person who receives some anger-producing criticism at work is likely to have some residual arousal from that criticism on arriving home later that evening. Encountering some annoying event at home, the person is apt to "fly off the handle" and overreact to the minor home incident. "You're taking it out on me," or "You're taking it out on the kids" are familiar statements in some homes. Consequently, the combination of *preexisting* arousal, plus anger generated by the irritation at home, may increase the likelihood of aggression. The transfer of arousal from one situation to another is most likely to occur if the people are unaware that they are still carrying some arousal from a previous situation to a new, unrelated one.

Displaced Aggression Theory

Displaced aggression theory
The theory that some aggression is directed at the target as a replacement for the individual who is the real source of the provocation.

Closely related to the excitation transfer theory is **displaced aggression theory**, especially the recent model proposed by Bushman, Anderson, Miller, and their colleagues (Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Bushman, Bonacci, Pederson, Vasquez, & Miller, 2005; Miller, Pedersen, Earleywine, & Pollack, 2003). According to Bushman et al. (2005), "Aggression is *displaced* when the target is innocent of any wrongdoing but is simply in the wrong place at the wrong time" (p. 969). Displaced aggression can occur when an individual cannot aggress against a source of provocation, such as a boss at work, but feels less constrained about being aggressive toward an innocent, nonprovoking, or mildly provoking individual (or pet). The displaced aggression is probably more likely to be directed at a person (or pet) who emits a mildly annoying act—the cat that tips over the water dish, for example. Bushman et al. refer to this phenomenon as *triggered displaced aggression*. "Following an initial provocation, the target commits a minor provocation, the triggering event, which in turn prompts an aggressive response" (p. 970). The "displaced" aggressive response is usually far in excess of

what might be expected to be directed at the minor provocation but probably is in proportion to the perceived severity of the initial provocation. One may believe the boss deserves a good kick for not appreciating one's hard work on a project; since one can't kick the boss, the cat bears the brunt of the anger.

Bushman et al. (2005) take the model one step further by working into the equation the concept of rumination. **Rumination** refers to self-focused attention toward one's thoughts and feelings. In other words, the person keeps thinking about the incident long after it is over. More importantly, ruminative thought can harbor and maintain angry feelings over a period of time far removed from the initial provocation. It is, according to Bushman et al., the ruminative thoughts that can promote subsequent aggression against someone who is mildly annoying but not highly deserving of an aggressive attack.

Rumination
The focused attention on one's own thoughts and feelings that, if excessive, can lead to aggression against others.

Social Learning Factors in Aggression and Violence

Why do some people behave aggressively when intensely frustrated, while others change their tactics, withdraw, or seem not to be affected? One major factor may be past learning experiences. The human being, as we noted in Chapter 4, is very adept at learning and maintaining behavior patterns that have worked in the past, even if they only worked occasionally. This learning process begins in early childhood. Children develop many behaviors merely by watching their parents and significant others in their environment, a process we have called modeling or observational learning. A child's behavior pattern, therefore, is often acquired through the modeling or imitation of other people, real and imagined, in the child's environment (Bandura, 1973a). In fact, available research reveals that the conditions most conducive to the learning of aggression are those in which the child (1) has many opportunities to observe aggression, (2) is reinforced for the child's own aggression, or (3) is often the object of aggression (Huesmann, 1988).

Suppose Harris's father returns home feeling harried after a hot and humid day during which he accomplished nothing (frustration). He finds an official-looking letter from the IRS in the mailbox. He opens it, perhaps muttering mild obscenities under his breath, and finds that the IRS apparently suspects he has shortchanged the U.S. government by several hundred dollars, although he knows he has not (more frustration). He is invited for an audit (even more frustration). In response, he slams his fist on the table, exclaims "Damn it!" or some colorful variation, and kicks the nearest chair (just enough not to damage his toe, since he has learned the painful consequences from past similar episodes). Unknown to father, 3-year-old Harris has observed this whole scenario. An hour later, when his tower of blocks crumbles, Harris pounds his fist, kicks a chair, and curses, "Damn it!" (or some colorful variation).

Modeling

Many years ago, Albert Bandura (1965) conducted what is now considered a classic study in psychology. Sixty-six nursery school children (33 girls and 33 boys) were divided into three groups and shown one of three five-minute films. All three films depicted an adult verbally and physically assault a Bobo doll, a large plastic, inflatable clown with a sand base which bounces back after being pushed down. (A common household toy in the 1950s and 1960s, the Bobo doll has now morphed into inflatable Spiderman or X-Men characters that are available on the toy market.) In the film, the adult punched, kicked, and hit the clown with a mallet. One group saw the adult model being rewarded with candy and a soda after displaying aggressive behavior. A second group observed the model being spanked (with

a rolled-up magazine) and reprimanded verbally. A third group witnessed a situation in which the model received neither punishment nor reward.

After the children saw the film, they were permitted to free play for 10 minutes in a playroom of toys, including a Bobo doll. The group that had witnessed the adult model being rewarded for aggressive behavior exhibited more aggression than the other two groups. In addition, boys were more aggressive than girls. The group that saw the adult model being punished exhibited the lowest amount of aggression in the playroom.

Bandura's subsequent research, which included variations on this basic study design, consistently demonstrated this modeling effect. Furthermore, numerous follow-up studies not only replicated his findings but also suggested that media violence (TV, movies, video games) may have a strong influence on real life in many situations (Baron, 1977). We cover this in a separate section below.

When a child's imitative behavior is reinforced or rewarded by praise and encouragement from significant models, the probability that the behavior will occur in the future is increased. There is evidence that American parents (consciously or inadvertently) encourage or reinforce aggressive behavior in their children, particularly in their sons. For example, the behavior of Harris described above might have been reinforced if his parents drew attention to it by laughing. In a future episode, the kicking behavior might be directed at the family cat. Furthermore, while kicking chairs and towers may seem relatively mild, the same behavior becomes very sobering if the parent's anger is taken out on a family member, as too many Harrises in our society have observed. Other children are "merely" expected or encouraged to be hard-hitting linebackers and to hold their own against neighborhood bullies, providing they are approximately the same size. They learn that the child who aggresses successfully against others is often rewarded by status, prestige, and the most attractive toys or material goods.

Types of Models Bandura (1983) identifies three major types of models: family members, members of one's subculture, and symbolic models provided by the mass media. As we noted in Chapter 2, family members, particularly parents, can be very powerful models up until early adolescence. Beginning in early adolescence, peer models are likely to dominate. Not surprisingly, the highest incidence of aggression is found in communities and groups in which aggressive models abound and fighting prowess is regarded as a valued attribute (Bandura, 1983; Lacourse, Nagin, Tremblay, Vitaro, & Claes, 2003; Thornberry & Burch, 1997).

The mass media, including television, electronic videos, movies, magazines, newspapers, and books, provide abundant symbolic models. Today we would have to add social media, through which comments and memes portraying cruelty and violence are forwarded in seemingly endless streams. The effects these models have on children and adolescents are a highly debated issue, as we will note later in this chapter.

Since parents are powerful models, we would expect aggressive or antisocial parents to have aggressive or antisocial children. In an old but classic study, Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) interviewed four hundred mothers of kindergarten children about their disciplinary techniques, their attitudes about children's aggressiveness, and the children's expressions of aggression toward peers, siblings, and parents. One of the major findings was that physical punishment by parents was related to aggressiveness in the children. This was especially true when physical discipline was supplemented by high permissiveness toward aggression. In support of this finding, some researchers found that preschoolers played more aggressively when they were watched by an adult who permitted aggressive behavior in children than when no adult was visible (Siegel & Kohn, 1959).

Bandura (1973a) argues persuasively that aggressive behavior can be most productively understood and modified if we give attention to the learning principles like those alluded to earlier. As psychologists learn more about human behavior, many are beginning to agree with him.

To this day, Bandura (2016) contends that aggression is not an innate feature of human nature. He is convinced it is learned through cognitive-social processes, and he provides considerable research and cogent illustrations in support of his position. Nevertheless, he does not suggest that physiological influences are irrelevant. Bandura writes, "It is important to distinguish between the proximate hormonal and neuronal regulators of aggressive behavior and the cognitive and social influences that preside over these biological mechanisms" (p. 17).

Bandura uses the examples of various cultures that encourage and reinforce aggressive behavior and those cultures that discourage aggression at all levels. Essentially, cultures and societies can be placed on a continuum of tolerance of aggressive behavior. Some cultures and societies breed aggression by modeling it and attaching social importance to it. Other cultures, such as those found in the Pacific areas, value nonaggressive behavior for gaining social status, material benefits, and social control. In those societies, amicableness and cooperativeness are modeled and socially reinforced, and people generally live peaceably. Bandura finds little support that aggressive behavior is an innate characteristic of humans; rather, it is cognitively socially learned. Increasingly, contemporary research is largely supporting the view that human aggression is learned behavior that can be modified through cognitive-social learning, although evolutionary psychologists may have a different perspective.

Social learning theory hypothesizes that the rudiments of aggressive behavior are initially acquired through observing aggressive models or on the basis of direct experience; aggression is then gradually refined and maintained by reinforcement. Therefore, people may have an aggressive behavioral pattern, but may rarely express it if it has no functional value or is not condoned by significant others in their social environment. Social learning theory acknowledges that biological structures can set limits on the types of aggressive responses that can be learned, and that genetic endowment influences the rate at which learning progresses (Bandura, 1973a, 2016). Biology does not program the individual to specific aggressive behavior, however. These behaviors are learned by observation, either deliberately or inadvertently; they become refined through reinforced practice. (See Box 5–3 for illustrations of aggression in highly publicized cases.)

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BOX 5–3 AGGRESSION IN HIGH-PROFILE CASES

Over the past decade, several high-profile cases involving deaths of unarmed black men have prompted public discussions and debates about use of force, law enforcement tactics, weapons, race relations, and the criminal justice system. We discuss four of these cases here, not with respect to these important broad concerns, but rather because they illustrate concepts discussed in this chapter.

In February 2012, 17-year-old Trayvon Martin, a black youth, was walking in a gated community in Sanford, Florida, unarmed and carrying a box of Skittles and a bottled iced tea he had just purchased from a convenience store. George Zimmerman, a white (Hispanic) Neighborhood Watch volunteer—not a sworn police officer—pursued Martin after calling 911 to report what he believed to be a suspicious individual. Despite being advised by the 911 dispatcher not to follow Martin, Zimmerman did so. At some point a scuffle ensued and Trayvon Martin was fatally shot in the chest at close distance.

Following extensive media publicity about the case, Zimmerman was arrested six weeks after the shooting and

(*continued*)

charged with second-degree murder. Second-degree murder indicates an intention to kill but no premeditation, whereas first-degree murder involves both premeditation and intention. Zimmerman, claiming that he feared for his safety and shot Martin in self-defense, was found not guilty by a six-person jury.

In Ferguson, Missouri, Michael Brown was shot and killed in 2014 by police officer Darren Wilson, who claimed Brown reached into the officer's patrol car and tried to grab his gun. Witnesses differed in their accounts of the incident, some saying Brown approached the police car with his hands in the air, others saying he approached with a threatening gesture. A grand jury declined to indict the officer, prompting protests both in that town and nationwide.

Shortly after the Ferguson case, officers on Staten Island confronted Eric Garner, a black man who was selling loose cigarettes on the street, a misdemeanor. In a video that went viral on the Internet, Garner was seen being taken down by several officers, with one applying a chokehold and Garner stating that he could not breathe. Again, a grand jury refused to return any indictments. In 2015, the city paid the Garner family $5.9 million to settle a wrongful death claim. Five years after the death, in 2019, the officer who used an illegal chokehold was brought for a departmental disciplinary hearing due to the incident. He was subsequently fired.

In North Charleston, South Carolina, 50-year-old Walter Scott—also unarmed—was shot in the back by police officer Michael Slager as he was fleeing after being stopped for driving with a broken taillight. The stop was captured on a police-cruiser dashboard camera, but the shooting itself was filmed by a passerby. The officer was quickly charged with murder, but jurors in the case were unable to reach a verdict. Slager subsequently pleaded guilty to depriving Scott of his civil rights, a federal offense. In 2017 he was sentenced to 20 years in federal prison.

Again, we bring attention to these cases to consider concepts associated with aggression discussed in the chapter.

- In two of the cases, Zimmerman's and Wilson's, the person who survived and the victim were involved in a physical fight. Bruises were found on all. In Garner's case, he resisted arrest verbally and by some thrashing, but he did not assault arresting officers. He, of course, was taken down and was placed in a chokehold that was against departmental policy. Scott was shot in the back. Therefore, the four cases all illustrate both aggression and *violence*.
- In accordance with Buss's typology, *direct, active aggression* of a *physical* sort occurred in all four cases. It is likely that there was *direct, active, verbal aggression*, as well, but we do not know this without more information.
- *Hostile aggression* occurred in three of the four cases—and each individual in those three cases was both a victim and a perpetrator. It is not clear whether Scott responded with hostile aggression. Recall that hostile aggression does not equate to crime, however.
- It is likely that Bushman and Anderson's (2001) continuum of aggression is involved; that is, some of the aggression displayed may have been more *automatic* than controlled. Would the decision to place Garner in a chokehold qualify?

In addition, the following concepts from the chapter might be relevant to these cases. You may agree or disagree.

- Weapons effect: the sight of a gun in Zimmerman's hands could have prompted Martin to act aggressively, either in anger or in self-defense. Michael Brown was unarmed, but he also may have been prompted to act aggressively by the sight of Wilson's gun.
- Cognitive scripts: all of these men had ample cognitive scripts that might be associated with violence. As a neighborhood watch volunteer (and criminal justice major) Zimmerman was familiar with scenarios that might predispose him to play out a scene whereby he would capture someone he perceived to be "up to no good." The officer in the Brown case may have had cognitive scripts in which he foresaw himself in a dangerous situation. Martin, Brown, Garner, and Scott, as black males, knew that black males are often wrongfully profiled and harmed physically by law enforcement officers. They could easily envision a scenario whereby their lives were in danger.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are the relative merits of hostile attribution bias and racial bias as explanations for what occurred in the above incidents?
2. What roles might anger, fear, and frustration play in the above four incidents? Should we expect law enforcement officers to control anger, fear, and frustration more than people who do not work in law enforcement?
3. Obtain information about any other controversial incident involving the death of a black person at the hands of police within the past decade. There are many (e.g., Tamir Rice, Jamar Clark, Laquan McDonald, Darrins Stewart, and Atatiana Jefferson, shot through a window in her own home while she played video games with her 8-year-old nephew). Apply concepts discussed in this chapter to these situations.

Observational Modeling

In addition, mere exposure to aggressive models does not guarantee that the observer will try to engage in similar aggressive action at a later date. First, a variety of conditions may prevent observational learning from even taking place. Individuals differ widely in their ability to learn from observation. Some people may fail to notice the essential features of the model's behavior or may have a poor symbolic or visual memory. Alternately, they may not wish to imitate the model. Bandura also suggests that one important component of observational learning may be the motivation to rehearse what has been observed. He notes that a mass murderer, for example, may get an idea from descriptive accounts of other mass killings. The incidents remain prominent in his mind long after they have been pushed to the back of the minds of others. He continues to think about the crimes and to rehearse the brutal scenarios mentally until, under appropriate conditions, they serve as scripts for his own murderous actions.

Another restriction on observational learning is what happens to the observed model. If the model is reprimanded or punished either during or immediately after an aggressive episode, this will probably inhibit the observer's behavior. The "bad guy" should not get away with violence, if we are to discourage antisocial behavior via the entertainment media.

If aggressive behavior is to be maintained, it needs periodic reinforcement. According to social learning theory, aggression is maintained by instrumental learning. That is, in the initial stage of learning, observation is important, but in the later stages, reinforcement is essential. The reinforcement may be positive, as when the individual gains material or social rewards, or it may be negative, if it allows the individual to alter or avoid aversive conditions. If aggressive behavior brings rewards in either of these ways, the person is likely to continue it. Research has consistently discovered that aggressive children anticipate more positive outcomes and fewer negative outcomes following their aggressive acts (Hubbard, Dodge, Cillessen, Coie, & Schwartz, 2001). "When compared with average peers, aggressive children are more likely to believe that aggression will produce tangible rewards, reduce aversive treatment by others, make themselves and peers feel good, increase self-esteem, and help to avoid a negative image" (Hubbard et al., 2001, p. 268).

Youngsters subjected to unmerciful harassment or bullying because of their unusual name or where they live may be able to stop the teasing with fists. The reinforcement they get from this newly found aggressive behavior qualifies as negative reinforcement, but it is still rewarding. Aggression can also allow individuals to feel in control of a situation if things have not been going their way. A more extreme example is when a student who is constantly bullied by peers decides to put a stop to the aversive circumstances by using a firearm on all those who are perceived as participants as well as on bystanders. The psychological reinforcement offered by feeling in control is an extremely powerful component in any human behavior, especially aggressive or violent behavior.

Cognitive Models of Aggression

Recent cognitive models for learning aggression have hypothesized that, while observational learning is important in the process, the individual's cognitive capacities and information processing strategies are equally important. Two major cognitive models have emerged during the past three decades. One that has been proposed by Rowell Huesmann (1997) is a hypothesis called the **cognitive scripts model**. The other model has been developed by Kenneth Dodge and his colleagues (Dodge, 1986; Dodge & Coie, 1987) and is called the **hostile attribution model**. Even though these models were introduced 30 years ago, they still draw considerable supportive research and clinical application.

Cognitive scripts model
Huesmann's theory that social behavior in general and aggressive behavior in particular are controlled largely by cognitive scripts learned through daily experiences.

Hostile attribution model
A cognitive model of aggression developed by Dodge and colleagues.

Cognitive Scripts Model

According to Huesmann (1988), social behavior in general, and aggressive behavior in particular, is controlled largely by cognitive scripts learned and memorized through daily experiences. "A script suggests what events are to happen in the environment, how the person should behave in response to these events, and what the likely outcome of those behaviors would be" (Huesmann, 1988, p. 15). Scripts may be learned by direct experience or by observing significant others (Bushman & Anderson, 2001). Once learned, the script is usually followed. Each script is different and unique to each person, but once established it becomes resistant to change and may persist into adulthood. For a script to become established, it must be rehearsed from time to time. With practice the script will not only become encoded and maintained in memory, but it will also be more easily retrieved and used when the individual faces a problem. "Scripts can be viewed as cognitive programs that have been acquired over time and are stored in a person's memory and are used as guides for behavior and social problem solving" (Huesmann, Dubow, & Boxer, 2011, p. 128). Furthermore, the individual's "evaluation of the 'appropriateness' of a script plays an important role in determining which scripts are stored in memory, in determining which scripts are retrieved and utilized, and which scripts continue to be utilized" (Huesmann, 1988, p. 19). Emotions play a role too, as they influence script selection and the evaluation of scripts. For example, script selection is likely to be different when the person is angry compared to when that same person is happy.

Parents play an important role also. "In the short run, when children see their parents behave aggressively, schemas, scripts, and normative beliefs associated with aggression are primed in the children's minds" (Huesmann et al., 2011, p. 131). Since parents provide suitable models, children are likely to mimic their parents' aggressive behaviors almost immediately, as we saw in the example with Harris earlier in the chapter. However, children do not simply mimic the immediate behavior; they tend to encode into their own repertoire of scripts their parents' scripts, as well as their parents' views and beliefs about the world. As children grow older, the evaluation process includes the confidence that they have in predicting outcomes of their scripts, the extent to which they judge themselves capable of executing the scripts, and the extent to which the scripts are congruent with their own self-regulating internal standards. Scripts that are inconsistent or violate one's internalized standards are unlikely to be stored or utilized. An individual with poorly integrated internal standards against aggression, or who is convinced that aggressive behavior is a way of life, is more likely to incorporate aggressive scripts for behavior. Importantly, the aggressive child is apt to instigate aggressive reactions from others, confirming the child's beliefs about the aggressiveness of human nature in a circular, perpetuating fashion.

Hostile Attribution Model

Hostile attribution bias
The tendency to perceive hostile intent in others even when it is lacking.

Kenneth Dodge and his colleagues discovered that highly aggressive and violent youth often have a **hostile attribution bias**. That is, youth (and adults) prone toward violence are more likely to interpret ambiguous actions as hostile and threatening than are their less aggressive counterparts (Dodge, 1993b). For example, a foot casually and innocently positioned near a school desk may be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to trip. As Dill, Anderson, Anderson, and Deuser (1997, p. 275) put it, people described as having hostile attribution bias "tend to view the world through blood-red tinted glasses." Children with a hostile attribution bias are twice as likely as average children to see aggressive actions from others where there are none (Hubbard et al., 2001). As noted by Dodge (2011), "when a respondent infers that the act was committed with hostile intent (*a hostile attribution*), the probability that the respondent will react aggressively is high (about .76), whereas when

the same respondent infers that the act was committed benignly, the probability of an aggressive behavior is low (about .25)" (p. 165).

Dodge et al. (2015) write, "Children who consistently make hostile attributions about others have been shown to escalate aggression in response to provocation, to become chronically anxious, and to increase their aggressive behavior problems over time and grow into violent adults" (p. 9311). Dodge et al. find that some environments socialize people to have a high vigilance to threat and a strong tendency toward hostile attribution bias of another's interest, resulting in reactive aggression. In addition, Dodge and his colleagues recently found that the pattern of hostile attribution and its accompanying reactive aggression appears to be a universal phenomenon across the globe, developing in the same manner across many societies.

Hostile attribution bias is believed to be present in both boys and girls (Vitale, Newman, Serin, & Bolt, 2005), but it appears to be stronger for boys than for girls (Cillessen, Lansu, & Van Den Berg, 2014). Cillessen and his colleagues also discovered that hostile attribution bias was significantly stronger for children with a low status within their peer group compared to children who have a high status in the group.

Research consistently indicates that violent youth "typically define social problems in hostile ways, adopt hostile goals, and seek few additional facts, generate few alternative solutions, anticipate few consequences for aggression, and give higher priority to their aggressive solutions" (Eron & Slaby, 1994, p. 10). Similarly, Serin and Preston (2001, p. 259) conclude, "Aggressive juvenile offenders have been found to be deficient in social problem-solving skills and to espouse many beliefs supporting aggression. Specifically, they tend to define problems in hostile ways, adopt hostile goals, seek less confirmatory information, generate fewer alternative solutions, anticipate fewer consequences for aggressive solutions, and choose less effective solutions." (See Box 6–1 in the following chapter for discussion of research addressing hostile attribution bias in adolescent girls.)

Research indicates that this hostile attribution bias begins to develop during the preschool years. For some children, the bias seems to be a stable attribute that is still present into adulthood (Dodge, 2011; Dodge et al., 2002; Nigg & Huang-Pollock, 2003). Most children, however, outgrow it. Preschoolers with more advanced social-cognitive skills (good language skills and the ability to understand different emotions and intentions) quickly outgrow hostile attribution biases during early childhood (Choe, Lane, Grabell, & Olson, 2013). Choe et al. write: "We found that preschoolers who were better able to *explain* others' behavior in terms of underlying false beliefs, those who were better at identifying others' emotional states that were *inconsistent* with their own, and those with greater verbal aptitude made fewer hostile attributions 2 to 3 years later" (p. 2251, italics in the original).

Peer rejection also appears to play an important role in the development and maintenance of hostile attribution bias. Dodge (1993b) reports that when children were followed from elementary school to middle school, a child's tendency to attribute hostile intentions to others showed a significant relationship between peer rejection during elementary school and increased aggression during middle school. Coie (2004) asserts, "The fact that rejected, aggressive males show persistently higher tendencies toward hostile attribution biases, as well as other social cognitive deficits related to aggression, fits with their pattern of higher involvement in violent delinquent acts in adolescence and their tendency to persist in violent behavior into the early adult years" (p. 255).

There is further research to suggest that some children are especially primed to develop hostile expectations of peers because of earlier exposure to family abuse and maltreatment (DeWall, Twenge, Gitter, & Baumeister, 2009; Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1990; Hubbard et al., 2001). "Children develop basic trust through interaction with caring adults, and violation of that trust through extreme or ongoing maltreatment is hypothesized to lead to schemas, scripts, knowledge structures, and working models that others will act maliciously"

(Dodge, 2011, p. 173). Studies have revealed that children exposed to maltreatment early in their lives become "hypervigilant toward hostile social cues, perceptually ready to perceive hostility in others' intentions, and quick to generate aggressive retaliatory responses to even mild provocations" (Dodge, 2001, p. 65). In addition, peer-rejected children with hostile attribution bias are frequently targets of physical assault by others, prompting them to be more suspicious of the motives of others (Coie & Miller-Johnson, 2001). These children appear to be especially quick at developing hostile attribution biases against a wide range of peers, including new acquaintances. "These children come to have a generalized set of social cognitions that dispose them to draw hostile inferences from the behavior of new peer acquaintances more quickly than their peers do" (Hubbard et al., 2001, p. 277). Some other children, although prone to hostile attribution bias, tend to be specific in whom they identify as hostile, probably due to certain behavioral patterns or interests they find threatening.

Ronald Blackburn (1998) also reports research evidence that suggests that persistent lawbreaking by adults represents attempts to master a social environment perceived as hostile and threatening. Blackburn hypothesizes that chronic offenders approach the world with a well-developed hostile-dominance interpersonal style. That is, rather than be simply a reflection of deficits in conscience or self-control, frequent criminal behavior may represent an ongoing attempt to control and dominate others in the social environment. According to Blackman, chronic criminality can be understood as "an attempt to maintain status or mastery of a social environment from which they feel alienated" (1998, p. 174). The well-rehearsed cognitive script of persistent, lifelong offenders, therefore, is to dominate—often in a hostile manner—social environments they perceive as hostile.

Blackburn's observations have been supported by later research by Vitale et al. (2005) who investigated the amount of hostile attribution in 150 incarcerated males. The researchers discovered that psychopaths were significantly more likely to exhibit hostile attribution bias than nonpsychopaths in a variety of situations. The study also supported the hypothesis that there may be different antisocial pathways associated with hostile attributions. That is, hostile attribution bias was also prevalent in those prisoners who held negative thoughts about themselves, other people, and the world in general.

In summary, hostile attribution bias involves the tendency to view the behavior of others as provocative, harmful, hostile, or wrongful. Some individuals demonstrate this tendency more strongly than others. Consequently, hostile attribution bias or style should be viewed as existing along a continuum. At its extreme level, the bias represents a cognitive deficit in processing that distorts social information so dramatically that the individual is literally unable to process that information accurately (Fontaine, 2008). In some cases, some people may engage in extreme violence toward others they interpret as trying to do them harm. Dodge and his colleagues (2015) in their worldwide study of hostile attribution, conclude that "population-level aggressive behavior problem rates might be reduced by focusing on how groups socialize children to respond to provocations with attributions of hostile intent and self-stated intention to react aggressively during interpersonal conflict" (p. 9315). In the chapters on criminal homicide (Chapters 9 and 10), we will return to this topic as it applies to murder, including serial and mass murder.

Aggressive Behavior: Simple and Easy to Use Aggression is a simple, direct way of solving immediate conflicts. If something is not going your way, approaching the social environment in a threatening, hostile manner is the most direct way (though not the most effective in the long run) of confronting your tormentors. On the other hand, prosocial solutions and alternative nonaggressive scripts are less direct and more complex than aggressive solutions. In essence, they are more difficult to apply. Theoretically, the more cognitively "simple" individual would be more inclined to pursue simplistic and direct

solutions to problems. In addition, because prosocial solutions are more complicated and more difficult to apply, they also require effective social skills. However, the development of effective social skills takes time, and those skills will have a spotty reinforcement history until perfected. Aggressive behavior, on the other hand, often receives immediate reinforcement for the aggressor and therefore is more likely to be retained in one's arsenal of strategies for immediate solutions of conflictful situations.

After a 22-year longitudinal study, Eron and Huesmann (1984) concluded that diminished intellectual competence and poor social skills have an early effect in increasing the likelihood that a child will adopt characteristically more aggressive styles of behavior to resolve conflicts. For example, research has repeatedly documented the fact that juveniles who are serious sexual offenders have significant deficits in social competence, such as inadequate social skills, poor peer relationships, and social isolation from peers (Righthand & Welch, 2001). Further, the evidence indicates that this aggressive style will persist across situations and time and become a preferred style throughout adulthood. But the relationship is not simply one-way, with limited intellectual competence and inadequate skills promoting aggressive behavior. Rather it appears to be interactive. Aggressive behavior may interfere with positive social interactions with teachers and peers for intellectual and social advancement, perpetuating a chain of mutually influencing events: aggressive behavior influencing the social environment, and the social environment, in turn, influencing aggressive behavior.

Arousal and Its Control

Dolf Zillmann (1988) proposes a similar idea to the cognitive script theory, but, like Berkowitz, emphasizes the importance of physiological arousal and its interaction with cognitions. Zillmann agrees with Hebb (1955, p. 249) that arousal "is an energizer, but not a guide, an engine but not a steering gear." Cognition provides the steering and direction to the energizing effects of anger, fear, or frustration. Cognition is essentially the manager of emotions. Experiments demonstrate that "anger and anger control are particularly important with regards to understanding the aggressive behavior of offenders" (Roberton, Daffern, & Bucks, 2015, p. 79). Furthermore, it is a person's ability to control the outward expression of anger, rather than their ability to control their inner angry feelings, that predicts aggression and violent behavior (Roberton et al., 2015). Put another way, it is understandable if one feels angry at being denied a promotion that one believes was richly deserved; it is not acceptable to stab the individual responsible for making the promotion decision.

A long-standing observation in the study of animal and human aggression is that when the organism recognizes or perceives a threat to its welfare and well-being, it can either fight or flee. Following this "recognition of endangerment," physiological arousal quickly sets in, preparing the organism for fight or flight. The "recognition of endangerment," Zillmann reminds us, can be immediate, and the response can be reflexlike. What happens then is also highly dependent on cognition, especially in humans. Very likely, this is when cognitive scripts come in.

If the arousal is moderate, the individual with skills and well-integrated standards of prosocial values will probably pursue nonaggressive scripts, even though the person may have been angry or threatened at first. However, very *high* levels of arousal interfere with the complex cognitive processes that mediate our consideration of our internal codes of conduct, as well as our ability to assess the intentions of others and the mitigating circumstances around the incident (Zillmann, 1988). Think of a very stressful or frightening situation that has happened to you and how difficult it was to think clearly. Or think of a time when you became extremely angry and said or did things you wish you hadn't. At high

levels of arousal, our cognitions seem to become narrower and more restricted, almost incapacitated at times. Generally, under these high states of arousal, we resort to strongly established habits to guide and dominate our behavior. In essence, we become "impulsive" and largely unthinking, and cognitions that mediate the diminution of hostile or even violent actions are substantially reduced. However, if we have practiced or rehearsed nonviolent or nonaggressive behaviors as solutions, these cognitive scripts are likely to be the habits we resort to under high stress, fear, and high arousal. Psychological treatment programs directed at anger management help people learn to recognize the physiological responses that accompany their anger and identify strategies for controlling it.

The General Aggression Model

General aggression model (GAM)
Combines social learning and cognitions to explain aggressive behavior.

In an attempt to integrate the common features of previous theories of aggression, Nathan DeWall and Craig Anderson (Allen, Anderson, & Bushman, 2018; DeWall & Anderson, 2011, DeWall, Anderson, & Bushman, 2011) propose the **general aggression model (GAM)**. According to DeWall and Anderson (2011), "GAM provides the only theoretical framework of aggression and violence that explicitly incorporates biological, personality development, social processes, basic cognitive processes, short-term and long-term processes, and decision processes" (p. 255). Although the model attempts to include most if not all the factors that can influence aggression and violence, it draws heavily on social-cognitive and social learning theories that have been developed over the past 40 years by social, personality, cognitive, and developmental psychologists. According to the model, aggression and violence depend on how an individual perceives and interprets the social environment, expectations about the likelihood of various outcomes, knowledge and beliefs about how people usually respond in certain situations, and the degree to which a person believes he or she has the ability to respond effectively. Although the cognitive process is initially complicated, judgments and choices in the process become automatized through cultural teachings and repeated experiences. Ultimately, they require little mental effort or conscious awareness. For instance, through repeated experiences and cultural teachings, some individuals quickly and thoughtlessly interpret that others—because of their appearance, religion, or national origin—are hostile and pose a physical threat.

GAM also posits that violence often occurs because of an escalation cycle, which begins with an initial triggering event that may be serious or relatively benign: "The triggering event can influence any kind of dyad, including two people, two groups, two religions, or two nations" (DeWall & Anderson, 2011, p. 23). In these situations, one person or group considers retaliation to the incident to be justified or mild, whereas the other group believes the retaliation to be unjustified and severe. The person or group who believes the retaliation was unjustified often retaliates back. The cycle often persists through several iterations of violent actions. DeWall and Anderson hypothesize that one explanation for the persistence of the retaliation cycle is fundamental attribution error, discussed in Chapter 4. In fundamental attribution error—you will recall—people describe the negative behaviors of others as due to dispositional factors (he's mean), and their own negative behavior as due to situational factors (it was the right thing to do, considering the circumstances). DeWall and Anderson (2011) write: "people become caught in a web in which members perceive the other party as acting out of malice or evil and perceive their own behavior as appropriate responses to the situation at hand" (p. 24).

Beyond the escalation cycle, DeWall and Anderson contend that aggression and violence spring from a wide range of factors. "If you want to create people who are predisposed to aggression and violence, begin by depriving them of resources necessary to meet basic needs—physical, emotional, psychological, and social" (p. 26). Then, provide them with multiple examples and models of aggression and violence, especially examples that appear

to work. And then, provide them with cognitive beliefs and values that dehumanize potential human targets, especially groups of people who are unlike the in-group. Then expose them to various forms of violence and destruction to the point where they become desensitized to it. Finally, provide the proper behavioral-cognitive scripts, and you should have the desired level of violence (DeWall & Anderson, 2011).

I³ Theory

I³ Theory
A new theory of aggression, it organizes and summarizes risk factors for aggression and considers instigating triggers, impelling forces, and inhibiting forces. Self-regulation is the core emphasis of the theory.

In an expansion of the GAM, **I³ Theory** (pronounced "I-cubed theory") has been recently developed. Similar to GAM, I³ Theory is designed to provide an organized structure for understanding: (a) the process by which a given factor promotes aggression, and (b) how multiple risk factors interrelate to create or reduce aggression (Slotter & Finkel, 2011). I³ Theory organizes the many aggression risk factors into three categories: (1) *instigating* triggers, which are discrete incidents that arouse tendencies or predispositions that are conductive to aggression; (2) *impelling* forces, which are forces that increase the likelihood of an aggressive action following the instigating trigger; and (3) *inhibiting* forces, which are factors that increase the likelihood that aggression will be mitigated or contained (Shaver & Mikulincer, 2011). I³ Theory differs from GAM in that it incorporates recent research on self-regulation as a core emphasis of the theory, and it specifies different, novel ways in which aggression risk factors produce aggression and violence (Slotter & Finkel, 2011). Recent research by Maldonado, DeLillo, and Hoffman (2015) found that I³ theory provides a very promising strategy for dealing with intimate partner aggression and violence, especially the emotion regulation aspects of the theory.

GAM and I³ Theory represent the new, emerging meta-theories that have been formulated to organize and integrate the many mini-theories that have been discussed in earlier sections of the chapter. Both provide an excellent frame of reference for future research on human aggression and violence.

Overt and Covert Acts of Aggression

Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber (1998) recommend that researchers on aggression and violence be mindful of two types of aggressive actions: overt and covert. The key here is the word "action." Earlier in the chapter, we covered hostile (reactive-impulsive) and instrumental (controlled-instrumental) aggression, which are defined by their goals and rewards, not their actions.

According to Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, the two forms of aggression are different in (1) behavior patterns, (2) emotions, (3) cognitions, and (4) development (see Table 5–3). Behaviorally, overt aggression usually involves direct confrontation with victims and the administration of physical harm or threats of physical harm. Covert aggression, on the other hand, does not involve direct confrontation but relies on concealment, dishonesty, or

TABLE 5–3 Overt and Covert Aggressive Actions

Aggression	Behavior Patterns	Emotions	Cognitions	Development
Overt	Direct confrontation with victims; generally decreases with age	Anger, high level of arousal and violence	Lacks social cognitions for coming up with nonaggressive solutions	Aggression begins early, especially in boys
Covert	Concealment, dishonesty, sneaky behavior, increases with age	Less emotion; crimes such as fraud, larceny, and theft	Relies on cognitive capabilities, such as planfulness, deceitfulness	Can evolve as well-learned strategy to escape punishment

sneaky behavior. It is similar to the passive-aggressive behavior discussed earlier in the chapter. In many instances, overt aggression decreases with age, while covert aggression increases with age (Loeber, Lahey, & Thomas, 1991; Stanger, Achenbach, & Verhulst, 1997). However, children who exhibit serious forms of overt aggression (violence) tend to increase their violence as they get older, and often commit both violent and property crimes as adults (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1998).

Emotionally, anger is usually an important ingredient in most overt acts of aggression, while more neutral emotions are characteristic of covert actions. Violent actions are usually accompanied by high levels of arousal brought on by anger. Covert actions, on the other hand, such as fraud, theft, embezzlement, burglary, and other white-collar or property offenses, tend to be less emotional in nature. Covert and overt aggression can also be distinguished on the basis of the cognitions that accompany them. As we explained in this chapter, violent persons (overt aggression) tend to have cognitive deficiencies that make it difficult for them to come up with nonaggressive solutions to interpersonal conflicts and disputes. Overt aggressors also have hostile attributional biases that contribute to violence-prone cognitive processing. On the other hand, people who use covert aggression as a preferred strategy do not demonstrate the degree of cognitive deficiencies in solving their interpersonal problems, nor do they manifest a hostile attributional bias. "Instead, it is postulated that most covert acts are facilitated by specific cognitive capabilities, such as planfulness (i.e., casing situations prior to theft), preoccupations with consumables and property, and lying to escape detection" (Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1998, p. 250). Occupationally related crimes, for instance, such as theft of company property, the misuse of information, or software piracy, are often committed with planning and forethought. Some crime committed through the use of computers, called **cybercrime**, is also a good example of covert actions of aggression. Examples are computer intrusion (hacking), cyberstalking, and cyberbullying, all discussed more fully in Chapter 15.

Developmentally, overt aggression generally begins early, especially in boys, as seen, for example, in the case of life-course-persistent offenders, who will be discussed in more detail in later chapters. However, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber suggest that development of overt aggressive behavior does not necessarily parallel the development of covert actions. Instead, "some children have never been socialized by their parents to be honest and to respect the property of others. This is common among neglectful parents or parents who hold an indistinct or a weak moral stance in these respects" (1998, p. 251). Honesty and respect for the property of others are instilled by parents' or caregivers' teaching and the prosocial models they offer their children. Some covert actions, especially lying, can also evolve as a well-learned strategy that serves to minimize the chances of detection and punishment by adults.

It should be emphasized that not all overt aggressors who engage in violence start early. As Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber note, "It is necessary to account for the emergence of violence in individuals during adulthood who do not have a history of aggression earlier in their lives" (1998, p. 246). These *late-onset types* represent a minority of adult violent offenders, but the hypothesis does suggest that not all highly aggressive and violent individuals manifested aggression in childhood.

Reactive aggression
Violence perpetrated in response to provocation, perceived provocation, or an unanticipated occurrence.

Proactive aggression
Similar to **controlled-instrumental aggression,** actions undertaken to obtain a specific goal.

Reactive and Proactive Forms of Aggression

Kenneth Dodge and his colleagues (Dodge, Lochman, Harnish, Bates, & Pettit, 1997) have suggested that another way of classifying aggression in children (and adults) is to make a distinction between reactive aggression and proactive aggression. **Reactive aggression** includes anger expressions, temper tantrums, and vengeful hostility, and more generally "hot-blooded" aggressive acts. **Proactive aggression**, on the other hand, includes bullying,

domination, teasing, name-calling, and coercive acts—in other words, more "cold-blooded" aggressive actions. Reactive aggression appears to be a reaction to frustration and is associated with a lack of control due to high states of arousal. In general, reactive aggression is a hostile act displayed in response to a perceived threat or provocation. Proactive aggression, by contrast, is less emotional and more driven by expectations of rewards. "Proactive aggression is unprovoked, deliberate, goal-directed behavior used to influence or coerce a peer" (Hubbard et al., 2001, p. 269). Reactive aggression has its theoretical roots in the frustration-aggression model proposed by Berkowitz (1989) discussed earlier. The theoretical roots of proactive aggression are found in social learning theory, which, as we covered previously, states that aggression is acquired behavior that is controlled and maintained by reinforcement. It is highly similar to the concept of controlled-instrumental aggression. Reliable observations of these two forms of aggression have been found in children (as young as 3 to 6 years of age) through teacher ratings, peer ratings, clinical psychiatric records, and direct observations of peer interactions by researchers (Dodge & Coie, 1987; Dodge et al., 1997; Poulin & Boivin, 2000).

Reactively aggressive children, compared with proactively aggressive children, display greater problems in social and psychological adjustment (Dodge et al., 1997). Psychological adjustment problems include a lack of emotional control when angry, accompanied by sleep disorders, depressive symptoms, and personality disorders. On average, these problems emerged around age 4–5. In addition, reactive aggression is related to the tendency to overattribute hostile intent to peers in ambiguous provocation situations (hostile attribution bias) (Hubbard et al., 2001). That is, when a reactive aggressive child interprets a peer's behavior as intentionally harmful or aggressive, the child is far more likely to respond with angry retaliation or even violence.

Dodge (1991) proposed that reactive and proactive aggression originate from different social experiences and develop independently. According to Dodge, reactive aggression develops in reaction to a harsh, threatening, and unpredictable environment or abusive or cold parenting (Vitaro, Brendgen, & Barker, 2006). Proactive aggression, on the other hand, develops as a result of exposure to aggressive role models who value the use of aggression to resolve conflict or advance personal interests (Vitaro et al., 2006). However, Vitaro et al. are quick to point out that proactive and reactive aggression may not only be fostered by different social environments but may also be influenced by differences in temperamental and genetic factors. That is, reactive aggression appears to be associated with a temperamental disposition toward anxiety, angry reactivity, emotional impulsiveness, and inattention. Proactive aggression appears to be less affected by temperament and is more based on beliefs that aggressive behavior will bring rewards and positive outcomes. Furthermore, preliminary research results suggest that reactive aggression develops earlier in the life span than proactive aggression, and the two types of aggression seem to follow different developmental trajectories (Vitaro & Brendgen, 2005).

Gender Differences in Aggression

While boys engage in more overt aggression and direct confrontation as they grow up, it is not clear if boys are generally more aggressive than girls. Furthermore, contemporary thought cautions against adopting a simple gender binary or division. Although researchers consistently identify participants as boys or girls, men or women, and males or females, it is clear today that gender exists on a continuum. Boys who identify themselves as boys may still possess what traditionally have been considered "feminine" characteristics, and girls who identify themselves as girls may still possess traditionally "masculine" characteristics. Furthermore, a sizeable number of people today prefer not to identify themselves in a binary way, asking instead to be referred to as "they."

With that caution in mind, research indicates that *physical* aggression is more prevalent among males than females, and this consistent finding holds across hundreds of studies and across nations (Archer, 2004; Campbell, 2006; Shaver & Mikulincer, 2011). What about other forms of aggression?

The current work of cognitive psychologists suggests that there may be socialized differences in the way girls and boys construct their worlds. Social learning theorists have long held that girls are "socialized" differently than boys or taught not to be overtly aggressive. Anne Campbell (1993, p. 19) argues that "boys are not simply more aggressive than girls; they are aggressive in a different way." Other researchers concur with this observation (Hawkins, Pepler, & Craig, 2001; Lumley, McNeil, Herschell, & Bahl, 2002; Wood, Cowan, & Baker, 2002). According to Campbell, boys and girls are born with the potential to be equally aggressive, but girls are socialized not to be overtly aggressive, whereas boys are encouraged to be overtly aggressive "to defend" themselves.

Interestingly, research supports the observation that boys and girls are equally physically aggressive toward their peers when they are toddlers, but that this pattern soon changes as they get older and enter their elementary school years (Xie, Farmer, & Cairns, 2003). Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1998, p. 253) conclude from their review of the research that "in general, gender differences in aggression, as expressed by frustration and rage, are not documented in infancy." They note that only in the preschool period (3–5 years of age) do observable gender differences begin to emerge, with boys displaying more overt aggression than girls. Overt aggression becomes especially prominent in boys from elementary school age onward. Boys are taught to be tough, not to cry, to take on the bullies and physically defend themselves. However, many researchers report that girls are more likely to engage in relationship or interpersonal forms of aggression rather than the physical forms of pushing and hitting (Casey-Cannon, Hayward, & Gowen, 2001; Crick & Zahn-Waxler, 2003; Prinstein, Boergers, & Vernberg, 2001). For example, researchers (Björkqvist, Lagerspetz, & Kaukianinen, 1992; Cairns, Cairns, Neckerman, Ferguson, & Gariépy, 1989) find that girls and women tend to use more covert, indirect, and verbal forms of aggression, such as character defamation and ostracism. Other researchers report that girls are far more likely to employ *relational aggression*, such as abandoning one friend in favor of another, spreading malicious gossip, or ridiculing another's physical traits (e.g., their facial features, weight, or general demeanor) (Crick, 1995; Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Crick & Zahn-Waxler, 2003; Garside & Klimes-Dougan, 2002; Loeber & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1998).

Some researchers (e.g., Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter, & Silva, 2001) hypothesize that the gender differences in aggression and antisocial behavior develop because of a higher exposure of boys to cumulative risk factors. On the other hand, other researchers (e.g., Ribeaud & Eisner, 2010) conclude from their research that, although boys are exposed to a higher cumulative risk than girls, boys also seem to be more vulnerable because they are expected to be more aggressive and "masculine" in many ways. Even though girls are increasingly involved in aggressive activities, such as some competititve sports, there are subtle differences in the manner in which coaches, parents, and spectators respond to their actions. For example, girls are more likely than boys to be given a hug or a high five for a job well done, although some coaches emphasize that girls are not to cry when injured.

In conclusion, there is growing recognition that gender differences in aggression are not simply due to biology, but are primarily due to cultural and socialization processes that promote different kinds of aggression. Environmental cues are also important in cognitive scripts and in the aggressive strategies individuals employ for various situations. Which script or strategy an individual employs is dependent on which environmental cues are present.

Effects of Media Violence

Youth today are growing up in a media-saturated environment (Gentile & Walsh, 2002), and much of this environment has a violence theme. A recent survey indicated that teens aged 13–18 years are, on average, exposed to about nine hours of recreational media in some form per day (Coyne et al., 2018). Ninety-nine percent of boys and 94% of girls play video games (Lenhart et al., 2008), and as much as 89% of video games present some form of violence, much of it lethal violence (Calvert et al., 2017; Coyne, Warburton, Essig, & Stockdale, 2018; Surette & Maze, 2015). Nearly half of the teens play video games on a mobile device, such as a cell phone, I-pad, I-pod, or other handheld system. Nearly a third play on a daily basis, and another 21% play at least several times a week. An estimated 80% of teens play five or more different game genres, and 40% play eight or more types of games (Lenhart et al., 2008). With the variety of portable, wireless devices available today, youth and adults have access to games at all times, unless they are in a location where use is restricted, such as at school. Nevertheless, school restrictions are often difficult to overcome as students are expected to have laptops or other devices available for educational purposes.

Even before the video game explosion, surveys estimated that the average American child sees more than 100,000 violent episodes and some 20,000 murders on television before reaching adolescence (Myers, 1996). Other studies estimated that four scenes of violence are portrayed on network television to every scene expressing affection. Note that this does not include the huge range of "nonnetwork" programming that offers an increasing number of options for viewers. A study conducted by four universities in the mid-1990s on violence on American television revealed that 90% of movies shown on television include violence (National Cable Television Association, 1998). Violence was found most frequently on subscription television (85% on premium cable and 59% on basic cable), while the lowest incidence of violence (18%) was found on Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) stations. Across 3 years of the study, nearly 40% of the violent incidents on television were initiated by "good" characters, who are likely perceived as attractive role models. In 67% of the programs, violence was portrayed within a humorous context. In general, the study found that most media violence is glamorized and that the long-term negative consequences of violent behavior are rarely depicted. Nearly three-quarters of violent scenes contain no remorse, criticism, punishment, or emotional reactions from the perpetrators. Overall, the survey found that the percentage of programs on television that contain some violence remained unchanged over the 3-year period of study. In a special report, the Parents Television Council (2007) concluded that television violence increased by 309% between the years 1998 and 2006, and there is reason to believe the amount of violence has further increased in recent years.

The research community is sharply divided on the long-term effects of violent media on aggressive behavior. To date, however, the overwhelming bulk of the research *suggests* that portrayals of violence on television, movies, and electronic media may have a significant effect on the frequency and type of aggressive behavior expressed by America's youth (Bushman, Gollwitzer, & Cruz, 2014; Coyne et al., 2018). Media violence appears to encourage, stimulate, and reinforce aggressive behavior in some individuals. Over the past 45 years, research has periodically demonstrated that media violence *viewing* is a contributing factor on the development of aggression and violence in *some* children, adolescents, and young adults (Huesmann, Moise-Titus, Podolski, & Eron, 2003).

Media violence does appear to influence children more strongly than adults, as they seem to be more susceptible to its long-term effects. Interestingly, the Huesmann et al. (2003) study discovered that violent films and TV programs that have the most deleterious effects on children are not always the ones that adults perceive as the most violent. Research suggests that violent scenes in which children can identify with the perpetrator

of the violence and those in which the perpetrator gets rewarded for the violence have the greatest negative impact on children. It is not necessarily the level of violence per se.

Viewing violence and playing violent games are separate activities, however. Although violence is a common theme in movie, TV, and video game media, game playing is an active enterprise. Is it more or less likely to have a negative effect on those who play? A survey by Bushman et al. (2014) found that 8 of 10 media researchers believe that violent media *games* increase aggression. The survey also indicated that both pediatricians and parents agree.

Although the largest body of research on media violence thus far has concentrated on televised violence, the research community in recent years has shifted its attention to violent video games and other electronic media (Murray, 2008). Coyne et al. (2018) point out that advancements in technology have resulted in more sophisticated forms of media and different ways of interacting with them. "Because video games are interactive, some researchers have suggested that video games may be more likely to influence outcomes such as aggression and decreased empathy than more passive media" (Coyne et al., 2018, p. 1868). Similar to studies on violent film and TV programs, recent research consistently suggests that heavy exposure to violent video games may be significantly linked to increases in aggressive behavior, aggressive thoughts, aggressive feelings, and decreases in helping behavior (Anderson 2004; Anderson & Bushman, 2001; Anderson et al., 2008; Greitemeyer & Mugge, 2014; Warburton, 2014). As we see shortly, not all researchers agree with these conclusions. Moreover, the latest APA task force on the assessment of violent video games (Calvert et al., 2017) urged caution in interpreting results from studies, including meta-analyses. In its own review of the literature and meta-analysis, the task force concluded that violent video game use was a risk factor for aggressive behavior but not necessarily associated with criminal behavior in juveniles. (See Table 5–4 for selected findings from Calvert et al.)

Before proceeding with this discussion, it is important to distinguish between short-term and long-term effects of violent media on aggressive behavior. Research indicates that different cognitive processes are involved (Huesmann, 2007). Although there is compelling evidence that exposure to violent electronic media has both short-term and long-term effects, we are particularly concerned here about long-term effects. They occur as a result of observational learning, desensitization, and storing violent and aggressive material into the thought process. Young children are especially open to new learning, and these early experiences often have a greater impact during the early development years than learning events that occur during adulthood. Thus, if young children learn that violence or aggressive behavior is acceptable, this information is likely to follow them to and through

TABLE 5–4 APA Task Force on Violent Video Games

Violent Video Games
• Use associated with increased aggressive cognitions, affect, behavior (e.g., pushing, fighting), and desensitization.
• Use associated with decreased empathy
• Relation with negative outcomes remains even when controlling for risk factors like antisocial personality traits, poor academic achievement, parental conflict, delinquency
• Magnitude of relationship between use of games and aggression does not differ for adolescents, college students, and young adults. Virtually no research on children under 10
• More research needed on age, developmental trajectory, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status of users
• More research needed on game characteristics (e.g., fast action, sound effects, plots with morals)
• Insufficient data to evaluate a link between violent video game use and juvenile delinquency or criminal behavior

Source: Calvert et al..(2017). The American Psychological Association Task Force assessment of violent video games: Science in the service of public interest. American Psychologist, 72, 126–143.

adulthood. To this effect, Huesmann et al. (2003) write, "In recent theorizing, long-term relations have been ascribed mainly to acquisition through observation learning of three social-cognitive structures: schemas about a hostile world, scripts for social problem solving that focus on aggression, and normative beliefs that aggression is acceptable" (p. 201). As pointed out throughout the chapter, over time and with frequent exposure to aggressive behavior, children develop beliefs (schemas) that the world is basically a hostile place, that aggression is an acceptable social behavior, and that the best way to solve conflicts and to get things is to be aggressive. These aspects may actually become part of the personality and personal cognitive scripts over the long run.

Research by Krahé and Möller (2004) supports these hypotheses. They found that adolescents were more likely to condone aggression and to display hostile attribution bias toward ambiguous cues if they were frequently exposed to violent electronic games. Another study (i.e., Funk, Baldacci, Pasold, & Baumgardner, 2004) demonstrated that high exposure to violent electronic games is associated with lower levels of empathy and more positive attitudes toward violent behavior in general. This study also indicated that violent video games may have greater impact than other forms of violent entertainment media, such as films or television programs. This is likely due to the interactive component of video games, whereby the individual is a virtual participant rather than a passive observer of the violence. Similar findings have been reported recently by Coyne et al. (2018). They suggest that "interactive exposure to violent video games may have significant developmental implications where the content is unhelpful in terms of socialization and moral development" (p. 1869). Likewise, Calvert et al. (2017) noted negative outcomes such as feelings of hostility and anger, thoughts of aggression, and self-reports and teacher ratings of hitting and fighting. "These deleterious findings are well documented, consistent, and pervasive, supported across numerous kinds of studies and summaries of studies, and warrant concern by the public as well as by policymakers" (p. 139).

Huesmann and his colleagues (2003) reported that strong long-term effects of media violence observed in early childhood appear to carry over into adulthood. They concluded:

> Overall, these results suggest that both males and females from all social strata and all levels of initial aggressiveness are placed at increased risk for the development of adult aggressive and violent behavior when they view a high and steady diet of violent TV shows in early childhood (p. 128).

The effects of violent video or electronic games on the development of aggressive behavior received considerable scrutiny after a series of school shootings by avid players of such games occurred during the late 1990s and early 2000s. In April 1999, public concern was especially strong after 13 persons were murdered and 23 were wounded during a shooting spree by two students at Columbine High School in Colorado. The two assailants were considered social outcasts and seemed preoccupied with the violence presented in the media, music, and video games. In the years since that tragedy, reports of other highly publicized shootings indicated that the perpetrators frequently played violent video games. For example, the young man responsible for the Newtown, Connecticut school massacre in 2012 apparently spent hours in his room at that activity. The impact of violent electronic games is not restricted to the United States. It occurs in other countries also, such as Japan (Anderson, 2004; Anderson et al., 2008). In another example, Krahé and Möller (2004) described an incident that occurred in Germany in April 2002, in which 17 people were killed in a shooting spree by an expelled student who had spent much of his time playing violent electronic games.

However, similar to the effects of TV and movies, the research community is divided about the long-term effects of violent video games, and the empirical evidence has been challenged at many levels. Some scholars argue that many of the studies on video games

are inconclusive and can be criticized on methodological grounds (Elson & Ferguson, 2014; Ferguson et al., 2008; Grimes & Bergen, 2008; Gunter, 2008; Savage, 2008; Savage & Yancey, 2008). Certainly, the overwhelming majority of individuals who play violent video games do not commit violent acts. Therefore, the oversimplified position that violent video media or games cause or even promote violence must be tempered. It may well be that exposure to media violence does increase violence and aggressive behavior for individuals who are already aggressive and prone toward violence. Media violence may not do the same for those individuals less prone toward physical aggression and violence.

Therefore, future research that focuses on other factors besides strictly content may help settle the debate on the effects of violent digital media. Although the research is trending toward the negative effects of violent media on certain individuals, an expansion of the research focus may bring the debate closer to a tentative conclusion. Coyne et al. (2018) conclude: "While the majority of research suggests an association between engaging with violent media and increased aggressive behavior, more work is needed to understand for who, when, and under what circumstances exposure to violent media is related to increased aggressive behavior" (p. 1876). Finally, as video games have become more life-like and interactive, the concern has grown that they may engender increased levels of copycat aggressive and criminal behavior in the young.

Copycat Crime or Contagion Effect

Contagion effect
A tendency for some people to model or copy a behavior or activity portrayed by the news or entertainment media.

To this point we have focused upon the effects of violence in the entertainment media. However, even news reports of violence may be problematic. Like entertainment media, the news media may provide aggressive models or may produce a **copycat or contagion effect**. This is a tendency in some people to model or copy an activity portrayed in the entertainment or news media. It is similar to social learning discussed earlier in the chapter, in which people imitate the behavior—such as hitting or punching—of a model in their day-to-day environment. In this case, however, the models usually are media or news figures who typically receive widespread attention. "Copycat followers" often seek similar widespread recognition and significance.

Contagion effect is said to occur when action depicted in the media or digital games is assessed by certain individuals as a good idea and then mimicked. An ingenious bank robbery, dramatized on television, might be imitated. A person immersed in a video game may be prompted to try out his escapades in real life. The highly popular video game *Grand Theft Auto*—now in its sixth iteration, published by Rockstar Games—presents a case in point. Its three main characters carry out various heist missions in their efforts to avoid law enforcement authorities, and players control their actions through ever-challenging sequences across expansive geographical territory, both on foot and employing different and creative modes of transportation. The highly acclaimed game has been referred to as the best action game of all time and the most immersive, and it has won numerous awards for its artistic and graphical design. *Grand Theft Auto* also has been heavily criticized for its portrayal of women, torture, and violence.

School-Shooter Copycats Another media-related tragic illustration of the copycat effect can be found in a series of school shootings, discussed briefly above, that began in 1997. In October of that year, a 16-year-old, having just stabbed his mother to death, arrived at his high school in Pearl, Mississippi, and began randomly shooting his classmates, killing two and wounding seven. Less than two months later, a 14-year-old boy opened fire on a group of fellow high school students participating in a prayer circle in West Paducah, Kentucky. He killed two schoolmates and wounded five others. The West Paducah incident received worldwide media coverage for several weeks, accompanied by extensive

stories about the shooter. A few months later, on March 24, 1998, two boys, ages 13 and 11, armed with seven handguns and three rifles, opened fire on their classmates as they gathered on the school playground in Jonesboro, Arkansas, killing four very young girls and their teacher and wounding 10 others. Of the 15 killed or wounded, only one was male, suggesting that the young shooters were aiming specifically at girls.

After Jonesboro and exactly one month later, a 14-year-old male student in Edinboro, Pennsylvania, began shooting during a school dance, killing a teacher. This incident was followed by another shooting less than a month later in Fayetteville, Tennessee, resulting in the death of a student. A week later, a 15-year-old male in Springfield, Oregon, walked into the high school cafeteria and began randomly shooting at fellow students, firing 50 rounds from a .22-caliber semiautomatic rifle in less than a minute. As he stopped to reload, the young shooter was tackled and disarmed by a varsity wrestler. During that one minute, however, he managed to kill two classmates and wound 22 others. He had also shot both his parents before leaving for school. Less than two weeks later, on June 15, 1998, a 14-year-old student, armed with a .32-caliber semiautomatic handgun, opened fire in the hallway of a high school as students took final exams, wounding a basketball coach and a volunteer aide. All of these young shooters had an inordinate interest in guns, had troubled backgrounds, knew the details of the previous school shootings, and had a strong fascination with violence presented through the media. Thus, both media violence and the contagion or copycat effect seem to be implicated, along with other factors, in line with a cumulative risk model or developmental cascade model of offending.

Note that all of the above incidents occurred before the 1999 Columbine incident, which involved two shooters and ended in 13 deaths and multiple injuries. That incident is unique in that it involved so many deaths but also was publicized extensively, even as it was occurring: broadcast cameras were focused on the school property, and images of students signaling from windows or being guided out of the school buildings were widely disseminated, as were photos of the locations where the shootings occurred and images of the two shooters holding their guns. Perhaps because of the widespread publicity, the copycat effect may have been especially strong in that case. The incident in some sense set up a cultural script for others to imitate (Larkin, 2009). For example, since the Columbine shooting, researchers studying school shootings have found that a significant number of them have been modeled after the Columbine incident (Larkin, 2009). In Salt Lake City in January, 2012, police arrested two youths who had allegedly planned to plant bombs in their school; they learned that one of the youths had actually traveled to Littleton to interview the principal of Columbine to learn more about that attack. In other thwarted attempts, students indicated they wanted to carry out "another Columbine."

Copycat Terrorists The copycat effect may also play a role in terrorism, especially domestic terrorism, main topics of Chapter 11. For instance, Surette (2014) observes that "the consensus regarding copycat terrorism is that it is especially strong following a well-publicized, successful act using a novel approach" (p. 706). Not all perpetrators are directly associated with a known terrorist organization, although some have obtained some degree of training or have attempted to join a group. About a month after two brothers entered the offices of the satirical publication *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris and killed 17 people there and at a kosher grocery store, a person shot to death a film director in an Internet café in Copenhagen as well as a security guard at a nearby synagogue. The brothers in the first incident allegedly received terrorist training; in the second incident, the perpetrator was said to be disaffected, had expressed allegiance to the terrorist group ISIS, and had intense hatred for Denmark. In 2015, two men were planning a mass attack against people attending a cultural event in Texas, at which images of the Prophet Mohammed were displayed. The men shot a security guard but were themselves killed before they were able to carry out

their crime. Incidents such as these are widely publicized, but the media cannot be blamed for getting this information out. The opposite of a contagion effect is a deterrent effect; we never know how many similar crimes are prevented because someone is discouraged from carrying it out as a result of the media report.

Summary In summary, exposure to media-portrayed violence and interactive digital games does not automatically promote aggression, but there is also little evidence of a "catharsis" or "letting off steam" effect. Some individuals are affected by media violence more than others. However, it is clear that no one causal factor alone accounts for more than a small proportion of variance of individual differences in aggressive behavior (Bartholow, Sestir, & Davis, 2005; Huesmann, 1998). Researchers have found evidence that positive parental models are likely to override violent models on television (Goldstein, 1975; Huesmann et al., 2003). Moreover, media violence seems to have substantially less effect on families in which the parents do not rely on aggressive behavior for solving problems (Wright et al., 2001). Overall, though, most of the information on the copycat effect comes from anecdotal accounts, similar to what has been portrayed above. Preliminary research by Surette and Maze (2015) is an exception. Since copycat crimes are not counted in any systematic way, there is considerable debate concerning the extent to which they occur (Surette, 2014). Based on his research, however, Surette estimates that one in four at-risk individuals have engaged in copycat crime.

Interestingly, in recent years there has been a renewed interest in investigating whether a certain proportion of firesetters may be especially prone to be copycat offenders (Doley, Ferguson, & Surette, 2013; Lambie, Randell, & McDowell, 2014). The topic of firesetting will be covered in Chapter 15.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we reviewed the major psychological perspectives on aggression and violence. Answers to what can be done about aggression and violent crime rest ultimately on one's perspective of human nature. If one believes that aggression is innate and part of our evolutionary heritage, then the conclusion must be that aggression is part of life, and that little can be done to alter this basic ingredient of human nature. Clues for reducing aggression are found in the behavior demonstrated throughout the animal kingdom. If, on the other hand, one believes that human aggression is acquired, then the key becomes principles of human learning and thought, and hope that one can change this acquired behavior for the betterment of humankind. The distinction between the innate and learning viewpoints has been somewhat oversimplified, but most contemporary theories on aggression fall within one or the other camp. At this point, the learning perspective has garnered considerably more empirical support than the innate perspective. Cognitive factors are especially important in explanations of human aggression.

Complicating the above, though, is the increasing amount of research being done in the biological sciences, most particularly relating to the brain and to human genetics. Researchers are acquiring extensive information about the contribution of genes to physical characteristics and susceptibility to medical problems. Many believe that they will eventually link genes to a variety of behavioral problems and mental disorders as well. It is crucial to keep in mind, though, that although some genes may *predispose* individuals to certain disorders that may lead to violence or other antisocial behavior, genes do not *determine* behavior.

Furthermore, as more research data are published, even the *learning* perspective becomes increasingly complex, and additional factors must be considered. For one thing, physiological arousal certainly plays a major role in aggressive and violent behavior, as suggested by Berkowitz (1989). High levels of arousal seem to *facilitate* (again, not cause) aggressive behavior in certain situations. Extremely high arousal seems to interfere with our sense of self-awareness and internal control, rendering us more susceptible to environmental cues and to mindless or habitual behaviors. In this sense, under very high arousal, we may not stop to consider the consequences of our violent behavior.

The different classifications of aggressive behavior were also emphasized in this chapter. Overt and covert forms of aggression must be considered in any discussion of crime. Overt aggressors are more likely to be involved in violent crimes, whereas covert aggressors are more prone to be involved in property offenses. And although the conventional wisdom has been that boys are more likely to commit highly aggressive crimes, the evidence suggests that girls may be equally involved in aggressive behavior of a different kind. Gender differences in aggressive behavior are believed to be mainly due to socialization factors.

Situational and neurophysiological factors also contribute significantly to aggressive behavior. Aggressive stimuli, including weapons, crowds, pollution, temperature, smells, and central nervous system pathology, all must be entertained as possible contributors. Social learning theorists also note that the media and the models they provide substantially affect our attitudes, values, and overall impressions about violence as well as our behavior. Attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts refer to the cognitive processes that are beginning to emerge as contenders for a leading role in the psychological explanation of criminal behavior. Operant and classical conditioning remain important, but they do not adequately address the many intricacies of criminal behavior.

The controversial topic of violence in the entertainment and news media was addressed. In light of rapid developments in technology, it is impossible to shelter children and adolescents from violent images in a realistic manner, though it is possible to place limits on that exposure. Media violence, though, is only one of many risk factors in the development of violent behavior. Nevertheless, for some children, excessive exposure to such images can have significant negative effects on their development. With children and adolescents increasingly exposed to video games, including violent games, researchers are avidly exploring the effects of this exposure. The overwhelming evidence points to negative effects for some children and adolescents. These effects include both aggressive behavior and an insensitivity or indifference to violence. Although there are individual differences in reactions to violent images and games, research results thus far suggest there is cause for concern that excessive exposure to violence of this sort cannot be good for the emotional health of children and adolescents.

KEY CONCEPTS

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What physiological factors have been associated with aggression?
2. Most research up to this point adopts a gender binary approach to gathering data. According to that research, what accounts for male and female differences in aggression? Cite relevant research findings.
3. Define cognitive scripts and how they may be applied in situations where spontaneous violence could occur.
4. Define weapons effect and discuss how it may account for some of the violence in today's society.
5. Define hostile attribution bias and discuss how it might explain chronic aggression in young children.
6. Explain the difference between each of the following: overt and covert acts of aggression, cognitive scripts model and hostile attribution model, and reactive and proactive aggression.
7. Review the research presented in this chapter on the effects of the mass media on violence.
8. Does playing violent video games increase the probability that children and adolescents will behave in a violent manner?

6

Juvenile Delinquency

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Contrast legal, social, and psychological definitions of delinquency.
- Identify the categories of juvenile offending and review the extent of status offending.
- Describe Moffitt's developmental theory of delinquency.
- Describe Patterson's coercion developmental theory.
- Describe the dual systems model of risk taking among adolescents
- Introduce callous-unemotional traits as features of serious delinquency.
- Summarize features of effective treatment programs
- Review treatment strategies for juveniles as a group.
- Explore primary and secondary prevention strategies.
- Highlight Multisystemic Therapy (MST) as an effective community-based approach.

Juveniles may well be the most maligned age group in our society. Myths abound about their contribution to crime and the extent of damage for which they are responsible. During the last quarter of the 20th century, it was common to read accounts of skyrocketing juvenile crime, young super-predators in our midst, declining morality in youth, and the woeful state of family life that was seen as a major contributor to juvenile vandalism, drug use, thievery, and violence. To some extent, these accounts were supported by statistics, particularly during the 1980s and early 1990s. However, fears were also fueled by atypical illustrations of juvenile crime, such as a particularly heinous account of a murder committed by a juvenile or those associated with a number of school shootings.

The first decade of the new century continued to see such atypical accounts, including school shootings, which have increased along with incidents of gun violence perpetrated by adults. However, since the mid-1990s, we have seen a *decrease* in crime committed by youths across most crime categories, including both property and violent crime, although there are periodic upward spikes. In addition, drug use has seen significant increases. Most recently, bullying, cyberbullying, sexual assault, and dating violence—all topics to be covered in later chapters—have attracted media scrutiny. There is reason to be concerned about these activities and

juvenile crime in general, although the behaviors may be less widespread than they appear to be based on media accounts. Juvenile crime is troubling, but it is not intractable.

Juveniles as a group are responsible for a small percentage of arrests compared with adults, but they are arrested disproportionately compared with other age groups. This may be due to their naiveté at committing crime as well as the fact that they often commit crime in groups. Moreover, the typical juvenile is far more likely to be the victim than the perpetrator of a violent crime. Nevertheless, a significant number of juveniles do victimize one another, substance abusers often commit other crimes, and the problem of youth violence has not disappeared. Thus, though we have made strides in understanding the factors leading to these behaviors and developing strategies for prevention and treatment, much work remains to be done.

In this chapter, we review the incidence, prevalence, and nature of delinquency and the developmental theories that have been proposed to explain it. We also discuss prevention and treatment strategies. In later chapters, we cover some juvenile crimes in more depth and give attention to treatment issues relating to specific juvenile offenders, such as juveniles who kill, juveniles with psychopathic characteristics, juvenile sex offenders, and juvenile firesetters.

Definitions of Delinquency

"Juvenile delinquency" is an imprecise and nebulous term for a wide variety of law- and norm-violating behavior. It can be viewed from a legal, social, or psychological perspective, and its definition varies according to the perspective.

Legal Definition

At first glance, a simple legal definition seems to suffice: *Delinquency is behavior against the criminal code committed by an individual who has not reached adulthood, as defined by state or federal law*. But the term delinquency has different connotations beyond this one-sentence definition. As we noted in Chapter 1, the legal definition in some states incorporates status offending, which is not behavior against the criminal code but is behavior prohibited only for juveniles. For example, running away, violating curfew laws, and truancy all qualify as **status offenses**.

Status offenses
A class of illegal behavior that only persons with certain characteristics or status can commit. Used almost exclusively to refer to the behavior of juveniles. Examples include running away from home, violating curfew, buying alcohol, or skipping school.

Even age is not a simple issue in the legal definition of delinquency. Although no state considers anyone above 18 a delinquent, some have provisions for "youthful offenders," who have not reached the age of 21 or may even be in their early 20s. Youthful offenders are processed in criminal courts, but sentencing options are typically more lenient for them. It is noteworthy that several high-profile cases involving accused school shooters across the United States receive little publicity after the initial reports, primarily because the youth are considered juveniles and their cases are not heard by criminal courts. In many states, teens under 18 charged with crimes begin in family or juvenile court, regardless of the seriousness of the crime, but prosecutors or judges have the authority to transfer the case to criminal court. Interestingly, such transfers have decreased in recent years (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2014). However, in other states prosecutors are allowed to bypass the juvenile system entirely and directly file cases in criminal courts when juveniles are charged with certain crimes. Until very recently, two states—New York and North Carolina—gave criminal courts *automatic* jurisdiction over juveniles at age 16. Both states now have adopted age 18 as the cutoff. To repeat then, even age is not a simple issue in the legal definition of delinquency.

In the 1990s, virtually all states enacted or expanded their transfer provisions, resulting in more transfers to criminal courts (Puzzanchera & Addie, 2014), but as noted above such

transfers seem to be decreasing (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2014). Under the legal definition of delinquency, 15-year-olds transferred to criminal courts are not delinquents, and they are subject to the same proceedings and penalties as adult defendants. The decision about where a case will be heard—juvenile or criminal court—has important consequences for the juvenile. Juvenile courts—which are part of the family court system in many states—typically are more informal than adversarial, more rehabilitative than punitive, and they are generally closed to the public and the media. The youths processed in juvenile courts have the same Sixth Amendment Constitutional rights as adults except for the right to a jury trial, although some states allow jury trials in these courts as well. By comparison, a youth processed in criminal court faces the glare of publicity and the possibility of a long prison sentence if convicted. For example, a school shooter in Ohio who killed three fellow students in a high school cafeteria in 2012 was convicted in criminal court and is serving three life sentences. In 2014 he briefly escaped from prison but was captured shortly thereafter (Outhall, 2014). On the other hand, a youth "convicted" in juvenile court and adjudicated delinquent may be incarcerated in a juvenile facility for rehabilitation purposes until he reaches adulthood, while a youth convicted of the same offense in criminal court may receive probation or a short sentence. Though there is some indication that juvenile courts are meting out harsher sentences than in the past (Viljoen, McLachlan, Wingrover, & Penner, 2010), on the whole, research indicates that juveniles sentenced in criminal courts get longer sentences than those in juvenile courts for similar crimes (Redding, 2010). We provide more information on juvenile courts shortly.

Many states do not have a legally defined age of criminal responsibility, that is, a *minimum* age of arrest for children (Snyder, Espiritu, Huizinga, Loeber, & Petechuk, 2003). The minimum age will also indicate at which point the child can be brought before a juvenile court for delinquency proceedings. When the minimum *is* specified, it varies from age 6 to age 10, depending on the state, though it is very rare for children below 10 to be charged with crimes in juvenile courts. Another interesting and rarely mentioned issue is that of the individual who is intellectually disabled. The shoplifter or exhibitionist with a mental age of 10 and a chronological age of 33 is not eligible for delinquency status, yet his mental abilities resemble those of children far more than those of adults. On the other hand, an 8-year-old "genius" with a mental age of 25 could presumably not be tried in criminal court in most states simply because of his mental age, though he could be tried on the basis of the crime he was alleged to have committed.

Social Definition

Social and psychological definitions of delinquency may overlap considerably, just as each overlaps with legal definitions. Social delinquency consists of a wide variety of youthful behaviors considered inappropriate, such as aggressive behavior, intimidation of others, truancy, bullying, petty theft, vandalism, or substance abuse. Note that not all are considered criminal. In addition, the behavior may or may not have come to the attention of the police. It is not unusual for "social delinquents" to be referred to church officials, community social service agencies, or to juvenile courts, but they never legally become delinquents until and unless they are found in a hearing to have committed the crime for which they are charged, if a crime has indeed been committed. For example, a juvenile court intake officer may place a juvenile on "informal probation," giving that person a second chance to be supervised in the community rather than formally referred to the juvenile court judge for an adjudication hearing. Other options for dealing with social delinquents are diversion programs, whereby juveniles are steered away from formal court proceedings if they admit their offenses and participate in various programs, such as substance abuse treatment, restitution, or community service.

Psychological Definitions

Psychological definitions of delinquency usually include conduct disorder, antisocial behavior, or some form of mental disorder. In other words, from a psychological perspective, a "delinquent" would have a conduct disorder or would display *serious* antisocial or criminal behavior, such as firesetting or the sexual abuse of young children. **Conduct disorder**—as we discussed in Chapter 2—is a diagnostic term used to represent a group of behaviors characterized by *habitual* misbehavior, such as stealing, setting fires, running away from home, skipping school, destroying property, fighting, being cruel to animals and people, and frequently telling lies. Like the social delinquent, the psychological delinquent may or may not have been arrested for these behaviors. Some of the behaviors, in fact, are not even against the criminal law. Likewise, behaviors associated with Oppositional Defiant Disorder (ODD) or with Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD)—both discussed in Chapter 2—might not be against the criminal law.

Conduct disorder (CD)
A diagnostic label used to identify children who demonstrate habitual misbehavior.

The clinical term **antisocial behavior** is sometimes used rather than conduct disorder, ODD, or ADHD, particularly when clinicians prefer not to use formal diagnoses, or when a child or adolescent may not fit the criteria for these disorders. However, antisocial behavior is not much different. It, too, is reserved for more serious *habitual* misbehavior, especially a behavioral pattern that involves direct and harmful actions against others. Though it is similar to conduct disorder, it should be distinguished from the term *antisocial personality disorder*, a diagnostic label reserved for *adults*, many if not most of whom displayed conduct disorders as children or adolescents and continued serious offending well into adulthood. We discuss antisocial personality disorders in more detail in Chapter 7.

Antisocial behavior
Clinical term reserved for serious habitual behavior, especially that involving direct harm to others.

Finally, some juvenile offenders may be plagued with mental disorders, such as anxiety disorders, severe depression, or psychotic disorders, which may be associated with delinquent behavior. Recall that Mode Deactivation Therapy, a treatment approach discussed in Chapter 3, presumes that internalizing disorders like these promote externalizing disorders or antisocial behavior in adolescents. Again, if we treat the disorder, they will cease or at least reduce offending. It is well recognized that many youths in the juvenile justice system have mental disorders. "The burden of youths with mental disorders on the juvenile justice system is substantial" (Nagel, Guarnera, & Reppucci, 2016, p. 117). The connection between mental disorder and crime with regard to both juveniles and adults will be discussed in Chapter 8.

The Nature and Extent of Juvenile Offending

In 2013, just over half a million persons under age 18 were arrested by law enforcement officers in the United States (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2014). Four years later, in 2017, the number of arrests had risen slightly, to 634,535 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018), probably partly due to population increases. Nonetheless, both figures represented a decline from 2004. As noted in Chapter 1, crime and arrest rates rise and fall, and numerous factors contribute to these changes.

Table 6.1 gives an overview of serious crimes for which juveniles under 18 were taken into custody in 2004, 2013, and 2017. Note that arrests were down for all crimes between 2004 and 2013. In 2017 arrest numbers went up slightly but, as noted above, were still lower than numbers in 2004. Exceptions were the serious crimes of rape, robbery, and murder, where arrests went up. The UCR contains a wealth of additional information about ages of arrests for various crimes. (See Table 6.2 for examples of more data from this source.)

Other revealing figures are those related to delinquency cases in juvenile courts. Between 1960 and 2008, delinquency caseloads in these courts increased more than 300%, from

TABLE 6.1 Juvenile Arrests for Violent and Property Crimes, 2004, 2013, and 2017

Offense	2004	2013	2017
Total All Crimes	1,226,865	666,263	634,535
Murder/Nonnegligent homicide	643	492	717
Rape	2,414	1,484	3,030*
Robbery	14,936	12,340	15,282
Aggravated Assault	35,912	19,351	22,155
Burglary	49,721	27,960	24,223
Larceny-Theft	198,071	117,141	93,738
Motor Vehicle Theft	22,784	7,367	12,798
Arson	4,593	2,370	1,766

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (2014a). Crime in the United States 2013: Uniform Crime Re-ports. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

*Includes arrests both under legacy and new definition of rape.

400,000 to over 1,600,000 (Puzzanchera, Adams, & Sickmund, 2011). Beginning in about 2005, though, court caseloads decreased substantially. Between the years 2005 and 2016, cases in juvenile courts dropped by 49% (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2014). The drop has been attributed to both the drop in juvenile arrests as reflected by the UCR during these years and to changes in state laws that allowed prosecutors to bypass the juvenile system and charge some juveniles in criminal courts for some offenses. The recent decreases occurred in all categories of juvenile crime with one exception, criminal homicide. Both juvenile courts and arrest statistics showed increases in that crime between the years 2012 and 2016 (20% increase in arrests, 33% increase in juvenile court cases). Readers might want to consider concepts covered in Chapters 4 and 5 to speculate on reasons for the increases in criminal homicide.

Girls continue to represent a small proportion of youths whose cases are heard in juvenile courts, with boys accounting for 72% of all cases. Girls were less likely than boys to be detained prior to adjudication except for offense against persons, but use of detention for drug-related offenses decreased significantly for both girls and boys. However, African American and Hispanic youth were disproportionately detained compared to other races and ethnicities. (See Tables 6.2 and 6.3 for more facts from juvenile court data.)

Data sources like the above are helpful in understanding how juveniles are processed by police and the courts. Nevertheless, the nature and extent of delinquent behavior—both what is reported and what is *unreported* to law enforcement agencies—is essentially an unknown area (Krisberg & Schwartz, 1983; Krisberg, 1995), even more unknown than adult crime. And, as for adult crime, there is a huge dark figure. As Barry Krisberg (1992, p. 2) notes, "Put simply, the amount of crime committed by juveniles is unknown and perhaps unknowable."

Usually, unlawful acts committed by delinquents are placed into five major categories, which are defined in Table 6.4.

TABLE 6.2 Selected Data about Age and Arrests from 2017 UCR

- Persons under 18 accounted for the highest percentages of arrests for arson (24.6%), robbery (20.6%), motor vehicle theft (17.9%), rape (16.6%), and burglary (15.5%).
- Persons under age 15 accounted for 14.1% of arson arrests, 6.4% of rape arrests, and 4.9% of burglary arrests.
- Individuals under the age of 25 made up close to one-third (30.8%) of all arrestees.
- 41.6% of all arrests for murder and nonnegligent manslaughter were of persons under the age of 25.
- 19.3% of drug abuse arrestees were under the age of 21.
- About one-fifth of those arrested for robbery were under the age of 18.

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2018b). Active shooter incidents in the United States in 2016 and 2017. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

TABLE 6.3 Selected Data from Juvenile Court Statistics, 2016

- Number of petitioned cases that were adjudicated delinquent decreased 55% between 2005 and 2016
- Use of detention pending adjudication of case decreased for drug cases, but increased for other categories.
- Black and Hispanic juveniles were disproportionately detained compared with juveniles of other races/ethnicities.
- Likelihood of being adjudicated delinquent decreased for all races except Native Americans, where likelihood increased.
- Males more likely than females to be detained except for offenses against persons.
- Waivers to criminal courts decreased substantially in 2016, 49% below the 2006 level. In 2016, 1% of processed delinquency cases were transferred to criminal courts.
- Slightly over half the petitioned cases (52%) results in an adjudication of delinquency.
- The most severe sanction imposed by the court was probation, occurring in 62% of the delinquency cases.
- In 27% of the delinquency cases, juveniles were ordered to out-of-home placement in a residential facility. However, the likelihood of out-of-home placement overall declined.
- Juveniles were ordered to pay fines, perform community service, and/or enter treatment or counseling programs in 11% of the cases adjudicated delinquent.

Source: Hockenberry & Puzzanchera (2018). Characteristics of Delinquency Cases Handled in Juvenile Court 2015, Juvenile statistics, http://www.ncjrs.gov/App/publications/abstract.aspx?ID=273909

TABLE 6.4 Categories of Juvenile Offending

Unlawful Acts	Definition
Unlawful acts against persons	Violent crimes, similar to those crimes committed by adults, such as aggravated assault, robbery, sexual assault
Unlawful acts against property	Property crimes, similar to those crimes committed by adults, such as burglary, larceny-theft, vandalism
Drug offenses	Possession, distribution, and/or manufacture of drugs
Public order offenses	Nuisance crimes against society, such as noise violations
Juvenile status offenses	Acts only juveniles can commit, such as violation of curfew, running away, school truancy

The first four categories in the list are comparable in definition with crimes committed by adults. Before we turn to these criminal acts, it is important to focus briefly on the fifth category, the troubling issue of juvenile status offending.

Status Offenses

Juvenile status offenses are acts that only juveniles can commit. While some status offenses today are adjudicated in juvenile courts, most are handled more informally, such as by being referred to family crisis centers or other community agencies. As mentioned earlier, typical status offenses range from misbehavior, such as violations of curfew, running away from home, and truancy, to offenses that are interpreted subjectively, such as unruliness, unmanageability, or incorrigibility. Status offenses are often indicators of underlying personal, familial, and community risk factors. The National Center for Juvenile Justice, a governmental research group affiliated with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, tabulates running away, truancy, ungovernability (also known as incorrigibility or being beyond the control of one's parents or guardians), and underage liquor law violations (e.g., a minor in possession of alcohol, underage drinking). Juvenile courts also track curfew violations when they are petitioned to those courts. Although a number of other behaviors may be considered status offenses depending upon state laws (e.g., tobacco offenses, vaping, sexual activities), they are usually not discussed in governmental reports.

The juvenile system has historically supported differential treatment of male and female status offenders, but this seems to be changing somewhat. In the past, adolescent

girls were detained for incorrigibility or running away from home, when the same behavior in adolescent boys was ignored or tolerated. Until fairly recently, about three times as many girls were detained for status offenses as boys (U.S. Department of Justice, 1988). In recent years, as a result of suits brought on behalf of juveniles, many courts have put authorities on notice that this discriminatory approach is unwarranted. Even so, relatively recent figures indicated that girls were still more likely than boys to be arrested as runaways (National Center for Juvenile Justice, 2003, 2013; Snyder, Sickmund, & Poe-Yamagata, 2000). Beginning in January 2011, however, the UCR program discontinued the collection of arrest data for the category of runaways.

Juvenile court data continue to track status offenses when they are petitioned to juvenile courts. It is important to repeat that most are not, but instead are handled more informally, such as through community social agencies. Of those offenses petitioned to juvenile courts, truancy and running away predominate (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2014). The total number of petitioned status offense cases decreased by 43% between 2005 and 2016. The only category in which girls represented a larger proportion of the caseload than boys was runaway cases, with girls accounting for 56% of the petitioned cases. Boys accounted for most curfew (72%), liquor law violation (60%), ungovernability (57%), and truancy (54%) cases.

It has long been argued that, because status offenses lend themselves to so much subjectivity, they should be removed from the purview of all state juvenile courts (American Bar Association, 1979). Many states have clearly moved in this direction. Those that retain jurisdiction over status offenders do not label them "delinquents," but the juvenile can still be detained, placed on probation, or given an out-of-home placement, such as a group home. State juvenile justice agencies are at risk of losing federal funding if they hold status offenders in secure facilities (e.g., jails, secure residential treatment centers).

State statutes allow the nonsecure detention and/or supervision of status offenders because these juveniles are presumed to be in need of protection either from their own rash behavior or the behavior of others. The statutes allowing this are usually referred to as PINS or CHINS laws (person or child in need of supervision). Under these laws, runaways or incorrigible youngsters are subject to juvenile or family court jurisdiction, sometimes at the instigation of their parents, even though they may not have committed an act comparable with a crime. In reality, many status offenders do commit crimes, particularly property offenses such as theft or burglary, but it cannot be assumed that all or even most do. Moreover, PINS or CHINS laws also allow juvenile and family courts to address the needs of neglected and dependent children, so a child who has been labeled a CHINS has not necessarily displayed problem behaviors or committed crimes.

In this text, although status offending and minor delinquent crime are considered, our focus is on violent offending and more serious property offending. We are particularly interested in the developmental trajectories that lead to serious delinquency and in many but not all cases to persistent offending into adulthood. In recent years, developmental psychologists have conducted extensive research on this topic, as we note shortly.

The Serious Delinquent

Serious delinquency
Juvenile offending that is characterized by violent and extensive property crimes.

The term **serious delinquency** has been defined a number of different ways across different studies. In the public mind, the serious delinquent may be thought of as the one who commits repetitive violent crime or the one who commits a one-time very serious crime, such as murder. However, a chronic pattern of nonviolent offenses, such as burglary, also may qualify one as a serious delinquent. Many juveniles who are persistent or chronic offenders stop offending once they reach adulthood, leading some to argue that they are not really serious delinquents. As Woolard and Fountain (2016) note, "In some respects, the

definition of serious offenders is more of a policy concern than an intrinsically developmental or criminological question" (p. 141).

For our purposes, the serious delinquent can be any of the following: the 14-year-old with no history of violence who erupts in anger and kills his teacher; the girl who begins stealing at age 8 and progresses to more theft, assaults, and burglary throughout adolescence; the 12-year-old who begins a long pattern of repetitive arsons and burglaries and continues into adulthood; the brothers who commit no violence but serve as the major drug dealers in their schools; and the severely emotionally disturbed adolescent who sets fires and threatens his mother on a near-daily basis. Put another way, serious delinquency has a variety of forms.

Fortunately, both self-report studies and official data indicate that only a small percentage of the juvenile population engages in serious delinquent behavior such as that illustrated above. Nevertheless, those who do commit a variety of antisocial behaviors often escape detection. An early self-report study (Weis & Sederstrom, 1981) indicated that only about 3–15% of serious offenses ever result in "police contact." Likewise, Elliott, Dunford, and Huizinga (1987) suggested that serious, repetitive juvenile offenders escaped detection 86% of the time over a 5-year period. These figures further suggest that the incidence of offending may be substantially underestimated by official arrest data. In other words, a small percentage of youth are committing a substantial amount of offenses that do not come to the attention of police. This group of youths—when they do enter the justice system—tend to be high in recidivism, or repeat offending. In addition, frequent offenders do not specialize in any one particular kind of offending, such as theft or larceny. Instead, they tend to be involved in a wide variety of offenses, ranging from minor property crimes to highly violent ones.

Longitudinal research also indicates that repetitive offenders as a group were unusually troublesome in school, earned poor grades, and had inadequate or poor social skills. Furthermore, these troublesome behaviors often began at an early age, and the more serious the offender, the earlier these childhood patterns appeared. Serious or habitual juvenile offenders rarely restrict their behaviors to one type of offense category.

Pittsburgh Youth Study
Classic self-report longitudinal study of youth, including some considered at high risk of offending.

One of the most ambitious longitudinal research projects is the **Pittsburgh Youth Study**, begun in 1987 under the direction of psychologists Rolf Loeber at the University of Pittsburgh and David P. Farrington at the University of Cambridge. The researchers followed up three cohorts of boys who were in grades 1, 4, and 7 when the study began. Boys were divided into high-risk and control groups, and they were followed up until at least 2012. Numerous research studies have been conducted using PYS data. Loeber, Ahonen, Stallings, and Farrington (2017) provided a summary of the PYS research as it pertains to violence. Loeber et al. note that the prevalence of violence was higher than they had anticipated when beginning the study, with over 5% of the original boys becoming either homicide offenders or homicide victims. Over 90% of the homicide offenders had committed at least one violent crime (e.g., aggravated assault, rape) before their homicide offense. Twenty percent of the at-risk youth self-reported carrying a gun before their 18th birthday. Escalation of violence from less serious aggression to serious violent crime was common, as was the interaction between violence and substance abuse. Nevertheless, the PYS research also identified protective factors (e.g., supportive neighborhoods, older mothers, low levels of ADHD symptoms). Loeber et al. (2017) conclude, "We make a case for the relevance of the above findings for focused interventions, first by concentrating on risk factors that are potentially modifiable, and second by enhancing protective factors that appear to operate in high-risk environments" (p. 313). We will discuss the PYS again in Chapter 9.

Pathways to Delinquency
Research project indicating that most serious juveniles reduce offending over time with sufficient monitoring and treatment.

Pessimistic conclusions about serious delinquents also have been challenged as a result of an ongoing, longitudinal study of 1,354 predominantly male, serious juvenile offenders for seven years after their conviction (Mulvey, 2011). The highly cited and continuing **Pathways to Desistance** research project sponsored by the Office of Juvenile Justice

and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) indicates that most serious offenders reduce their offending over time, *particularly when monitored in the community after short-term incarceration*. As a general principle, long incarceration is ineffective at reducing recidivism among young offenders. The research, which followed youth in two metropolitan areas in Phoenix, Arizona, and Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, also indicated that substance abuse treatment was effective in reducing both substance use and criminal offending. In the words of chief investigator Edward P. Mulvey, "The most important conclusion of the study is that even adolescents who have committed serious offenses are not necessarily on track for adult criminal careers" (2011, p. 3).

Other recent studies also have documented that serious juvenile offenders can benefit from intensive treatment when it is provided, particularly in community rather than institutional settings (Skeem, Scott, & Mulvey, 2014). We will return to this topic later in the chapter.

Gender Differences in Juvenile Offending

Over the years, boys have far outnumbered girls in most types of offending, but most particularly in violent offending. Victimization data, self-report data, and official data (both police records and court statistics) all have supported this gender gap.

Around the turn of the 21st century, data on juvenile arrests suggested that this gender gap may be closing somewhat and for some offenses. Between 1996 and 2009, arrests of juvenile females generally increased more (or decreased less) than male arrests in most categories (Puzzanchera & Adams, 2011; Snyder, 2008; Zahn, Hawkins, Chiancone, & Whitworth, 2008). In 2009, girls accounted for 30% of the juvenile arrests (Puzzanchera & Adams, 2011). They accounted for 18% of arrests for juvenile violent crime, 38% of arrests for juvenile property crime, and 45% of juvenile larceny-theft arrests. In 2017, females accounted for 18% of juvenile violent crime, 31% of juvenile property crime, and 37% of juvenile larceny-theft arrests (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a).

A similar pattern can be found by examining juvenile court data. In juvenile courts, the number of female delinquency cases rose from 19% in 1985 to 27% in 2008 (Puzzanchera et al., 2011). In 2016, however, girls still accounted for a smaller percentage of cases than boys, 28% compared to 72% (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2014). Neither arrest records nor juvenile court records suggest, therefore, that the gender gap in offending is closing.

The connection between juvenile running away and prostitution is a sobering one. Recent arrest figures indicate that the runaway figures are about equal for girls and boys (Puzzanchera, 2009; Puzzanchera & Hockenberry, 2013), though recall that runaway was the only status offense category in which girls exceeded boys in 2016 (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2014). Nevertheless, girls are believed to be far more likely than boys to run away because of victimization in the home and ultimately to take up prostitution or sex work to survive. Girls also are more likely than boys to be sexually assaulted and exploited (e.g., prostitution, production of child pornography) and to be victims of sexual trafficking, although this is not to diminish the damage done to boys as well. A history of violent victimization, in or outside the home, seems to haunt both juvenile and adult female offenders (Acoca & Austin, 1996) and is apparent in much of the current literature on women's pathways to offending (Salisbury & Van Voorhis, 2009).

Of additional concern is the victimization of LGBT and transgender youth, who have too often been ignored by policy makers and researchers. Fortunately, some scholars, politicians, and courts have championed their rights. In 2019, however, the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments in three cases involving discrimination under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (*Altitude Express Inc. v. Zarda; Bostock v. Clayton County, Ga.; R. G. and G. R. Harris Funeral Homes v. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission*). The three cases involved

adults who were fired because they were gay, transgendered, or did not conform to gender stereotypes. The question is whether they were protected from workplace discrimination by the federal law, which clearly prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex. Does it also prohibit it on the basis of sexual orientation, preference, or gender identity? These are important cases that are being watched closely. Although the persons fired were adults, a loss at the Supreme Court level would be a significant setback for people of all ages.

In the late 20th century, we knew far too little about girls' crime, the reasons it was committed, and the social and developmental factors that precipitate it (Broidy et al., 2003; Chesney-Lind & Shelden, 1998). Even more recent studies based on large samples, such as the PYS and Pathways studies referred to above, either did not include girls or studied them in much smaller numbers. (The PYS followed 1,517 boys; the Pathways study followed 1,170 males and 184 females.) However, a companion study to the PYS, the Pittsburgh Girls Study, followed a sample of 2,451 girls. We mention some of its results shortly. In addition, in the 1990s, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention convened the **Girls Study Group (GSG)** in 2004. This is a comprehensive research project designed to gain a better understanding of girls' delinquency and recommend effective prevention programs directed specifically at girls, a population whose needs are too often overlooked. The GSG consists of an interdisciplinary group of scholars and practitioners from the fields of sociology, psychology, criminology, and gender studies as well as legal practitioners and girls' program development coordinators.

Girls Study Group (GSG)
A comprehensive research project designed to gain a better understanding of girls' delinquency and recommend effective prevention programs directed specifically at girls.

In addition to investigating the extent of delinquency, the GSG seeks to answer the following questions: Which girls become delinquent? What factors protect girls from delinquency? What factors put girls at risk of delinquency? What developmental pathways lead to girls' delinquency? What factors are most effective in preventing girls' delinquency?

One of the earliest studies published by researchers associated with the group focused on whether violence is increasing among girls. Zahn, Brumbaugh, et al. (2008) found, based on arrest victimization and self-report data, that "although girls are arrested more for simple assault than previously, the actual incidence of being seriously violent has not changed much over the past two decades" (p. 15). They concluded that "there is no burgeoning national crisis of increasing serious violence among adolescent girls" (p. 15).

The researchers surmised that increases in arrests for girls *may* be attributed more to changes in enforcement policies than to changes in girls' behavior. For example, as a result of mandatory arrest policies in domestic violence, girls involved in family altercations may be more likely to be arrested than to be provided with mediation services (Zahn, Hawkins, et al., 2008).

The Girls Study Group also has studied the many intervention programs offered for girls by the juvenile justice system. Although there were positive findings, for the great majority of programs there was insufficient evidence to conclude that they were effective or ineffective. In addition, there were not enough resources available for conducting rigorous evaluations of these programs (Zahn, Hawkins, et al., 2008). Additional material on the work of the GSG is available at http://girlsstudygroup.rti.org. (See Box 6–1 for description of a gender-responsive anger management program for girls.)

Research by developmental psychologists has shed considerable light on the gender difference in juvenile offending. Biology is *not* a significant factor in explaining the gender differences in offending, including violent offending (Adams, 1992; Pepler & Slaby, 1994). Research by Eleanor Maccoby (1986), for example, indicates that girls and boys learn different types of prosocial behavior, with girls being more accommodating than boys. The current work of cognitive psychologists suggests that there may be socialized and cultural differences in the way boys and girls perceive their worlds. As discussed in Chapter 5, social learning theorists have long held that girls are socialized differently from boys, or taught not to be aggressive.

TREATMENT APPROACHES

BOX 6–1 HELPING JUVENILES MANAGE ANGER—JJAM TREATMENT

Adolescents involved in the juvenile justice system often have "anger issues" more so than other adolescents. A host of reasons account for this: disruptive life circumstances, family backgrounds, school experiences, experiences with the justice system, or their own cognitive and emotional states. Anger, if not effectively managed, can lead to physical and relational aggression. Although society may be more worried about physical aggression, relational aggression also leaves victims in its wake and can have harmful effects on one's s emotional well-being and future accomplishments. Someone who constantly confronts others in social and work relationships, for example, is unlikely to lead a fulfilling life. Relational aggression may be displayed regardless of one's gender, but research documents gender differences, with boys more likely to display physical aggression and girls more likely to display relational aggression.

Although anger management treatment is advocated—and sometimes court mandated—for both boys and girls, such treatment has typically focused on the reduction of physical aggression. Some professionals believe the treatment should be gender responsive. As noted in the chapter, gender responsive programming is now often promoted in the literature, with the understanding that girls and boys have different needs. Too few gender responsive programs are submitted to rigid empirical analysis, however.

In recent years, however, Naomi Goldstein and her colleagues (2013; 2018) have pioneered and evaluated a treatment program specifically designed to address the unique needs of adolescent girls. They note that justice-involved girls have been shown to have higher rates of trauma, more mood disorders, and sometimes more substance misuse than justice-involved boys.

Juvenile Justice Anger Management (JJAM) was designed as a group treatment program to manage anger and reduce reactive aggression (not instrumental aggression) in girls in residential placement settings. Goldstein et al. (2018) conducted a controlled study of 70 girls in residential placement facilities in two states who were randomly assigned to a JJAM program or to treatment as usual. The girls completed a variety of pre- and post-treatment measures (e.g., anger scale, emotion regulation questionnaire, aggressive behavior questionnaire). During the JJAM treatment phase (8 weeks, two 90-minute sessions per week), participants met in small groups of four or six and were educated about differences between physical and relational aggression, and between anger and aggression. They were taught ways of restructuring their cognitions and not assuming hostility in others when not intended. Nevertheless, the program also acknowledged that hostility was sometimes intended; if that was so, they were given skills to cope with it. The girls learned to identify anger triggers, to use problem-solving and communication skills, and they were encouraged to practice their skills outside of the group sessions.

Goldstein et al. (2018) found significant short-term reductions in anger, physical, and relational aggression in girls who were assigned to the treatment. Reductions in hostile attribution biases were also found. Although some 6-month follow-up data were acquired, these data were limited and not included in the general findings. Goldstein et al. emphasized the importance of continuing to study this treatment approach, obtaining high quality follow-up data, and expanding the treatment to other participants, such as juveniles on probation.

Questions for Discussion

1. Goldstein and her colleagues emphasize that JJAM targets reactive aggression, not instrumental aggression, terms we discussed in Chapter 5. What is the difference, and why is this an important point?
2. Hostile attribution bias—or perceptions of the hostile intent of others—may be well founded. In that sense, JJAM promotes *accurate* appraisal of these perceptions, rather than assuming that others do not have hostile intentions. Discuss the significance of this subtle difference.
3. The above brief description does not indicate why the girls were in residential treatment. Is that important? What would you want to know about the environment of the facilities, the treatment staff, or any demographic data about the participants?
4. Obtain the published report of this study and answer the question, "What was treatment as usual?" Should all girls in residential treatment now have the benefit of JJAM? ■

In addition to psychosocial development, numerous societal factors affect the patterns of offending for both juveniles and adults. There is some indication that boys and girls share similar risk factors for delinquency (Zahn, Hawkins, et al., 2008). These include the economy, community disorganization, the actions of police, the quality of schools, the resources available to courts and to correctional agencies, and the adequacy of health and social services, to name but a few. In addition, however, girls may experience risk factors over and above those experienced by boys, such as a greater likelihood of sexual victimization and issues of self-esteem. Zahn et al. (2010) also found that girls were at particular risk for delinquency when factors such as early puberty, family conflict, and living in unstable neighborhoods (e.g., high unemployment and single-parent households) were present in their lives. In research comparing predictors of delinquency in males and females, Steketee, Junger, and Junger-Tas (2013) found that family disruption and the deviant behavior of friends were the greatest risk factors for girls, while lack of self-control was strongly related to delinquency among boys.

Other recent research has found certain mental health conditions to be associated with delinquency in girls. Barrett, Ju, Katsiyannis, and Zhang (2013) compared background variables in approximately 34,000 female juvenile offenders and a similar-size control group of girls without histories of delinquency, matched on age and race. The juvenile offenders were significantly more likely to have been diagnosed with a disorder involving impulse control or aggression; of those so diagnosed, 60% had received the diagnosis before any involvement with the juvenile justice system. Barret et al. were interested in examining factors that lead to recidivism and found that a history of drug use and disruption in parent–child relationships were significant.

Pittsburgh Girls Study
Longitudinal study focusing on peer associations and parental practices and their effects on delinquency in girls.

Another heavily cited longitudinal study, the above-mentioned **Pittsburgh Girls Study (PGS)** (Hipwell et al., 2002; Keenan et al., 2010) has yielded important findings about delinquency in girls. The study began in 1999, shortly after the Pittsburgh Youth Study. The PGS recorded data on approximately 2,500 girls who were between ages 5 and 8 at that time. A number of research projects were developed from this sample (e.g., Miller, Loeber, & Hipwell, 2009; Henneberger et al., 2014). Henneberger et al. (2014) examined the confluence of parental versus peer influence and found that harsh parenting and peer delinquency had independent influence on the delinquency of girls during mid-adolescence. Put another way, when parental practices were punitive (e.g., screaming, corporal punishment) as opposed to positive and accepting (e.g., offering praise, giving approval), there was greater likelihood that the girl would exhibit antisocial behavior. Likewise, when girls associated with delinquent peers, they were more likely to be delinquent in their mid-adolescence. Henneberger et al. conclude that prevention and intervention programs for girls should target both parental practices and peer associations.

Developmental Theories of Delinquency

It should be clear by now that a considerable amount of contemporary research has focused on understanding the *developmental processes* leading to aggression, antisocial behavior, and delinquency during the elementary school years and into adolescence for both boys and girls. Contemporary research has consistently demonstrated that the offender population consists of various distinct subgroups, each following an identifiable developmental pathway that is associated with different risks and outcomes (Wiesner & Windle, 2004; Woolard & Fountain, 2016).

As we learned in Chapter 2, studying the developmental process of individuals requires an examination of the trajectory of that development. A trajectory in this sense refers to the developmental changes people demonstrate over their lifetime. Examining differences

in developmental trajectories or pathways of individuals over time adds a deeper understanding of delinquency than focusing on differences among individuals at any one point in time. A developmental trajectory or pathway reflects the changes in cognitive, emotional, and social growth as one grows into adulthood. Included in the pathways are numerous experiences or risk factors that may be encountered, such as early childhood victimization, exposure to environmental toxins, academic failure, the loss of a parent during childhood, or association with antisocial peers. As we discussed in earlier chapters, this is consistent with a cumulative risk model or a dynamic cascade model, both of which emphasize that multiple factors are involved in the production of antisocial behavior. To repeat: no single risk factor, standing alone, predicts delinquency. In addition, protective factors—those that cushion or modify the path—are also crucial to consider. In a study published by the GSG discussed above, researchers found that girls who reported having caring adults in their lives were less likely to report committing crimes, status offenses, and membership in gangs during adolescence (Hawkins, Graham, Williams, & Zahn, 2009). Theories that use developmental trajectories as models can identify a sequential chain of events that suggest how antisocial behavior is shaped and sustained.

Research has led to the consensus that children and adolescents follow different developmental pathways in their offending and nonoffending careers. Some children engage in stubborn, defiant, and disobedient behavior at very young ages, progressing to mild and then more severe forms of violence and criminal behavior during adolescence and young adulthood (Dahlberg & Potter, 2001). Some children exhibit cruelty to animals, aggressive behavior toward peers, bullying, and substance abuse at a very early age and continue this antisocial pathway far into adulthood. Other children show very few signs of antisocial behavior at very young ages, but during adolescence, they engage in various forms of delinquent behavior. Still others avoid engaging in any significant antisocial behavior over their lifetimes.

Despite these different developmental pathways, there is good evidence that most serious, persistent delinquency and crime patterns usually begin early and worsen with age, although as the research also indicates (Mulvey, 2011; Skeem et al., 2014), we cannot assume that serious juvenile offenders will continue their criminal activity into adulthood. *Some* serious juvenile offenders will not continue into adulthood, but many will do so. In addition, the availability of intervention for juveniles on a path toward chronic serious offending is critical. Researchers also have noted early childhood differences in impulsiveness, social skills, and feelings for others among those children who become seriously antisocial and those children who stay on a prosocial life course. Contemporary developmental psychologists have begun targeting the development of antisocial behavior even during the preschool years.

Moffitt's Developmental Theory

A major impetus for the developmental perspective as an explanation for delinquency has been the theory and ongoing research of psychologist Moffitt (1993a, 1993b, 2003, 2006) and her colleagues. Originally, Moffitt's developmental theory identified two developmental paths, but as we note shortly the theory was expanded to accommodate more than these basic two, which are described here.

Life-Course Persistent Offenders On one path, the Moffitt group placed a small group of children who begin a lifelong pattern of delinquency and adult crime at a very early age, probably around age 3 or even younger. Moffitt (1993a, p. 679) wrote, "Across the life course, these individuals exhibit changing manifestations of antisocial behavior: biting and hitting at age four, shoplifting and truancy at age ten, selling drugs

Life-course-persistent (LCP) offenders
A term introduced by Terrie Moffitt to represent offenders who demonstrate a lifelong pattern of antisocial behavior and who are resistant to treatment or rehabilitation.

and stealing cars at age sixteen, robbery and rape at age twenty-two, and fraud and child abuse at age thirty." These individuals, whom Moffitt called **life-course-persistent (LCP) offenders**, continue their antisocial ways across all kinds of conditions and situations. Moffitt reported that many LCP offenders exhibit neurological problems during their childhoods, such as difficult temperaments as infants, attention-deficit/hyperactive disorder (ADHD) as children, and learning problems during their later school years. Judgment and problem-solving deficiencies, mental health problems, and legal problems of various sorts are often apparent when LCP children reach adulthood (Jaffee & Odgers, 2013). LCP offenders generally commit a wide assortment of aggressive and violent crimes over their lifetimes.

LCPs as children miss opportunities to acquire and practice prosocial and interpersonal skills at each stage of development. They often display elevated aggressive behavior at home and in school, and consequently are rejected and avoided by their childhood peers. In addition, parents, teachers, and caretakers become frustrated and may even give up on them (Coie, Belding, & Underwood, 1988; Coie, Dodge, & Kupersmith, 1990; Coie & Dodge, 1998; Moffitt, 1993a). According to Moffitt (1993a, p. 684), "If social and academic skills are not mastered in childhood, it is very difficult to later recover from lost opportunities." Furthermore, as noted previously, disadvantaged homes, inadequate schools, and violent neighborhoods are factors that are very likely to exacerbate the ongoing and developing antisocial behavioral pattern of LCPs.

LCPs are plagued by various psychological and antisocial problems throughout their lifetimes (Jaffee & Odgers, 2013). Numerous studies report that early-onset antisocial behavior is typically associated with pervasive mental, physical, economic, interpersonal, and legal problems across the life span (Caspi, Wright, Moffitt, & Silva, 1998; Farrington, 1995; Moffitt, Caspi, Harrington, & Milne, 2002). Wiesner, Kim, and Capaldi (2005) write, "Developmental theories posit that antisocial behavior that onsets early in childhood is likely to lead to a cascade of secondary problems, including academic failure, involvement with deviant peers, substance abuse, depressive symptoms, health risk sexual behavior, and work failure" (p. 252). It appears as though LCPs become entrapped in a deviant lifestyle right out of the developmental gate. They are embedded in a social context that further increases their risk status (van Lier, Vuijk, & Crijen, 2005).

Other researchers have consistently reported that a small minority of children (about 5–10%) follow a high antisocial developmental trajectory (Fontaine, Carbonneau, Vitaro, Barker, & Tremblay, 2009; van Lier et al., 2005; van Lier, Wanner, & Vitaro, 2007). They are almost exclusively males. Recent research suggests that only about 1–2% of girls show this persistent, early-onset pattern (Fontaine et al., 2009). In addition, the level of antisocial behavior of LCPs seems to diverge from their less antisocial counterparts across time (van Lier et al., 2005). In other words, LCPs actually increase their offending as they grow older. The reasons for this may be due, at least in part, to their exposure to the learning, practicing, and reinforcement of antisocial behavior through affiliation with similarly diverging antisocial peers. Basically, antisocial youth progressively affiliate with similarly antisocial peers (van Lier et al., 2005).

Nevertheless, it is important to stress that many children with early-onset conduct problems and other high-risk features (e.g., callous-unemotional traits) do not continue their antisocial activity into adulthood (Piquero et al., 2013; Skeem, Scott, & Mulvey, 2014). In recent years, research on high-risk juveniles has taken a decidedly more positive turn. Rather than viewing early onset of antisocial behavior as a seemingly inevitable path toward a lifetime of offending, the research indicates that many juveniles considered at high risk for chronic criminal behavior desist, either during or following adolescence. In addition, risk-assessment measures have been designed for better delineation of the risk factors in a particular juvenile's life, and treatment approaches targeting them have been identified (Mulvey 2011; Vincent, Guy, & Grisso, 2012). We discuss this further later in the chapter.

Adolescence-Limited Offenders The great majority of juvenile offenders are those individuals who follow a second developmental path: They begin offending during their adolescent years and generally stop offending somewhere around their eighteenth birthday. Moffitt labels these youth **adolescence-limited (AL) offenders**. Their developmental histories do not demonstrate the early and persistent antisocial problems that members of the LCP group manifest. However—and this point is important—the frequency, and in some cases, the violence level of offending during the teen years, may be as high as that of the LCP youth. In effect, the teenage offending patterns of the AL and that of the LCP may be highly similar during the adolescent years (Moffitt, Caspi, Dickson, Silva, & Stanton, 1996). "The two types cannot be discriminated on most indicators of antisocial and problem behavior in adolescence; boys on the LCP and AL paths are similar on parent-, self-, and official records of offending, peer delinquency, substance abuse, unsafe sex, and dangerous driving" (Moffitt et al., 1996, p. 400). Accordingly, mental health workers and criminal justice experts could not easily identify the group classification (AL or LCP) simply by examining juvenile arrest records, self-reports, or the information provided by parents during the teen years.

Adolescence-limited (AL) offender
An individual who usually demonstrates delinquent or antisocial behavior only during his or her teen years and then stops offending during adulthood.

Nevertheless, the AL delinquent is most likely, during the teen years, to be involved in offenses that symbolize adult privilege and demonstrate autonomy from parental control. Examples include vandalism, drug and alcohol offenses, theft, and "status" offenses such as running away or truancy. In addition, AL delinquents are likely to engage in crimes that are profitable or rewarding, but they also have the ability to abandon these actions when prosocial styles become more rewarding. For example, the onset of young adulthood brings on opportunities not attainable during the teen years, such as leaving high school for college, obtaining a full-time job, and entering a relationship with a prosocial person. AL delinquents are quick to learn that they have something to lose if they continue offending into adulthood. During childhood, in contrast to the LCP child, the AL youngster has learned to get along with others. It should also be emphasized that "the theory of AL antisocial behavior regards it as an adaptation response to modern teens' social context, not the product of a cumulative history of pathological maldevelopment" (Moffitt & Caspi, 2001, p. 370). They normally have a satisfactory repertoire of academic, social, and interpersonal skills that enable them to "get ahead." Therefore, the developmental histories and personal dispositions of the AL youth allow him or her the option of exploring new life pathways, an opportunity not usually afforded the LCP youth. In short, Moffitt's theory hypothesizes that most young persons who become adolescence-limited delinquents are able to desist from crime when they age into maturity, turning gradually to a more conventional lifestyle (Moffitt & Caspi, 2001).

However, some researchers have begun to question the two-pronged taxonomy discussed above. As noted above, positive interventions have occurred with LCP offenders. On the other hand, some recent research has indicated that we cannot assume that late-onset offenders will always age out of criminal activity. Some persist well into adulthood and, as noted above, it is not unusual for them to demonstrate mental health problems significantly greater than a control group of adults who did not offend during adolescence (Cornell & Heilbrun, 2016). This leads us to consider additional pathways beyond the bifurcated theory first proposed by Moffitt.

Additional Pathways Interestingly, in one of their follow-up studies, Moffitt et al. (2002) discovered that a surprising number of ALs, at age 26, were still in trouble. "Although AL men fared better overall than LCP men, they fared poorly relative to the 'unclassified' men, who represented males with no remarkable delinquency history" (Moffitt et al., 2002, p. 199). The researchers found that AL men accounted for twice their share of the property and drug convictions during adulthood, compared with men without a delinquency history.

It seemed as though some AL men relied on crime to supplement their incomes. The researchers further state that "the very name 'adolescence-limited' reveals that this much offending by AL men at age 26 was not anticipated by our theory" (p. 200). The researchers, in an effort to explain the discrepancy, speculated that perhaps adulthood in contemporary society may begin after 25 years of age. Therefore, this new developmental stage prolongs the crime-promoting conditions of adolescence. Moffitt et al. (2002, p. 200) observe that "This stage is characterized by roleless floundering, in which young people neither perceive themselves to be adults, nor choose to occupy any adult roles historically favored by people in their twenties (e.g., parenthood, marriage)." This would suggest that they too will cease offending just as did their AL counterparts who did not continue.

Developmental psychologists have recently proposed a life stage that is very similar to Moffitt's above description. Called "emerging adulthood" (Arnett, 2000, 2014), the stage characterizes individuals between the ages of 18 and 25 (or 18 and 28 in some conceptions) who have not yet reached adult status in society. In some cases, they are actively seeking adulthood and struggling to achieve it, but in other cases they are carefree and enjoying their time of exploration. Thus, emerging adulthood can be a stressful period or a period of freedom from the institutions that restricted them in the past, such as family and educational systems. The concept of emerging adulthood was not intended as an explanation for antisocial behavior, but much of the research conducted on the topic has relevance to criminality. (See Box 6–2 for further discussion.)

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 6–2 EMERGING ADULTHOOD AND GENERATION Z

Adolescence—the developmental stage that is primarily addressed in this chapter—typically spans the ages 10–18. Once one reaches 18, adulthood sets in—people can vote, join the military, buy guns legally in some but not all states, make many decisions independent of their parents, and enter into legal contracts. Although this 18-year-old line of demarcation can be flexible (e.g., adolescents can make medical decisions without parental consent in some situations, and some adolescents become "emancipated minors"), the line that separates adolescence from adulthood is well accepted in Western society.

As noted in the text, some researchers now argue that for many individuals there is a distinct developmental stage between adolescence and adulthood, called emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000, 2014). For some it is a time for carefree exploration and self-discovery; for others a struggle to achieve adult status in society. At times it can be both.

The concept of emerging adulthood as a developmental stage may hold considerable relevance for explaining antisocial and criminal behavior in individuals who have lived through adolescence but are not full participants in the adult world. Researchers have begun to explore this stage. Following are some of their findings:

- Mental health and substance use problems are often found during this stage (Adams, Knopf, & Park, 2014).
- Decreasing support from institutions (family, educational system) during these years often intensifies such mental disorders as schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, major depressions, and borderline personality disorder (Adams et al., 2014).
- Self-control often increases during this developmental period (Zimmermann & Ivanski, 2014).
- Intimate partner violence (IPV) is negatively associated with the gainful employment of both parties—that is, if both partners are employed, IPV is less likely (Alvira-Hammond, Longmore, Manning, & Giordano, 2014).
- Divorce of parents has a negative effect on emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2014).

Researchers also suggest that ethnic and cultural differences in emerging adulthood should be explored. For

example, the stage may be shorter or may not exist at all when individuals are expected to take on responsibility at early age, or may be extended in more protective cultures where the exploration of one's identity is delayed.

Similarly, in pop culture, attention is being given to "Generation Z," those who were born around the turn of the 21st century and in 2018 were between the ages of 15 and 21. A recent American Psychological Association online survey (APA, 2018; Bethune, 2019) indicates that this group of young people has exhibited significantly more stress and is seeking more mental health assistance than previous generations identified in popular culture (e.g., Baby Boomers, Milennials, Generation X, Older Adults). Generation Z reports stress as a result of worrying about mass shootings, deportation of immigrants, sexual assault and sexual harassment, and other issues that have gained national attention. Ninety percent reported they had experienced at least one physical or emotional symptom because of stress, such as feeling depressed or sad or lacking motivation.

Although the survey found stress across all age groups, and the sources were similar (housing, money, work), Generation Z exhibited higher stress relating to national problems currently in the news. They also were more willing than other generations to seek mental health assistance.

Questions for Discussion

1. Is the concept of emerging adulthood a valuable one for understanding the years immediately following adolescence?
2. Is the concept helpful for understanding antisocial or criminal behavior committed by young adults?
3. Which if any of the research findings summarized above is surprising? Which if any do you think would apply to Generation Z?
4. Obtain more information about "Stress in America," the APA survey discussed above. What findings from the survey, if any, are relevant to the study of criminal and antisocial behavior?

Moffitt et al.'s (2002) finding that some AL offenders continued offending into adulthood has prompted some researchers to hypothesize that there may be still another classification needed to account for the persistent offending found in adults. That is, some persistent offenders begin their antisocial ways during their adolescent years rather than their childhood years. This pattern appears to be especially the case for female offenders (Fontaine et al., 2009). Emerging research now refers to early-onset and adolescent-onset persistent offending. However, it is also important to consider AL offenders who offend into adulthood but stop earlier than the LCP. Thus, we would have four categories of frequent offending: (1) the AL offender, (2) the AL who continues into early adulthood but then stops, (3) the early-onset LCP, and (4) the late-onset LCP. Table 6.5 summarizes the major differences between LCP and AL offenders.

Other researchers using a developmental perspective have identified more than the early- and late-onset trajectories discussed above. For example, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1998) and Chung, Hill, Hawkins, Gilchrist, and Nagin (2002) were able to identify five developmental pathways. Côté et al. (2001), Nagin and Land (1993), and Shaw,

TABLE 6.5 Comparisons between LCPs and ALs

	Life-Course-Persistent (LCP)	Adolescence Limited (AL)
Crime or antisocial behavior begins ...	Early (perhaps as early as age 3)	Later (usually during the early adolescent years)
Criminal behavior ...	Continues throughout the offender's life	Usually stops after reaching early adulthood
Types of criminal behaviors ...	Assortment	Assortment
Developmental backgrounds ...	Often show neurological problems, ADHD, conduct problems	Usually normal and without neurological problems
Academic skills ...	Usually below average	Usually average to above average
Interpersonal and social skills ...	Usually below average	Usually average to above average

Gilliom, Ingoldsby, and Nagin (2003) have all found four trajectories that lead to antisocial, delinquent, or criminal behavior. Wiesner and Windle (2004) suggest there may be as many as six different developmental pathways to delinquency and crime. Regardless of the number of paths, a distinguishing feature of all developmental models is that the age of onset of the serious antisocial behavior is crucial, as is the severity and persistence of the offending as the child grows into adolescence or young adulthood. As noted above, however, it is important to recognize that even early-onset conduct problems do not destine a child to lifelong antisocial behavior. Furthermore, effective treatment strategies are increasingly available for children and adolescents who may be at significant risk of becoming chronic offenders throughout adulthood. Still to be established are the risk and protective factors that may distinguish the pathways and whether these differ according to gender.

Gender Differences in Developmental Theories

As mentioned above, Moffitt's theory was formed primarily on the developmental trajectories of males, though Moffitt and Caspi (2001) later reported evidence that the developmental typology fits both genders. Once again, it is important to remind readers that gender exists on a continuum, so caution in adopting a strict gender binary in both theory and research is advised. However, research results almost invariably are reported in that way.

The LCP pattern of behavior is far more likely to be followed by males than females (approximately 10 males to 1 female), whereas the gender difference is negligible for the AL pattern (approximately 1.5 males to 1 female). These findings are consistent with other studies (Kratzer & Hodgins, 1999; Mazerolle, Brame, Paternoster, Piquero, & Dean, 2000). In other words, the vast majority of female delinquents *appear* to fit the AL pattern. In a study of 820 girls, Côté, Zoccolillo, Tremblay, Nagin, and Vitaro (2001) found that only 1.4% of the girls followed the LCP profile. Other researchers have found approximately the same percentage of early-onset, persistent offenders among females (Fontaine et al., 2009).

According to Moffitt (2003), an ongoing association with delinquent peers appears to be an important factor in the onset of delinquency among adolescent girls. An intimate relationship with a male delinquent is also closely connected to delinquency in adolescent girls (Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter, & Silva, 2001).

Although many studies have indicated that only a small percentage of girls become early-onset persistent offenders, a few studies suggest that girls may be more vulnerable to early onset of serious antisocial behavior than previously thought. Brennan, Hall, Bor, Najman, and Williams (2003) found that girls in their sample displayed the same pattern as boys. In the Brennan et al. study, 9% of the boys and 7.4% of the girls in the high-risk sample were classified as displaying *early-onset* persistent antisocial behavior. However, Silverthorn and Frick (1999) maintain that girls tend to engage in serious antisocial behavior for the first time at later ages—and generally in adolescence—than boys. According to Silverthorn and Frick, antisocial behavior in girls is delayed because of such factors as parental and school-based socialization practices that encourage them to restrict their outward aggressive tendencies during middle childhood. Nevertheless, McCabe, Rodgers, Yeh, and Hough (2004) offer some evidence that a high percentage of antisocial girls began their antisocial behavior before the age of 10. Similar results were reported by Leve and Chamberlain (2004), who found that 23% of serious antisocial girls were arrested before age 11, and 71% before age 14. These results suggest that perhaps a larger portion of girls can be considered early-onset delinquents than previously believed, and that they may well follow the same developmental trajectory as early-onset boys. These researchers identified parental transitions (separation, divorce, death, incarceration) and biological parental criminality as the strongest predictors of early-onset offending in girls.

Studies further suggest that girls and women who follow an early and persistent trajectory of antisocial behavior exhibit these behaviors throughout the life span and tend to manifest a variety of maladjustment problems in adulthood (Fontaine, 2008; Fontaine et al., 2009; Odgers et al., 2008). Interestingly, there is some evidence to indicate that even girls who begin offending during adolescence may have a life of difficulty. Odgers and her colleagues (2008) report that—although adolescent-onset female offenders do not experience the same degree of problems as the LCP female offenders—they still were at risk of poor outcomes, especially financial, physical health, and mental health difficulties. In sum, persistent antisocial behavior, whether it begins in childhood or adolescence, is often a precursor of other problems well into adulthood.

Gorman-Smith and Loeber (2005) report that, based on extensive data from the National Youth Survey, girls tend to follow the same developmental pathways toward antisocial behavior and delinquency as boys. Although fewer girls than boys engage in such behavior, those that do show similar pathways to boys. Girls who displayed serious antisocial and delinquent involvement had an early-onset pattern just as boys did. However, Gorman-Smith and Loeber did learn that the risk factors for girls may be somewhat different from those for boys. For example, because girls are more invested in interpersonal relationships than boys, they are more likely to get involved in or be affected by parental conflict and transitions, a finding similar to that reported in the Leve and Chamberlain (2004) study. Peer influences may also be different for boys and girls. Girls may be more likely to be pulled into delinquency through involvement in intimate relationships with delinquent males rather than through involvement with delinquent gangs. Therefore, while the developmental pathways may be similar, the family and peer risk factors may be different for boys and girls. Because research so often identifies unique risk factors, it has been argued that the pathways themselves are unique and that girls' and women's pathways to crime should be studied and considered separately from those of boys and men (Salisbury & Van Voorhis, 2009). In fact, Fontaine and colleagues (2009) write, "... the review of the literature suggests that the development of antisocial behavior in females may be more heterogeneous and complex than some theoretical models have suggested" (p. 376).

Steinberg's Dual Systems Theory

Over the past two decades, many developmental psychologists have been immersed in research on the adolescent brain (e.g., Albert, Chein, & Steinberg, 2013; Casey, Getz, & Galvan, 2008; Luna & Wright, 2016; Steinberg, 2007). A crucial discovery, on the basis of sophisticated technological advances such as functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), is that the brain develops throughout one's life, but no more rapidly than during adolescence (Cleary, 2017; Steinberg, 2017). As mentioned in Chapter 3, the human brain has a high degree of neuroplasticity, and again no more so than among adolescents (Steinberg, 2014). Furthermore, the brain does not reach full maturity until approximately age 25. This research is highly relevant to antisocial behavior in the teenage years and has contributed to policy changes in many states (e.g., raising the age at which juveniles are automatically treated as adults) and to U.S. Supreme Court decisions barring the death penalty for juveniles as well as mandatory life without parole sentences.

Researchers also believe the brain of the typical adolescent matures along two different paths, a cognitive and a socioemotional one. This theory has come to be known as the **dual systems theory** of risk-taking proposed by psychologist Laurence Steinberg (Steinberg, 2004, 2007; Steinberg, Albert et al., 2008). The cognitive control system is found mainly in the prefrontal and parietal regions of the brain (Steinberg, 2010a), while the socioemotional system is located in the limbic system, including the amygdala and prefrontal areas (see Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3). The socioemotional system is a processing center for

Dual systems theory
Theory of adolescent brain development that focuses on differences between cognitive and emotional maturity in most adolescents.

reward seeking, social information, and emotional reactions that is more sensitive and easily aroused during puberty (Steinberg, 2007). The cognitive control system is highly similar to executive functions.

Citing considerable evidence from neuroscience, Steinberg and his associates have demonstrated that adolescents as a group reach a peak of logical reasoning (the cognitive brain) at approximately age 16, a time when their psychosocial maturity (the socioemotional) is far less developed. Psychosocial maturity is reflected in such capacities as impulse control, resistance to peer influence, and a future orientation. In most individuals, the two paths do not merge until approximately age 25. Put another way, as noted above the brain is not totally developed until that point.

According to this theory, adolescence is a time of taking risks, being susceptible to the influence of peers, and feeling invulnerable. Adolescent risk-taking involves substance abuse, binge drinking, smoking, reckless driving (often while intoxicated), attempted suicide, and risky, impulsive sexual behavior. As noted by Sunstein (2008), "adolescent risk-taking leads to seriously impaired lives and even premature deaths" (p. 145). Adolescents are especially vulnerable to considerable risk when they are in a group of their friends or peers, and this vulnerability appears to be the case regardless of gender. In fact, most crimes committed by adolescents in groups are seldom premeditated (Steinberg, Cauffman, Woolard, Graham, & Banich, 2009). By age 16, their reasoning ability is similar to that of adults, but their decision making is influenced by their immaturity in the socioemotional realm. In other words, there is a temporal gap between the maturation of the two systems (Burt, Sweeten, & Simons, 2014). Steinberg maintains that the socioemotional network of the brain is sensitive to social and emotional stimuli and is "remodeled in early adolescence by the hormonal changes of puberty" (2007, p. 56). The cognitive network "matures gradually over the course of adolescence and young adulthood largely independent of puberty" (p. 56).

The vulnerability to risk taking that is encouraged by the socioemotional system is believed to be the result of high levels of sensation or reward seeking and low impulse control, a condition most prevalent during mid-adolescence (Steinberg, 2010a). As teenagers get older, risk-taking behavior slowly decreases but continues to some extent until around age 25. For some, risk-taking behavior continues well into adulthood.

In considering the importance of the dual developmental model, it is important to emphasize that individual differences among adolescents also exist, although the average adolescent does demonstrate many of the behavioral features described above. Recall also the risk and protective factors that were discussed in Chapter 2. The reward seeking and low impulse control that are associated with psychosocial immaturity can be heightened by risk factors (e.g., antisocial peers) or held in check by protective factors (e.g., supportive adults). As Steinberg (2014) notes, if adolescents are exposed to positive and supportive environments, they will flourish. If they experience negative and toxic environments, "they will suffer in powerful and enduring ways" (Steinberg, 2014, p. 9).

Coercion Developmental Theory

Similar to Moffitt's theory about the LCP offender, a theory by Patterson (1982, 1986; Patterson, Forgatch, & DeGarmo, 2010) also proposes that early starters are at greater risk of more serious criminal offending. However, the major difference is that Patterson places a greater emphasis on the role of parenting rather than focusing on the specific characteristics of the child. The **coercion developmental theory** contends that poor parental monitoring of child activities, disruptive family transitions (e.g., divorce), and inconsistent parental discipline are major psychosocial contributors to early-onset delinquency (Brennan et al., 2003; Patterson, 1982). The theory argues that the key predictor of early-onset offending is the family environment in which the child learns to use coercive behaviors, such as temper

tantrums and whining, to escape parental discipline and authority. In line with his theory, Patterson and his colleagues conduct ongoing research and family treatment programs to reduce the amount of coercion exercised by parents (Patterson et al., 2010).

Coercion theory acknowledges that some children are more likely than other children to elicit inept parenting strategies. For example, a child with an irritable temperament who is constantly whining is more likely to provoke coercive parenting than a pleasant, constantly smiling child. Nevertheless, negative behavior from the child is more likely to emerge after some emotional or physical maltreatment by the parent (Granic & Patterson, 2011). In the coercive cycle, the parent and child each behave in a way that is annoying to the other in an attempt to control the other's behavior. As the child's behaviors increase in intensity and frequency, the parent eventually acquiesces, unwittingly reinforcing the behavior. As the child becomes increasingly irritating, the parent further escalates power-assertion techniques and, presumably, the level of hostility displayed toward the child. Recent research on coercion developmental theory has linked this behavioral cycle to anxiety in both parent and child (Granic & Lougheed, 2016). Janic and Lougheed suggest that high anxiety resulting from coercive interactions may lead to aggressive antisocial behavior.

Coercion becomes the child's primary interpersonal strategy, and this generalizes to environments outside the home. According to coercion theory, antisocial behavior is seen as progressing from faulty parent–toddler interactions to similar interactions with teachers, peers, and others in the child's environment. The coercive child—similar to the aggressive child who is characterized as an LCP in Moffitt's theory—is often rejected by noncoercive peers, and as a result he or she associates with peers who are similarly coercive, which contributes to the development of antisocial behavior, including aggression. The Patterson model, thus, sees a *confluence* between parental and peer influences on delinquency. In further developing the theory, Granic and Patterson (2006) emphasized the dynamic nature of the interactions among the child, parents, siblings, and peers. Rather than proceeding on a linear path, feedback continues to occur, something Granic and Patterson refer to as the dynamic systems approach.

The coercion developmental model is largely based on social learning theory. According to the theory, "Developmental trajectories for antisocial behavior are initiated, maintained, and diversified as a result of cumulative daily social experiences with parents, siblings, and peers that are highly aversive, inconsistent, and unsupportive" (Snyder, Reid, et al., 2003, p. 31).

Developmental Trajectories The theory identifies two developmental trajectories or pathways toward antisocial behavior, each characterized by an orderly sequence of stages (Patterson & Yoerger, 2002). "One trajectory leads to early arrest (prior to age 14) and adult crime and the other to late-onset arrests and desistance from adult crime" (Patterson & Yoerger, 2002, p. 147). However, the theory takes the position that both the early- and late-start trajectories represent variations of the same basic processes. That is, social-environmental influences, such as divorce, economic stress, and parental depression, work in combination with inept parenting and deviant peer socialization to produce two different levels of delinquent and antisocial behavior. There are three variables that separate early- from late-onset trajectories: (1) the early-onset process begins during the preschool years, whereas the late onset begins in mid-adolescence; (2) the inept parenting is more severe for the early onset compared with the late onset; and (3) the levels of social incompetence are more pronounced for the early as compared with the late-onset delinquency. (See Table 6.6.) The inept parenting is often characterized by parents who use ineffective discipline practices, such as physical punishment, and who themselves tend to display antisocial behavior and be plagued by frequent marital or relationship transitions and discord.

TABLE 6.6 Patterson's Two Developmental Stages of Antisocial Behavior

Early Onset	Late Onset
Begins preschool years	Begins late adolescence
Severe inept parenting	Inept parenting less severe
High level of social incompetence	Social incompetence, but lower level
High likelihood of arrest as adult	Offending desists in adulthood

Because of these differences, early-onset delinquents tend to demonstrate limited levels of social skills, more disruptive peer relations, and lower self-esteem. The late-onset delinquents exhibit similar deficiencies, but not to the degree of early onsets. Basically, late-onset delinquents are less antisocial than the early-onset delinquents but more antisocial than nondelinquents. Research finds that the likelihood of arrest as a young adult for early onsets is high, whereas that for late onsets is relatively low (Patterson & Yoerger, 2002). For example, the majority (71%) of late-onset boys desisted before becoming involved in adult crime (Patterson & Yoerger, 2002), while 74% of early-onset offenders are arrested by the time they become young adults (age 21–29) (Stattin & Magnusson, 1991).

Gender Differences According to the coercive development perspective, gender differences in aggression are well in place by age 5 and persist throughout childhood and adolescence (Snyder, Reid, et al., 2003). As might be expected, these early differences are largely in favor of aggressiveness in boys. The coercive perspective further posits that gender differences in antisocial behavior are the result of the different environmental experiences and reinforcements encountered by boys and girls. Boys and girls evoke different responses from parents, and each gender responds differently to the same parenting conditions. Parents tend to be more coercive toward boys compared with girls, and this difference appears to be more pronounced for highly aggressive boys and girls (Snyder, Reid, et al., 2003). The coercive development model hypothesizes, therefore, that girls display less antisocial behavior because they are less frequently involved in coercive parent–child interactions.

Peer socialization factors begin to play a significant role as the child moves into preschool and kindergarten. Boys and girls demonstrate a strong preference for interaction with same-gender children beginning at age 3. Boys tend to ignore girls who try to enter their play groups, even though an individual boy will play with one or two girls. There are more challenges, noncompliance, and rough-and-tumble play among boys, whereas there tends to be more cooperation, verbal exchange, compliance, and mutual accommodation among girls. Unlike for boys, for girls there are fewer highly antisocial, same-gender peers to model or with whom they can associate and exchange deviant talk. Consequently, when girls do begin to display antisocial behavior, it most often occurs during the adolescent years and appears to be somewhat tied to pubescence. During adolescence, the preference for same-gender peers diminishes and a broad array of peer affiliates becomes available, including antisocial ones.

Callous-Unemotional Trait Theory

Callous-unemotional (CU) traits
Collection of traits in juveniles believed to be precursors of adult psychopathy. Also, a key characteristic of adult psychopaths.

Do some people, including children, possess personality traits that render them particularly susceptible to antisocial behavior? Some researchers seem to think so. Among the most carefully studied is a group of traits collectively referred to as **callous-unemotional (CU) traits**, identified by Paul Frick and his colleagues (Barry et al., 2000; Frick, Barry, &

Bodin, 2000; Frick, Ray, Thornton, & Kahn, 2014). These researchers conducted a series of studies to determine whether they could detect childhood precursors to adult psychopathy (discussed in more detail in Chapter 7). They were able to identify a group of children who were diagnosed with conduct disorders but who demonstrated particularly severe and chronic patterns of antisocial behavior beyond what is normally seen in other children with conduct disorders. They found that a subgroup of children and adolescents showed a lack of empathetic concern for others, limited capacity for guilt, and a poverty of emotional expression (Frick, Bodin, & Barry, 2000; Frick, O'Brien, Wootton, & McBurnett, 1994). These traits are highly characteristic of behavioral patterns typically found in adult psychopaths.

A considerable body of contemporary research continues to support the validity and reliability of the CU trait cluster (Vincent, Kimonis, & Clark, 2016). Contemporary research has found, for example, that children with CU traits are not afraid of being punished for their aggressive actions and view aggression as an effective means for dominating others (Pardini & Byrd, 2012). The CU children in the study tended to minimize the extent to which aggression caused victim suffering, and they openly acknowledged caring little about distress and suffering in others. The title of their research publication captures Pardini and Byrd's findings well: "I'll show you who's boss, even if you suffer and I get into trouble." Additional recent research has found that CU traits in childhood and adolescence are strongly predictive of psychopathy in adulthood (Kahn, Frick, Youngstrom, Findling, & Youngstrom, 2012). Furthermore, CU traits are predictive of severe aggressive patterns of behavior for both boys and girls, and for children as young as ages 3 and 4 (Kahn et al., 2012). Perhaps more disturbing, the level of severity of the aggressive behavior found in CU children and adolescents is considerably beyond that typically found for most juvenile offenders. Essentially, CU traits in childhood are predictive of lifelong serious, violent offending.

There is indication that CU traits may be present in some children diagnosed with conduct disorder. For example, in a mental health clinical simple of children and adolescents who were referred because of troubling problems, between 21% and 50% of those with diagnosed conduct disorder exhibited CU traits (Kahn et al., 2012). It should be emphasized that a diagnosis of conduct disorder is not a necessary condition for possessing CU traits, however, so the two do not go hand in hand. For example, some children and adolescents referred to the mental health clinic in Kahn et al.'s (2012) study exhibited a high level of CU traits but did not have the diagnosis of conduct disorder. Interestingly, cruelty to animals was one of the indicators designating CU traits in the Kahn et al. investigation.

Fortunately, a growing body of research suggests that significant and sustained reductions in CU traits in children and adolescents can be accomplished through sophisticated, multimodal cognitive-behavioral treatment approaches (Kolko & Pardini, 2010; Salekin, 2010; Vincent et al., 2016). This approach, combined with parental factors such as increased warmth and low levels of harsh discipline, appears to date to offer the most promising results over time (Kolko & Pardini, 2010; Pardini, Lochman, & Powell, 2007).

Despite the above findings, some scholars suggest that the emphasis on CU traits is not warranted, because they offer only weak incremental utility to predicting criminal behavior among juveniles at high risk of serious offending (Skeem, Scott, & Mulvey, 2014). Though these traits do occur in some children and adolescents and should be recognized, they are not overwhelmingly present and, when displayed, they may mask emotions that are felt as a result of abuse or other victimization. Children who have been abused and are distrustful of adults, for example, frequently present themselves as unfeeling, nonexpressive, and uncaring. We will return to the discussion of CU traits in Chapter 7, because they are highly similar to the core behavioral patterns of psychopathy. They will be particularly pertinent to material on juvenile psychopathy.

Prevention, Intervention, and Treatment of Juvenile Offending

Treatment and Rehabilitation Strategies

Each year, more than 2 million youth come into contact with the juvenile justice system (Kinscherff, 2012). It is now well acknowledged that approximately three-quarters of these youths have been exposed to traumatic incidents, such as abuse, family violence, or life-threatening accidents or disasters (Fierman & Ford, 2016). For most of these youth, there was more than one traumatic incident: they have been exposed to trauma repetitively, sometimes over a period of years. It is not surprising that by some accounts a substantial number of these youths (65–70%) have at least one diagnosable mental health need, and 20–25% have serious emotional problems (Kinscherff, 2012; Langton, 2012). One well-cited study (Shufelt & Cocozza, 2006) estimates that 55% of males and females involved in the juvenile justice system probably could receive at least two co-occurring mental health diagnoses. In addition, disruptive behavior disorders are diagnosed in approximately 45% of the boys and just over half (51%) of the girls who are involved with the juvenile justice system (Kinscherff, 2012). Substance abuse disorders are also common, occurring in at least half of the youth. Research in general has consistently linked substance abuse with serious juvenile offending (Mulvey, Schubert, & Chassin, 2010).

Substance abuse may or may not co-occur with mental health needs, however. Furthermore, it is important to stress that many youth who come into contact with the juvenile justice system do not merit a mental health diagnosis; our main concern in this text is with those who do. In addition, we cannot ignore youths who are *at risk* of mental health needs, based on the many risk factors discussed in previous chapters. For example, peer rejection, inadequate parenting, physical abuse, toxic environments, and school failure can lead to serious depression along with antisocial behavior. Finally, experience with the juvenile justice system itself poses risks to mental health. Juveniles can be traumatized by police interrogations, by strip searches and other procedures in detention facilities, and by sexual assault within institutional settings (Fierman & Ford, 2016).

The number of prevention, intervention, and treatment programs that have been tried with juvenile offenders and children at risk or already involved in the juvenile justice system is overwhelming. Unfortunately, few programs designed to prevent delinquency or intervene to reduce recidivism have been demonstrated to be effective, although most such programs have not been thoroughly and systematically evaluated (Evans-Chase & Zhou, 2014). Indeed, in an initial pool of 141 studies of intervention programs in the United States for juveniles, only 21 studies met the test of being of high enough quality to merit making conclusions. Quality was measured by such factors as having a control group and assuring that the intervention intended was actually delivered. The initial pool, it should be noted, included only studies with a control group and those reporting quantitative outcomes, with at least one recidivism measure (e.g., arrest, incarceration). As the Girls Study Group remarked, there are simply not enough resources available to conduct rigorous program evaluations (Zahn, Hawkins, et al., 2008; Zahn, Day, Mihalic, & Tichavsky, 2009). This comment would apply to programs for both boys and girls.

In recent years, efforts to develop and fund effective programs for juveniles have been reinvigorated, and positive changes are occurring. Some programs are emerging as highly successful in eliminating antisocial behavior and reducing delinquent behavior, even in children with serious behavior problems and in institutionalized delinquents. Skeem, Scott, and Mulvey (2014) have observed that public attitudes toward both juveniles and juvenile justice policy are changing in directions that bode well for the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders, shifting from the punitive orientation of the late 20th century. Nevertheless, in

light of the lack of rigor displayed in much evaluation research (Evans-Chase et al., 2014), we cannot with confidence confirm the effectiveness of many of the programs. On the other hand, as Evans-Chase et al. (2014) observe, it cannot be said that the programs are *not* effective, merely that they have not been demonstrated to be.

Characteristics of Successful Programs

Despite concerns about the dearth of high-quality evaluation research, most juvenile justice research coalesces around features that seem to be essential to a successful program (e.g., Lipsey, 2009, 2010; Zahn et al., 2009), particularly those directed at serious juvenile offenders. In some cases, though, programs do not necessarily have to target serious offenders; they may be of benefit to all children. For example, Zigler et al. (1992) concluded in their review that delinquency can be prevented by *early* childhood intervention programs that promote competence (social, interpersonal, and academic) in children across multiple systems in which they are embedded (family, school, peers, and community). These programs can be made available to children in various community settings, such as schools or child-care facilities. By contrast, crisis-oriented programs emphasizing counseling or social casework chiefly to deal with a presenting problem have been ineffective, largely because they focus on a single setting or competency and often are applied too late. Successful and promising prevention and treatment programs have the following characteristics.

They Begin Early Seriously antisocial children often can be identified when they are as young as four or five years old on the basis of their aggressive, disruptive, and noncompliant behaviors across home and preschool or school settings. As we learned earlier in the chapter, Moffitt (1993a; Moffitt et al., 1996) provides convincing evidence that the life-course-persistent delinquent manifests discernible indicators of antisocial behavior as early as age 3. Consequently, some researchers (e.g., Guerra, Huesmann, Tolan, Van Acker, & Eron, 1995) recommend that prevention preferably begin no later in life than the first grade and definitely before age 8. Because seriously antisocial children are likely to progress in a spiral of escalating and more severe antisocial and violent behaviors over time, early intervention is critical if it is to be effective (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2004). In addition, there appears to be a mysterious jump in antisocial behavior between the first and second grades for many children, and, therefore, prevention programs enacted later than the first grade will probably need to be more intensive. Guerra et al. (1995) have observed that aggressive and antisocial behavior begin to develop even earlier in children living in the most economically deprived urban neighborhoods, an observation that appears to hold for both boys and girls (Tolan & Thomas, 1995). In addition, as we learned earlier in the book, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the earlier the signs of antisocial behavior, the more serious or violent the antisocial or criminal behavior will be in later life.

The above is not meant to suggest that all is lost if intervention does not begin early. As we see below, and later in the chapter, treatment that begins in adolescence can be highly successful. Nevertheless, early antisocial indicators often forecast a life of crime. As noted by Rolf Loeber (1990, p. 6), "there is considerable continuity among disruptive and antisocial behavior over time, even though they may manifest themselves differently at different ages." Loeber further finds that as children and adolescents progress toward more serious delinquent behavior, they tend to move toward diversification, rather than moving from one specific deviant behavior to another. Thus, it is clear that without early intervention, many children who are at risk of delinquency are more likely to engage in increasing levels of serious, chronic offending as they grow older, while still exhibiting less serious problems. That is, the adolescent who participates in a gang beating or a drive-by shooting will still use drugs and steal electronic equipment.

They Follow Developmental Principles Prevention programs that are effective are soundly based on child developmental principles obtained from well-designed research (Dodge, 2001). As we noted earlier in the chapter, different developmental pathways can lead to serious violence and delinquency, and the age of onset of these behaviors can vary considerably. Furthermore, many researchers are drawing attention to the different developmental pathways taken by girls and boys; consequently, gender-specific programming should be taken into account (see Box 6–3). In designing programs to prevent

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 6–3 GENDER-RESPONSIVE PROGRAMMING

Do girls and boys need different kinds of programs to address their antisocial behavior? Many experts believe they do. As discussed in the chapter, contemporary researchers often focus on similarities and differences between girls and boys—differences and similarities in developmental pathways, in risk factors, in protective factors, and offending history, among many others. It follows that scholars have called for gender-responsive programs, defined as programs that respond specifically to the unique needs of girls or of boys (Bloom et al., 2002; Day, Zahn, & Tichavsky, 2014; Hubbard & Matthews, 2008). Recall that we referred to an anger management program specifically designed for girls earlier in the chapter (Box 6–1). Additionally, more attention must be given to programming for LGBT youth, who remain invisible in the vast majority of research.

Because girls have traditionally been left out of many evaluation studies, gender-responsive programming often focuses on the female population, asking whether programs that have been evaluated for boys are equally adequate and effective for girls. Some programs, however, are gender specific, but they are not necessarily gender responsive. That is, just because a program is meant only for girls, it does not mean that the program adequately meets the needs of girls. For a program to be gender responsive, it must address the areas in which girls and boys are most likely unique.

Topics most typically raised in gender-responsive programs are the need to focus on (a) physical and emotional safety, because girls have often been subjected to past abuse; (b) enhancement of self-esteem; (c) and building positive relationships with family and significant others. This is not to say that boys have not been abused, do not lack self-esteem, and should not be encouraged to build positive relationships. However, these needs may be more intense in girls. In addition, regardless of gender or gender identity, programs that focus on substance abuse and overall mental health issues are still needed.

Zahn, Day, Michalic, and Tichavsky (2009) reviewed evaluation research of both gender-specific and non-gender-specific treatment programs for juveniles. (The terms gender-specific and gender-responsive were used as synonyms, and it appears that most of the gender-specific programs were, indeed, gender responsive.) Interestingly, the well-performing programs that were non-gender-specific were on the whole equally effective at reducing recidivism for girls and boys. We review some of these programs (e.g., MST, MTFC) later in the chapter. However, programs that were directed only at girls performed well in that they had positive effects on many factors, including self-esteem, parent–child relationships, self-efficacy, and educational achievement. There was, however, lack of evidence for long-term effects on recidivism. Zahn et al. (2009) stressed that program evaluation of gender-responsive programming is in its infancy and has limitations, but nothing in the evaluations suggests that such programming is not needed.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why might it be important to develop prevention and treatment programs aimed specifically at girls?
2. Considering the fact that adolescents are often placed in group treatment situations (e.g., substance abuse, alternatives to violence, anger management), should the groups be comprised exclusively of one sex? If not, should they be equally (or nearly equally) dispersed?
3. Explain how a treatment program might be gender-specific but not gender-responsive. Is it worthwhile to make a distinction between these two terms? ■

violence and chronic antisocial behavior, it is critical to understand the factors that place youths on a developmental trajectory of serious delinquency. Further, it is equally important to understand how these factors interact with the social environment. As persons move through life, they enter and exit a series of developmental stages (Dahlberg & Potter, 2001). Interestingly, data from the Rochester Youth Study (Thornberry, Huizinga, & Loeber, 1995) indicate that protective factors must be constantly present at transition from early to late adolescence and not simply in place at a single point in childhood or adolescence (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2004). "Although the negative impact of early risk factors may be buffered by the provision of protective support services during the grade school years, the risk factors themselves may continue to influence developmental trajectories during adolescence" (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2004, p. 193). This point is especially relevant when the child or adolescent continues to live in a dangerous social, physical, and emotional environment.

In an extensive review, Tremblay, LeMarquand, and Vitaro (1999) examined 50 prevention programs and discovered that 20 of them had been evaluated under carefully designed test conditions. Those programs that were most effective were based on sound child developmental research (Dodge, 2001). Linking the appropriate prevention program with the developmental stage of the youth is paramount for significant, long-term success in delinquency prevention.

They Focus on Multiple Settings and Systems Successful intervention programs should not only begin as early as possible but also must be skillfully directed at many causes and negative influences. In other words, successful programs must be directed at as many risk factors as possible. Targeting multiple potential risk factors and encouraging multiple protective factors rather than one or two in isolation greatly increase the likelihood of positive adjustment and the significant reduction of antisocial and violent behavior (Tedeschi & Kilmer, 2005). Programs that have shown long-term success have utilized multipronged approaches concentrating on treating children through their broad social environment, including improving relationships with family and peers and helping them to develop better academic skills for school success (Biglan et al., 2012). One model program, Fast Track, seeks to address the needs of highly aggressive children who display conduct problems from the moment of school entry (1992, 1999; hereafter CPPRG). The program focuses not only on the child's behavior in the classroom and with peers but also on parenting skills and teacher classroom management. Ongoing research on Fast Track suggests it is effective in reducing aggression (CPPRG, 2002). Furthermore, children in the program had a lower likelihood of arrest in late adolescence than children in a control group who had similar levels of initial risk (CPPRG, 2010). However, a recent analysis suggests that Fast Track did not improve long-term school outcomes, such as academic success in the high school years (Bierman, Coie, et al., 2013).

A focus on multiple settings and systems is important even for those programs that do not begin early in a child's life, however. Therapeutic interventions that provide individual counseling as well as a wide variety of services to adolescents and their families (e.g., employment services, education, family counseling) have received positive reviews (Evans-Chase & Zhou, 2014). We discuss some of these programs later in the chapter.

In addition, effective intervention programs include prenatal and perinatal medical care and intensive health education for pregnant women and mothers with young children (Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1996). These services reduce the delinquency risk factors of head and neurological injuries, exposure to toxins, maternal substance abuse, nutritional deficiencies, and perinatal difficulties. For example, research (Dietrich, Ris, Succop, Berger, & Bornschein, 2001; Needleman, McFarland, Ness, Fienberg, & Tobin, 2002) has discovered a strong relationship between

high levels of lead in the bones of children and violence and delinquency in adolescence. Recall that in Chapter 2 we emphasized the significance of environmental contamination for healthy brain development.

There is little doubt that living conditions in many neighborhoods, particularly but not exclusively urban areas, are extremely harsh and that—for many children—the daily onslaught of violence, substance abuse, child abuse, and hopelessness is highly disruptive to normal development, even if they experience these conditions only indirectly, such as by hearing that a person has been shot on the street the night before. For the child who is directly exposed to an adverse family life and inadequate living arrangements with little opportunity to develop even the rudiments of social, interpersonal, and academic skills, the damage may be almost irreparable. Clearly, the longer children are exposed to adverse environments, the more difficult it will be to modify their life courses away from crime and delinquency. Although our attention is often focused on highly populated urban areas, a child living in a rural, isolated area also may be negatively affected. These children may not witness street crime or be subjected to gang influences, but they may witness violence or serious criminal activity in the home, the extended family, or within their circle of peers.

They Acknowledge and Respect Cultural Backgrounds Although some urban neighborhoods contain numerous risk factors, these same neighborhoods also may be rich in values and traditions that, if acknowledged, would qualify as crucial protective factors. For example, various ethnic and racial groups place great value on the extended family, a particular style of music, or certain holiday traditions and celebrations. Even ways of communicating often vary among groups; some stress the importance of eye contact, for example, while others consider it disrespectful. The names given to one's children have special meaning in many families, often seeking to retain one's cultural identity. Teachers, clinicians, and service providers do a disservice when they make little effort to correctly pronounce or spell a child's distinctive name. Effective programs, then, are sensitive to a family's cultural background and heritage and they promote its positive aspects.

They Focus on the Family First Research has continually shown that the most successful interventions concentrate first on improving parenting and the family system in general, followed by improving peer relations and academic skills. It is clear that certain family relationships and parenting practices strongly promote serious and violent delinquency, while other practices and relationship discourage it (Patterson, Forgatch, & DeGarmo, 2010). Some family characteristics seem to be linked to delinquency regardless of ethnic or socioeconomic status (Gorman-Smith, Tolan, Huesmann, & Zelli, 1996). As we have learned, the family characteristics most closely connected to serious delinquency are poor parental monitoring and supervision of the child's activities, poor and inconsistent discipline, and a lack of family closeness or cohesion.

Recall that in Chapter 2 we discussed risk factors for antisocial behavior, including many associated with the family. In that chapter we emphasized, as well, that contemporary researchers are focusing on the treatment approaches that will foster nurturing, healthy family environments (Biglan et al., 2012). According to Dishion and Andrews (1995), studies have consistently revealed that negative, coercive exchanges between parents or caregivers and children are predictive of child antisocial behavior (e.g., Patterson, 1986), delinquent behavior (e.g., Bank & Patterson, 1992), and adolescent substance abuse (e.g., Dishion & Loeber, 1985). Research also indicates that emotional closeness and family cohesion, where the child receives emotional support, adequate communication, and love, are essential in the prevention of antisocial behavior and delinquency (Gorman-Smith et al., 1996; Schwalbe et al., 2012).

Peer systems are critically important, and research has shown that negative peer associations are significant predictors of both substance abuse and delinquency (O'Donnell, Hawkins, & Abbott, 1995). Thus far, though, intervention programs have been *unsuccessful* in utilizing peer groups as effective change agents in modifying these antisocial behaviors. Interventions that are peer focused can actually have unintended negative effects if they require increased contact with antisocial peers (Vitaro & Tremblay, 1994). Similarly, Dishion and Andrews (1995) found that placing high-risk teens into groups together encouraged escalations in tobacco use and problem behaviors in school. Dishion and Andrews further discovered that bringing high-risk peers together may have actually served to increase contact with deviant peers and, in the long run, exacerbated their antisocial involvement. They recommended that intervention programs that use antisocial peers as change agents be discouraged unless very carefully designed. Likewise, research indicates that group homes for delinquents may increase delinquent behavior (Chamberlain, 1996). The assumption is that antisocial peers tend to model and encourage other antisocial peers.

In summary, effective prevention and treatment programs begin early if possible, are based on child development principles, deal with multiple systems, recognize the cultural influences interacting on the child, and focus on the family and parental skills. When working directly with the developing antisocial child, the effective program focuses on improving positive social and prosocial skills, enhancing academic and learning skills, and promoting self-esteem and confidence.

Classification of Prevention and Treatment Programs

As mentioned earlier, many prevention, intervention, and treatment programs have been tried with children and adolescents, but few have been submitted to rigorous evaluation. Recall that of an initial data base of 141 studies, Evans-Chase and Zhou (2014) found only 21 of these studies passed scrutiny. Other meta-analyses using less strict criteria (e.g., Schwalbe et al., 2012) found programs with respectable evaluations nonetheless were not demonstrated to be effective at reducing antisocial behavior significantly. In some cases, though, other improvements (e.g., in behavior, self-esteem, or interpersonal relationships) were found. It is also clear that—for those juveniles with substance abuse problems—addressing and treating these problems significantly reduces the likelihood of continued offending (Mulvey, 2011).

Because of the large number of programs available for juveniles, we will only cover those that are well known or that have been notably successful or promising. Some treatment programs targeting specific juvenile offenders (e.g., juvenile sex offenders or juvenile murderers) will be covered in later chapters.

In order to provide some structure to this array of programs, we will organize the remainder of the chapter into three main sections: (1) primary prevention (also called universal prevention in the literature); (2) selective prevention (also called secondary prevention); and (3) treatment or intervention (also called tertiary prevention). These three categories are similar to the public health model of prevention originally proposed by Gordon (1983) and elaborated upon further by Guerra, Tolan, and Hammond (1994) and Mulvey, Arthur, and Reppucci (1993) among others. Although this classification provides structure for the purpose of discussing programs, there is often overlap between these convenient divisions because many programs target a mixture of populations. For example, Project Headstart—which was originally designed to provide a "catch-up" educational program for economically disadvantaged families and was considered a primary prevention program—has evolved into a broader program that helps a wider socioeconomic spectrum. Furthermore, because some of the children in Headstart may qualify as seriously "at-risk" children, for them, the program could be considered a selective program. Likewise, Multi-Systemic Therapy

(MST), because it focuses on the family unit, may include both serious delinquents and their siblings who could be considered at risk of future offending.

Primary prevention
An intervention program designed to prevent behavior or disorders before any sign of the behavioral pattern develops. Also called **universal prevention.**

Primary (or universal) prevention is designed to prevent delinquent behavior before any signs of the behavioral pattern emerge. Primary prevention programs are most often implemented early in the developmental sequence of children, preferably before the ages of 7 or 8. Typically, they are conducted in the school or preschool setting and focus on large groups of children, *regardless of possible differences in risk of delinquency*. In most instances, primary prevention programs target all children within a particular geographic area or setting (e.g., a school or school grade) without any further selection criteria (Offord, Chmura Kraemeer, Kazdin, Jensen, & Harrington, 1998). Many of these programs require the promulgation of far-reaching policies and procedures, which often involve legislative authorization and funding. Examples include widespread programs to enhance prenatal care, maternal and infant care and nutrition, and family management programs for preschool children (Committee on Preventive Psychiatry, 1999). Another excellent example of this approach is the development of resilience or protective factors in young children before school entry or soon after entry.

Secondary prevention
An intervention program designed for individuals who demonstrate early signs or indications of behavioral problems or antisocial behavior. Also called **selective prevention**.

Selective or **secondary prevention** consists of working with *specific* children and adolescents who are at *high risk* and who display some *early signs of antisocial behavior* but have not yet been classified or adjudicated delinquent by the court. The basic assumption in selective prevention is that early detection and early intervention will prevent the youngster from graduating into more serious, habitual offending. A good example of this type of prevention is the Perry Preschool Project started in 1962. The project was an organized educational program directed at the cognitive and social development of young children considered at *high risk* of delinquency and school failure (Berrueta-Clement, Schweinhart, Barnett, & Weikart, 1987). Another well-known example of this prevention strategy is juvenile diversion, which diverts first-time offenders from formal court processing but places them in short-term programs that presumably will discourage them from reoffending. An advantage of selective prevention programs is that they focus on those youth who should benefit most from the services. That is, the effort is more concentrated on those at risk rather than on an entire group of children, many of whom may show no risk factors at all. A disadvantage is that secondary prevention programs isolate and label children as potential problems, possibly creating a self-fulfilling prophecy: "I'm in this special program, therefore I'm different (and bad). So I might as well *be* bad."

Tertiary prevention
Intervention strategy designed to reduce or eliminate behavioral problems or antisocial behavior that is fully developed in individuals. Treatment or counseling of convicted offenders is an example of tertiary prevention.

The third approach (**tertiary prevention**) is generally referred to as **treatment** (or intervention) in the delinquency literature. We prefer to use the term *treatment*, because it can be argued that primary and selective prevention are also forms of intervention. Furthermore, although there is some overlap between selective prevention and treatment—in the sense that juveniles in selective prevention programs also often receive treatment—we reserve "treatment" to apply to those programs designed to reduce serious, habitual delinquent or antisocial behavior by adjudicated delinquents. Usually, those fully involved delinquents or highly antisocial children have been referred for psychological care in the community or have been placed in residential correctional facilities, training schools, or rehabilitation centers.

Primary Prevention

In the past, prevention and treatment programs tried to focus on reducing or eliminating *risk* factors that children and adolescents face during their formative years. In recent years, however, a discernible shift has taken place that emphasizes the development and enhancement of *protective* factors. While both approaches are important, in this chapter we focus on protective factors through the development of resilience. The development of resilience is

an extremely effective method for primary and selective prevention of delinquency in children and adolescents and also has enormous potential as an effective treatment strategy. Consequently, we begin the primary prevention section by describing how resilience can come into play across all three classifications of prevention and treatment.

With increasing awareness of the protective factors that promote resilience in children and adolescents, theorists, researchers, and policy makers are now trying to apply this knowledge toward the prevention of antisocial behavior, particularly in children considered at moderate to high risk. Prevention and treatment programs that are designed to foster and maintain resilience in youth are also known as strength-based programs. It should be emphasized that resilience is made up of ordinary rather than extraordinary processes and that the average child can be taught to become resilient (Smith, 2006). Prevention programs that promote cognitive and social competencies in the child or adolescent, improve childrearing practices in the family, and foster the development and maintenance of effective social support systems are most likely to be effective in the long run.

Strategies for developing resilience include the enhancement of a child's strengths and interests, as well as the reduction of risk or stressors and the facilitation of protective processes. Overall, the rallying cry for many programs focusing on enhancing resilience has become, "Every child has talents, strengths, and interests that offer the child potential for a bright future" (Damon, 2004, p. 13). These attitudes reflect a major transformation in conceptualizing the prevention of antisocial behavior and other childhood problems over the past few decades. This is partly because the many risk factors that were described in Chapters 2 and 3 are often very difficult to change, particularly in juvenile treatment programs (Hawkins et al., 2009).

Children who are at risk of engaging in serious antisocial behavior have been exposed to aversive events, which often cannot be reversed. These can include dire economic situations, abuse (physical or emotional), rejection by peers, or trauma such as the sudden loss of a parent or sibling, alone or in combination. This is why some researchers advocate that we must help youth learn how to manage their risk, such as by effectively dealing with the trauma of childhood physical and sexual abuse (Ruffolo, Sarri, & Goodkind, 2004). There is no single means of maintaining equilibrium following highly aversive events, but rather there are multiple pathways to resilience (Bonanno, 2004), as there are multiple pathways on the road to delinquency. For example, McKnight and Loper (2002) found that the most prominent resilience factors in adolescent girls at risk of delinquency were an academic motivation and a desire to go to college, absence of substance abuse, feeling loved and wanted, belief that teachers treat students fairly, parents trusting adolescent children, and religiosity. In a study using ADD Health data, however, Hawkins et al. (2009) found that religiosity was *not* a protective factor with one exception: girls reporting high levels of religiosity reported lower incidents of selling drugs. Connectedness to school also did not serve as a protective factor, although success in school was protective for some forms of delinquency, such as assault and status offenses. Interestingly, "girls who were successful in school were more likely to commit a property offense during late adolescence and young adulthood" (Hawkins et al., 2009, p. 5). Hawkins et al. also found that the strongest protective factor was the extent to which a girl felt she had caring adults in her life. The presence of caring adults reduced the likelihood that girls would engage in several forms of antisocial behavior.

Waaktaar, Christie, Borge, and Torgerson (2004) conducted a study to explore how resilience or protective factors could be used to help at-risk youths. The youth averaged 12.3 years of age, and slightly over one-third were girls. They represented a medley of cultural and ethnic backgrounds, including the West Indies, Far East, Central Asia, the Arab world, and northeast Africa. All the participants had experienced serious and/or multiple life stresses, and—at the time of the study—they were not receiving "satisfactory help" through "psychiatric" intervention.

The researchers targeted four resilience factors for therapeutic intervention: positive peer relations, self-efficacy, creativity, and coherence. Positive peer relations were defined as prosocial interactions, peer acceptance, and support. Self-efficacy is the belief that one can achieve desired goals through one's own actions (Bandura, 1989, 1997). Hundreds of studies have supported the observation that self-efficacy leads to a range of positive outcomes, and it is regarded as central to resilience (Lightsey, 2006). Creativity in this context refers to individual talent to create an artistic or other communicative product, such as a song, dance, film, play, poem, or short story. This approach requires that children be encouraged to express themselves and their experiences symbolically. Coherence refers to the ways in which people evaluate themselves and their circumstances both cognitively and emotionally. It involves "helping young people to find a coherent meaning to their past, present, and future life through positive thinking, accepting the reality of their bad experiences, avoiding self-blame for uncontrollable circumstances and finding adaptive paths forward" (Waaktaar et al., 2004, p. 173). The researchers discovered that child therapy that focuses on these four concepts has the potential to enhance resilience significantly.

Secondary or Selective Prevention

Secondary (or selective) prevention is directed at children and adolescents who are believed to be "at risk" of engaging in delinquency on the basis of any number of risk factors (e.g., low self-concept, highly dysfunctional family situation, conduct disorder). In a comprehensive review of the research literature, Tremblay and Craig (1995) concluded that selective prevention programs with at-risk youths tend to be successful mainly when the intervention aims at more than one risk factor (e.g., children's disruptive behavior, aggressive behavior, and parenting), lasts for relatively long periods of time (at least one year), and is implemented before adolescence. The time must be quality time, and the more intensive the intervention, the better. Like much of the research alluded to thus far, the programs identified by Tremblay and Craig were especially effective when implemented during the preschool or the early elementary school years. In the case of some selective prevention programs, such as juvenile diversion, such early intervention is not possible.

Nevertheless, diversion programs can be effective, depending on what approach is being taken. Diversion from standard prosecution for both adults and juveniles is now a standard part of the criminal justice process; with respect to juveniles, diversion is often accompanied by substance abuse treatment or mental health treatment. Recall the statistics cited earlier in the chapter regarding juveniles with mental health needs in the juvenile justice system. Concerns about these increasing numbers of juveniles prompted the National Center for Mental Health and Juvenile Justice (NCMHJJ) to fund initiatives to divert these juveniles from prosecution (Colwell, Villarreal, & Espinosa, 2012). Colwell et al. (2012) studied juveniles with mental health needs who were assigned to specialized supervision as a diversionary approach and a comparison group of juveniles without the specialized supervision. The youth with mental health needs were significantly less likely to be adjudicated delinquent and were also more likely to improve in problem-solving skills and interpersonal relationships. Although the study was a preliminary one, it suggests an efficient use of this particular diversionary program for juveniles with mental health needs.

Although there are exceptions, diversion programs as a group are not effective, however. They may serve primarily to "buy time" for the juvenile until he or she passes through adolescence. They are important in that they give juveniles a second chance (and in some cases a third or fourth) so that they will not have a criminal record. However, *as a group* diversion programs do not reduce recidivism. Furthermore, as Schwalbe et al. (2012, p. 28) note, "a cursory review of the literature suggests that emerging data on evidence-based practices has been slow to penetrate diversion program development." Schwalbe et al. conducted

a meta-analysis of 28 studies testing juvenile diversion programs and found diversion's effect on recidivism was nonsignificant. Five types of diversion programming were identified in this group of studies: case management, individual treatment, family treatment, youth court, and restorative justice. Of the five, only family intervention and restorative justice showed a positive effect on recidivism, with evidence-based family intervention having the strongest positive result. Schwalbe et al. emphasize that the heterogeneity of diversion programming makes it impossible to conclude that it is an effective approach for juvenile offenders. However, there is much more promise if the programs focus on the family and emphasize restorative justice. Restorative justice is an approach that recognizes the harm done to victims of crime, the accountability of the offender, and the needs of the community. In addition, a focus on evidence-based cognitive-behavior therapy for those programs that rely on individual treatment would be recommended.

Selective prevention programs increasingly are provided primarily to those children identified as showing *early* signs of developing serious and persistent antisocial behavior. It is clear that high-risk children can be identified with reasonable accuracy in early life, at least by the beginning of elementary school (Dodge & Pettit, 2003; Hill, Lochman, Coie, & Greenberg, 2004; Lochman & Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1995). As noted by Dodge and Pettit (2003), the effectiveness of early screening has major consequences for public policy. Schools can play a more active role than they have in the past in identifying young children who could benefit from a prevention program. In addition, selective prevention programs can be more focused, more efficient, and more intensive than universal prevention programs (Hill et al., 2004). It should also be mentioned that prevention with young children offers far more hope than prevention with adolescents who may already be down the path of persistent antisocial behavior. However, prevention methods must span from childhood to adolescence because new risk factors emerge at each new developmental stage (Dodge & Pettit, 2003). That is to say that the child must be followed through his or her developmental years.

Treatment Approaches

The effectiveness of most treatment approaches has not been established. In many cases, the treatments have not been empirically investigated or evaluated (Lipsey, Howell, Kelly, Chapman, & Carver, 2010; Zahn, Day, Mihalic, & Tichavsky, 2009). Nevertheless, some meta-analyses are available, and these have added considerably to this body of information (Hanson, Bourgon, Helmus, & Hodgson, 2009). For example, treatment programs that concentrate on self-regulation skills and changing thought processes hold considerable promise if the treatment programs also include the family, school, peers, and community. It has also become apparent—from a psychological perspective—that the most effective treatment strategies for both juveniles and adults are based on the RNR (risks, needs, responsivity) approach (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990; Bonta & Andrews, 2007). Cognitive-behavioral programs fit nicely into RNR principles. We discuss RNR in more detail in Chapter 13.

A wide range of treatment methods have been tried specifically with juvenile delinquents. In a common scenario, the juvenile court refers a persistent delinquent youth to an outpatient mental health clinic for counseling and psychotherapy. The traditional approach relied on a one-on-one strategy of providing psychotherapy to an individual, but today group treatment is more likely to occur. Delinquent youth who require a more restrictive setting are usually placed in a residential facility where again group therapy is more common than individual counseling. In recent years, in large part due to limited financial resources, increasingly more juveniles are being allowed to remain in community settings, receiving community treatment services (Skeem, Scott, & Mulvey, 2014).

It is important to realize, though, that research has continually demonstrated that individual-based psychotherapy has not been shown to be effective when used in isolation (Committee on Preventive Psychiatry, 1999; Letourneau et al., 2009; Lipsey et al., 2010; Tarolla et al., 2002). In other words, simply applying any form of psychotherapy to a child or adolescent already on a developmental path leading to serious delinquency without involving the social environment and targeting developmental cascade effects is, in most cases, a waste of time, money, and energy. As Letourneau and Miner (2005, p. 306) observed, "the developmental literature suggests that treatments that focus primarily on changing the individual characteristics (e.g., cognitions and behaviors) of youthful offenders, without also targeting relevant factors with caregivers (e.g., monitoring), peers (e.g., improving ties with prosocial peers), and school (e.g., increasing and improving caregiver-teacher communications) might be of limited usefulness" (p. 306).

Restrictive interventions for serious juvenile offenders, such as residential treatment and incarceration, have also *not* been effective and are extremely expensive (Henggeler, 1996; Mulvey, 2011). Moreover, any prevention or treatment program that focuses on only one risk factor is unlikely to lead to long-lasting change in delinquency, because multiple other forces and cumulative risk factors act to support antisocial development (Dodge & Pettit, 2003). According to Henggeler (1996, p. 139), "Restrictive out-of-home placements neither address the known determinants of serious antisocial behavior nor alter the natural ecology to which the youth will eventually return. Indeed, data show that incarceration may not even serve a community protection function."

There are some additional points to note before proceeding. The characteristics of treatment programs may be different for those juveniles who receive treatment while confined in an institution compared with those who receive treatment in a noninstitutional setting. Not only is the setting different, but the participants may also differ in terms of offending history and the seriousness of the offending. For example, those offenders who are in an institution are likely to be considered dangerous or a high risk to reoffend. There are likely to be gender and age differences also.

Furthermore, it is difficult to make conclusions about wide-range effectiveness of intervention programs under the auspices of juvenile corrections because there are so many different treatment programs with different policies, procedures, staff training, and outcome measures. For example, Krisberg and Howell (1998) remarked that in juvenile corrections, "there are training schools, detention centers, camps, ranches, wagon trains, environmental institutes, group homes, boot camps, residential programs for emotionally disturbed youths, chemical dependency programs, correctional sailing shills, and independent living arrangements" (p. 347). Juvenile corrections also involve a wide range with respect to size, locations, and security levels.

Not only must effective treatment approaches be multisystemic and address the multidimensional causes of juvenile offending, they must also be intensive and long lasting if they are going to have an impact on juvenile offenders who have already become deeply entrenched into their antisocial behavioral patterns. The behaviors of hard-core juvenile offenders (such as LCP juveniles) are often severe, pervasive, and well learned. While treatment for them is by no means hopeless, LCP delinquents require innovation and extreme patience for the many frustrating setbacks that will certainly occur over the long haul. With the above cautions in mind, we discuss below some of the treatment approaches that have been used with delinquents. We begin with treatments tried in residential settings, then proceed to those based in the community.

Residential treatment
Rehabilitative programs applied in an institutional or group home setting.

Traditional Residential Treatment

The traditional form of **residential treatment** is the juvenile "training school" or "rehabilitation center," where youths are incarcerated for extended periods of time, sometimes even until they reach adulthood. These

institutional settings are typically physically secure and may represent the "last stop" for youths with whom less-restrictive community settings have been tried. On the other hand, a juvenile found to have committed a one-time serious crime—such as a murder or a rape—and not transferred to adult court may also be placed in such a setting. As a group, youths in residential treatment have high rates of substance abuse, emotional disturbance, and low academic achievement.

The evaluation research on institutional treatment is not encouraging. Studies have even demonstrated that incarcerated juvenile offenders who receive residential treatment have higher rates of criminal involvement after release than their counterparts who received intensive family and community-based treatment (Tarolla et al., 2002).

Lipsey and Wilson (1998) examined the effectiveness of 200 treatment programs for serious juvenile offenders. The analysis included 83 studies of the effects of treatment with *institutionalized* offenders, 74 of which involved juveniles in the custody of juvenile justice institutions, and 9 that involved residential institutions administered by mental health or private agencies. The analysis also included 117 treatment programs for *noninstitutionalized* juveniles, most of whom were on probation or parole. Although the results were mixed and confusing, with no one particular treatment program showing superiority, the average program for both institutionalized and noninstitutionalized offenders produced a 12% reduction in subsequent reoffense rates. The most effective programs (e.g., teaching family home, interpersonal skills development, and other broad-based interventions) were able to produce a 40% reduction rate, a promising result, while some other programs (e.g., Wilderness/Challenge, vocational programs, milieu therapy) were largely ineffective by most measures. The most effective programs included key components, such as focusing on social skills training, parent management, and family support. (Recall the description of an anger management program for girls in Box 6–1 that holds promise in this regard.)

Community-Based Treatment—MST and FFT In recent years, two forms of intensive treatment for juveniles displaying antisocial behavior—including serious violent offending—have received attention in the research literature. The programs have some similarities but are also based on somewhat different philosophies (Baglivio, Jackowski, Greenwald, & Wolff, 2014). Both programs target juveniles who remain in their own homes or with family caregivers, and both are considered "model programs," having been studied extensively and reviewed positively as being evidence-based. We discuss each below.

Multisystemic therapy (MST)
A treatment approach for serious juvenile offenders that focuses on the family while being responsive to the many other contexts surrounding the family, such as the peer group, the neighborhood, and the school.

Multisystemic therapy (MST) was designed and is promoted by Scott Henggeler and his colleagues for serious delinquents, including those with substance abuse and violent offenses (Henggeler, 2016; Henggeler & Borduin, 1990; Hengeller, Letourneau, Chapman, Borduin, Schewe, & McCart, 2009; Schaeffer & Borduin, 2005). MST is responsive to the many social systems influencing the youth's delinquent behavior. "Consistent with the known causes of adolescent criminal behavior and substance abuse, MST addresses the multidetermined nature of antisocial behavior in adolescents at individual, family, peer, school, and community levels" (Henggeler, 2011, p. 376). The major focus of MST is the family, all of whose members should be actively involved in the program. In fact, studies have found that siblings of juveniles who were targeted for the program were significantly less likely to be involved in substance use and in criminality as adults than siblings of juveniles who received individual treatment from more traditional programs (Rowland, Chapman, & Henggeler, 2008; Wagner, Borduin, Sawyer, & Dopp, 2014).

MST is an intensive time-limited form of intervention where trained therapists have daily contact with the adolescent and his or her family for approximately 60 hours over four months, though the time span can vary. The therapist's caseload is small, averaging four to six families per counselor. MST therapists identify both strengths and problem areas within the individual, the family, and the other social systems, such as peers, school, social service

agencies, and parents' workplace. To a large extent, MST is based on the systems model developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979).

Together, counselors and family collaborate to develop pertinent treatment goals as well as appropriate plans to meet these goals (Henggeler, 1996). Barriers and impediments to the plan, such as uncooperative family members, teachers, and school administrators, are worked with directly and actively. MST is an action-based treatment program in that it tries to get the involved family members to take "action" (behaviorally do something) rather than just talk. Since its modest beginnings in the late 1970s, there are more than 450 MST programs operating in over 30 states and 11 nations, serving more than 15,000 adolescents with serious antisocial behavioral problems (Henggeler, 2011).

As noted above, MST focuses on the strengths of the family. The program tries to identify family strengths and provide the parent(s) with the resources needed for effective parenting and for developing a better functioning and cohesive family unit. For example, the therapists might work with the parents on improving communication and problem-solving skills, being less susceptible to manipulation by the child, enhancing their consistency in administering discipline and rewards, helping them find ways to reduce stress, and reducing parental drug and alcohol abuse.

MST therapists also work with the targeted youth to remediate deficits in interpersonal skills that hinder acceptance by prosocial peers. Youth and therapist may work on modifying thought processes and coping mechanisms that may interfere with the family, peer, school, and neighborhood microsystems. Other MST strategies include decreasing the teenager's antisocial peer contacts and increasing affiliation with prosocial peers and activities. Another approach is to develop tactics to monitor and promote the youth's school performance. For example, the therapist would work toward opening and maintaining effective communication lines among parents, teachers, and administrators.

Extensive research has been published on the effectiveness of MST, garnering very positive results (Baglivio et al., 2014; Evans-Chase & Zhou, 2014). Henggeler (2011) observed that approximately 21 studies with randomized clinical trials have been published. Most focused on serious juvenile offenders, such as violent offenders, sex offenders, and drug-abusing offenders, and the vast majority produced favorable results. "Numerous clinical trials have established the capacity of MST to reduce youth criminal behavior, substance abuse, psychiatric symptoms, and out-of-home placements while improving family relations and school performance" (Henggeler, 2011, p. 376).

Although most of the research on MST has been conducted by those associated with the program (e.g., Borduin, Schaeffer, & Heiblum, 2009; Borduin et al., 1995; Henggeler et al., 1993; Schaeffer & Borduin, 2005), studies by independent researchers not associated with MST also have produced favorable results (e.g., Curtis, Ronan, Heiblum, & Crellin, 2009; Glisson et al., 2010; Timmons-Mitchell, Bender, Kishna, & Mitchell, 2006).

Significant follow-up studies (Sawyer & Borduin, 2011; Schaeffer & Borduin, 2005) found that MST participants had significantly lower recidivism rates than did those participants who received individual therapy, even into adulthood. For example, Schaeffer and Borduin found MST offenders, compared with individually treated offenders, experienced 54% fewer arrests and 57% fewer days of confinement in adult correctional facilities. Sawyer and Borduin (2005) found that after 22 years, the positive impact of the therapy was still significant. More specifically, MST participants were significantly less likely to be arrested for felony crimes than participants of other therapies (34.8% vs. 54.8%, respectively). Later research continued to support the effectiveness of MST with adolescent sex offenders (Borduin, Schaeffer, & Heiblum, 2009; Letourneau et al., 2009).

Despite the above optimistic findings, a meta-analysis of the effectiveness of MST concluded that there were not significant differences between MST and other intensive treatment regimens (Littell, Campbell, Green, & Toews, 2009). Likewise, a study conducted in

the Netherlands also found no significant differences with respect to violent behavior, but MST was found more effective in reducing property crimes and addressing some externalizing (disruptive) disorders (Asscher, Dekovic, Manders, van der Laan, & Prins, 2013). **Externalizing disorders**, which we discussed briefly in Chapter 3, refer to behaviors such as defiance of authority figures, hostility, lying, temper tantrums, intentionally annoying others, and aggression. It is obvious that MST has limitations, but it continues to be regarded as one of the most successful approaches to treating juveniles in a community setting (Baglivio et al., 2014).

Externalizing disorders
In children, maladaptive behaviors directed at persons in the environment, such as temper tantrums and aggression.

Current research has identified two key factors as critical to the program's success for dealing with antisocial behavior: changes in caregiver discipline practices and a reduction in youth associations with deviant peers (Henggeler et al., 2009; Tighe, Pistrang, Casdagli, Baruch, & Butler, 2012). Deković, Asscher, Manders, Prins, and van der Laan (2012) found that one of the important aspects targeted by MST for improvement in parental discipline practices is parental sense of competence. The researchers were able to show that increases in parental competence enhance parents' faith in their own ability to parent adequately, especially in terms of warmth, affection, parental supervision, and appropriate discipline. "The increases in sense of competence may motivate parents to be more persistent in attaining their goals, following through their discipline efforts, and thus becoming more consistent in their behavior toward the adolescent" (Deković et al., 2012, p. 10). This chain of events reduced the adolescent's negative and antisocial behavior.

A group of researchers (Robinson, Winiarski, et al., 2015) have studied factors that might influence MST outcomes in a negative direction. Specifically, Robinson et al. (2015) wondered what might compromise the positive effects of the parental monitoring and discipline that is a key goal of MST. The researchers learned that parental monitoring decreased juvenile misbehavior only in neighborhoods that were not plagued by such negative factors as unsupervised youth, drug use, and other crimes such as theft. The socioeconomic status (SES) of the family itself—derived from the occupation and educational level of the caregivers—was not a significant factor. It is important to emphasize that neither neighborhood disadvantage nor SES influenced the parental monitoring; parenting practices improved with the therapy regardless of these factors. However, the effectiveness of monitoring was more limited in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Robinson et al. (2015) conclude, "Results of this study are consistent with literature suggesting that parental strategies may be less effective in some neighborhoods than in others" (p. 108). Interestingly, the authors observe that MST therapists themselves should take steps to increase their own comfort level in working with families in disadvantaged neighborhoods, citing research that therapeutic outcomes may be affected by this discomfort (Glebova et al., 2012).

Most recently, follow-up research on siblings of the delinquents has been conducted, again—as noted above—with favorable results. Wagner et al. (2014) focused on 129 siblings of serious and violent juvenile offenders 25 years after the family received MST. Compared with siblings of serious and juvenile offenders who had received individual therapy, the MST siblings were significantly less likely to be arrested. Siblings in the non-MST condition were three times as likely to be convicted of a felony. Likewise, Rowland, Chapman, and Henggeler (2008) found a reduction in substance use among the siblings of substance-abusing juvenile offenders.

Functional Family Therapy (FFT) is a model program with many similarities to MST, and it too has garnered very favorable reviews in the research literature examining both short term and follow-up recidivism (Alexander, Pugh, Parson, & Sexton, 2000; Gordon, Arbuthnot, Gustafson, & McGreen, 1988; Henggeler, 2016). "FFT has an established record of outcome studies that demonstrate its efficacy with a wide variety of adolescent-related problems, including youth violence, drug abuse, and other delinquency-related behavior" (Sexton & Turner, 2010, p. 339).

The evaluation research on FFT is less extensive than that of MST, however. The program focuses on providing intensive treatment services within the family setting. There is less of a widespread systems approach than found in MST in that FFT therapists do not perform regular advocacy functions with teachers, neighborhoods, or other systems in the target youth's environment. The family system is at the forefront, however. The focus is on developing the inner strengths and self-efficacy of all family members (Sexton & Alexander, 2000). Therapists also work with the family as a unit and try to identify family dynamics that may lead to problematic interactions among various members as well as strengths that would serve as protective factors for the juveniles. According to the latest figures, FFT programs exist in more than 300 communities in the United States, as well as a few in other nations (Sexton & Turner, 2010).

Both MST and FFT are programs deserving of consideration in the treatment of juvenile offenders, including youths who have displayed serious and violent behavior. Of the two, MST appears to be the more broad-based, reaching out beyond the youth's family environment to the youth's surrounding community, and it has the benefit of a greater cache of supportive research. Not surprisingly, it is also the more expensive to operate according to cost analyses conducted in Washington State (Barnoski, 2009; Lee et al., 2012). There, the cost per participant was placed at about $2,600 for FFT and about $6,400 for MST. Nevertheless, research also has demonstrated that MST treatment produces cost savings to taxpayers as well as crime victims over 25 years following initial treatment (Dopp, Borduin, Wagner, & Sawyer, 2014).

In a study comparing the two programs, Baglivio et al. (2014) found no significant differences in recidivism for youths referred to MST and FFT, and found some indication of slightly better results for FFT for certain groups, including girls, and both low-risk and high-risk youth. The results with regard to high-risk offenders is particularly intriguing, because MST is often promoted as the community program of choice for violent offenders. As emphasized by Baglivio and colleagues (2014):

> Finding no significant differences in the current study for the sample of all youth referred to MST or FFT, as well as no differences across race, leads to questions regarding the need for a more expensive service. If roughly twice as many youth may be served by the equally effective, cheaper alternative, one would have trouble justifying not pursuing that path in the absence of empirical evidence to the contrary. (p. 1050).

Nevertheless, the researchers were careful about noting the limitations of their research and suggested that additional research on the outcomes of each program, including which juveniles would best benefit from each, was warranted.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The crimes committed by juveniles get considerable media attention, particularly if they are unusual or when they are committed by groups. Gang activity in particular raises public concern, but many gang members have reached the age of adulthood and therefore do not qualify for delinquent status. The unlawful acts committed by youth are usually placed in five categories: unlawful acts against person, unlawful acts against property, drug offenses, offenses against the public order, and status offenses. Of the five, crimes against persons are the least predominant in arrest statistics. Moreover, recent data indicate that almost all juvenile crime has decreased in recent years, one exception being criminal homicide, which has seen a slight uptick in both arrests and cases processed in juvenile courts.

The chapter addresses social and psychological delinquents—persons who may not meet the criteria for legal delinquency in the sense of committing what are legally defined as crimes. Psychologists are equally concerned—and sometimes more concerned—about juveniles who might never have come to the attention of the legal system. Yet, they engage in the antisocial and self-destructive behavior that comes to the attention of social agencies, researchers, and treatment providers.

We began the chapter with a brief discussion of juvenile status offenses, those behaviors that would not be considered crimes if committed by adults. Researchers have long focused on studying these behaviors. Historically, there have been gender differences in enforcing them, but these differences are beginning to dissipate. Status offenses often signify deeper problems in a youth's life, and some but not all status offenders move on to commit more serious crimes. Of all the status offenses, running away is probably the most troubling. Both boys and girls run away, but girls are more likely to have run away because of victimization in the home and are also more likely to be victims of sexual trafficking and become involved in prostitution to survive. Research on adult female offenders finds these patterns in many of their backgrounds.

We discussed other gender differences in juvenile offending, noting that girls traditionally have been far less present than boys in juvenile offending statistics. In the 1990s, we began to see a closing of this gender gap, though girls still represent a lower proportion of the delinquency statistics for most offenses, with the exception of runaway. We reviewed some of the findings of the Girls Study Group (GSG), comprised of scholars and practitioners from different fields, which is conducting ongoing research to identify which girls become delinquent, how they got that way, and what factors are effective in preventing girls' delinquency. Thus far, studies reveal that, although girls and boys share many risk factors for delinquency, certain risk factors are more prevalent for one sex or the other. For example, girls seem to be particularly negatively affected by family disruption and deviant peers, while boys seem to be particularly negatively affected by deficits in self-control. Because of such gender differences, many scholars advocate for treatment programs that are gender responsive, focusing on the particular needs of the youths they serve.

The chapter is most concerned with serious delinquency and the developmental pathway that leads to that point. Serious delinquents typically begin their antisocial behavior patterns at an early age, and as they grow older, they rarely restrict their behavior to any one offense. As the Pathways study and the Pittsburgh Youth Survey demonstrate, however, we cannot assume that even serious offenders do not desist from criminal offending. The developmental theory of Terrie Moffitt is particularly instructive in understanding serious offending. Moffitt's conceptualization of the life-course-persistent (LCP) offender and the adolescence limited (AL) offender has spurred extensive research interest in these two developmental tracks. Later researchers, including Moffitt herself, have recognized that additional tracks are needed to account for offending behavior. Nevertheless, the LCP juvenile is of keen interest from a psychological perspective. LCP offenders have not acquired prosocial and interpersonal skills and are often plagued by psychological problems well into adulthood. Most juveniles, however, confine their offending to their early years and move on to prosocial lives.

Other developmental theories were covered. Patterson's coercion developmental theory attributes much serious delinquency to parenting practices, particularly poor monitoring. Although Patterson does not reject the notion that individual differences in the child affect his or her behavior, he sees the family environment as setting the stage for later antisocial behavior, which is facilitated by the coercive style learned from parents. Patterson and his colleagues continue to offer and evaluate treatment programs for families whose children are at risk of delinquency.

One of the most provocative psychological theories associated with delinquency in recent years is the dual-systems model of risk-taking behavior proposed by Laurence Steinberg. According to this theory, the cognitive capacity of adolescents reaches its peak sooner than their socioemotive maturity. This is a physiological phenomenon attributed to brain development in humans. The adolescent brain develops at a rapid pace, but the emotional system reaches its full development later than the cognitive system, and sometimes not until the age of 25. The socioemotional system renders adolescents susceptible to peer influence and to risk-taking behavior, even though they "know" they should not take certain actions. Theory and research of Steinberg and others have had an enormous influence on juvenile justice policies and on court decisions relevant to juveniles.

Although fear of crime, including juvenile crime, is ever present among the public, members of the public still are supportive of rehabilitation for juveniles. Fortunately, scholars and practitioners have developed effective approaches to treating even serious juvenile offenders. We highlighted characteristics that programs with good results have in common.

Prevention and intervention programs in juvenile justice were classified according to a tripartite model: primary or universal prevention, secondary or selective prevention, and treatment or intervention (also called tertiary prevention). Primary prevention programs are intended for all children in a given group, whether or not they are "at risk" of engaging in delinquency. Prenatal services, tactics to encourage resilience, and school nutrition programs are examples of such programs. Although research on such programs is positive, because of their universal nature it is difficult to conduct adequate follow-up studies to determine whether children do engage in delinquent behavior. Secondary programs are aimed at "at-risk" children: those with demographic or individual features suggesting that they are likely to engage in delinquency. Diversion is a common secondary prevention program, but studies indicate that only certain types of diversion programs are effective. Another highly watched program is Fast Track, operating out of many public schools.

Treatment, or tertiary prevention, involves numerous programs, few of which have been carefully evaluated. Historically, research on institutional treatment has been discouraging. The rehabilitation approaches tried have often been simplistic and narrowly focused; alternatively, they have not been submitted to empirical research, so we cannot know whether they were effective. Within the institutions, however, some programs may be more promising than others. Juvenile sex offender treatment, to be covered in Chapter 11, is a case in point. Another promising treatment program for juveniles with psychopathic characteristics will be covered in Chapter 7.

Two promising noninstitutional treatment approaches are Multisystemic Therapy (MST) and Functional Family Therapy (FFT). Each is a community-based, intensive therapy approach for serious offenders, though FFT focuses almost exclusively on the family setting and the psychological needs of the target juvenile and the juvenile's parents and siblings. A fundamental premise of both programs is that youths—even high-risk youth who have committed violent crimes—are better served in their own homes, away from the influences of institutional life. The programs also are used with substance abusers and serious but nonviolent offenders. Studies on both MST and FFT have produced favorable outcomes for a range of offenders, making them "model" programs for the community treatment of juveniles.

Although these community-based programs show good results, it would be naïve to believe that all serious juvenile offenders can be treated in the community. Unless we do away with the juvenile justice system and place all juveniles in the custody of "adult" corrections, there will always be a need to hold some in secure residential settings. The challenge, therefore, is to develop effective treatment programs for the small group of adolescents who cannot benefit from less-restrictive community alternatives.

KEY CONCEPTS

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Antisocial behavior, 170
Callous-unemotional (CU) traits, 188
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Girls Study Group (GSG), 176
Life-course-persistent (LCP) offenders, 180
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REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Summarize the differences between LCP and AL offenders; discuss why more than two tracks or pathways to offending might be needed.
2. Discuss significant findings from the Girls Study Group and from the Pathways to Desistance studies.
3. Describe Gerald Patterson's coercion developmental model.
4. What are status offenses? What has research found relating to gender differences in these offenses?
5. Identify the three categories of delinquency prevention programs and give an illustration of each.
6. What are the strengths of MST and FFT as approaches to serious delinquency?

7 Psychopathy

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Present a special type of offender (the criminal psychopath) who differs emotionally, cognitively, and behaviorally from other offenders.
- Review the various measures of psychopathy.
- Summarize the original four core factors and two new core factors of psychopathy.
- Introduce the Triarchic Psychopathy Model (TriPM) and the "dark triad."
- Review the evidence for juvenile psychopathy.
- Identify the ethical dilemmas that juvenile psychopathy presents.
- Examine the neuropsychological aspects of psychopathy.
- Describe representative research on treatment strategies used with adult psychopaths and juveniles with psychopathic features.

It is not unusual to read or hear stories about horrific crimes, accompanied by descriptions of the perpetrator as "a deranged psychopath" or "an evil psychopath," or to hear about the increasing numbers of psychopaths in our midst. Even prominent political figures and media celebrities have been referred to as psychopaths when their antisocial or criminal activities have been disclosed. Psychopaths also are frequently portrayed in the entertainment media and appear increasingly in interactive video games. However, the common perception of psychopathy is far different from the real construct, which has been studied in psychological research for more than 50 years.

Given its relation to crime and violence, psychopathy is arguably one of the most important psychological constructs in the criminal justice system (Porter et al., 2000, p. 227). More recently, Douglas, Nikolova, Kelley, and Edens (2015) write: "Psychopathy remains one of the most-well-studied constructs in the fields of law and psychology, forensic mental health, personality, and criminal justice" (p. 306). Psychologist Paul Frick (2009), a prominent researcher on psychopathy, outlines its broad significance when he writes: "the construct of psychopathy is important to the legal system (for example, defining offenders who are a high risk for recidivism), to the mental health system (for example, defining a group of antisocial people who have unique treatment requirements), and for research attempting to explain the cause of antisocial and aggressive behaviour (for example, defining

a group of antisocial people with unique causal processes)" (p. 803). In addition, scholars often bring attention to the negative consequences of labeling individuals as psychopaths, both legitimately and mistakenly (Berryessa & Wohlstetter, 2019).

Juvenile psychopathy continues to be a subject of considerable interest and debate. Some researchers question its validity and implications, while others believe it is crucial that we identify psychopathic characteristics in juveniles in order to intervene at an early age. Juveniles who possess psychopathy-like characteristics, such as callous-unemotional traits, are believed to be particularly susceptible to antisocial behavior throughout their lives.

In recent years, psychopathy is often viewed as existing on a continuum, with individuals who are thought to be psychopathic possessing different levels of its characteristics. Furthermore, more attention is being directed at the positive aspects of some of the characteristics and the fact that people with these attributes often can be quite successful in life. Given this, it is no surprise that psychopathy has become a central focus of research in psychology, particularly but not exclusively as it relates to criminal behavior.

The psychopath is not identical to the **sociopath**. The latter is a nonclinical label attached to someone who persistently and chronically breaks the law. By contrast, the person labeled a psychopath may or may not engage in criminal or antisocial behavior. Neither is the psychopath identical to the person with an antisocial personality disorder (APD), although some researchers and clinicians continue to confuse the two terms (Gacono, Nieberding, Owen, Rubel, & Bodholdt, 2001). Furthermore, definitions of psychopathy and APD are so close as to be virtually indistinguishable. Nevertheless, the fine distinctions are worth maintaining, and we will try to keep them distinct throughout the chapter. Because psychopathy is such an important topic in criminal psychology, we devote an entire chapter to describing the research and clinical characteristics of this interesting behavior.

Sociopath
An individual who continually commits crimes. Does not usually qualify as a psychopath. See also **psychopath**.

What Is a Psychopath?

The term "psychopath" is currently used to describe a person who demonstrates a discernible cluster of psychological, interpersonal, and neurophysiological features that distinguish that person from the general population. Psychologist Hare (1993), one of the world's leading experts on psychopathy, refers to psychopaths as "social predators who charm, manipulate, and ruthlessly plow their way through life, leaving a broad trail of broken hearts, shattered expectations, and empty wallets. Completely lacking in conscience and empathy, they selfishly take what they want and do as they please, violating social norms and expectations without the slightest sense of guilt or regret" (p. xi).

Hare (1970), in his early formulation of psychopathy, proposed a useful scheme to outline three categories of psychopaths: the primary, the secondary or neurotic, and the dyssocial. Only the **primary psychopath** is a "true" psychopath. The primary or "true" psychopath—the main subject of this chapter—has certain identifiable psychological, emotional, cognitive, and biological differences that distinguish the person from the general and criminal populations. We discuss these differences in some detail throughout the chapter. The other two categories meld a heterogeneous group of antisocial individuals who comprise a large segment of the criminal population. **Secondary psychopaths** commit antisocial or violent acts because of severe emotional problems or inner conflicts. They are sometimes called acting-out neurotics, neurotic delinquents, symptomatic psychopaths, or simply emotionally disturbed offenders. Some research indicates that the secondary psychopath demonstrates more emotional instability and impulsivity than the primary psychopath, and secondary psychopaths also appear to be more aggressive and violent (Kimonis, Skeem, Cauffman, & Dmitrieva, 2011). Kimonis et al. also discovered that the secondary psychopath, compared to the primary psychopath, is more rooted in parental abuse and rejection.

Primary psychopath
Robert Hare's classification of the "true" psychopath. That is, the individual who demonstrates those physiological and behavioral features that represent psychopathy.

Secondary psychopath
Individual with psychopathic characteristics, but who commits antisocial acts because of severe emotional problems or inner conflicts. Distinct from **primary psychopath.**

Dyssocial psychopath
Individual with psychopathic characteristics who is antisocial because of social learning and does not possess the features of the primary psychopath.

The third group, **dyssocial psychopaths**, display aggressive, antisocial behavior they have *learned* from their subculture, like their gangs, terrorist groups, or families. In both cases, the label "psychopath" is misleading, because the behaviors and backgrounds have little if any similarity to those of primary psychopaths. Yet, both secondary and dyssocial psychopaths are often confused with primary psychopaths because of their high recidivism rates.

Antisocial Personality Disorder

Antisocial Personality Disorder (APD)
A disorder characterized by a history of continuous behavior in which the rights of others are violated.

As noted above, primary psychopathy should be distinguished from **antisocial personality disorder (APD)**. This term is used by psychiatrists, psychologists, or other mental health professionals to describe "a pervasive pattern of disregard for, and violation of, the rights of others, occurring since age 15" (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, p. 659). This DSM-5 definition is followed by seven additional criteria, any three or more of which must be met, such as repetitive lying, impulsiveness, and disregard for the safety of others. The individual diagnosed with APD must be at least 18 years old, and there must be evidence that behavioral patterns corresponding to conduct disorder (CD) occurred prior to age 15. Recall that we discussed CD in some detail in Chapter 3. Although not all children diagnosed with CD eventually qualify for APD, persons with APD would have qualified for CD had they been diagnosed.

As we noted, the descriptions of the psychiatric term *antisocial personality disorder* follow very closely the descriptions of the psychological term *psychopathy*. Although the DSM-5 states that APD "has also been referred to as psychopathy, sociopathy, or dissocial personality disorder" (p. 659), the features of psychopathy are *not* the same as APD. For example, the definition of APD is narrower than the definition of psychopathy. This is because DSM-5—intended as a diagnostic reference manual for use by mental health professionals—focuses on behavioral indicators. On the other hand, the contemporary definition of psychopathy includes not only behavioral indicators but also emotional, neurological, and cognitive differences. In addition, APD and psychopathy do not mirror the same underlying psychopathology (Riser & Kosson, 2013). For example, the impairments in cognitive functioning are more pronounced and extensive in psychopaths than in individuals diagnosed with APD. Furthermore, whereas APD by definition always involves criminal behavior, not all psychopaths are criminal, and not all criminals are psychopaths. To illustrate the former, we will meet psychopaths in this chapter who do not commit crime. To illustrate the latter, though approximately 50–80% of male inmates qualify for criteria for APD (Correctional Services of Canada, 1990; Hare, 1998; Hare, Forth, & Strachan, 1992), only 11–25% of male inmates meet the criteria for psychopathy (Hare, 1996).

One more important point needs to be emphasized. As noted above, recent research clearly indicates that psychopathy is not a category but exists on a continuum (Douglas et al., 2015; Hare, Neumann, & Mokrus, 2018). That is, "psychopaths differ in degree, not in kind, from nonpsychopaths" (Douglas et al., 2015, p. 262). The DSM-5 sees the diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder as a separate, discrete category. One has or does not have APD. Nevertheless, with each new publication of the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental* Disorders—including the DSM-5—the characteristics used to describe the antisocial personality are increasingly similar to Hare's primary psychopath in behavioral terms. It is easy to understand why clinicians and students often confuse the terms.

This text adopts Hare's scheme, considering "primary psychopath" an empirically and clinically useful designation. It is distinguished from secondary or neurotic psychopaths in its behavioral, cognitive, emotional, and neurophysiological features. From this point on, when we refer to the psychopath, we mean the primary psychopath. This person is unique, not neurotic, psychotic, or emotionally disturbed as commonly believed and sometimes

portrayed by the entertainment media. Primary psychopaths are usually not volcanically explosive, violent, or extremely destructive. They are more apt to be outgoing, charming, and verbally proficient. They may be criminals—in fact, in general, they run in perpetual opposition to the law—but many are not. The term **criminal psychopath** will be used to identify those primary psychopaths who do engage in repetitive antisocial or criminal behavior.

Criminal psychopath
A primary psychopath who engages in repetitive antisocial or criminal behavior.

Examples of Primary Psychopaths

Ferdinand Waldo Demara Jr., the "Great Impostor," who forged documents and tried dozens of occupations without stopping to obtain a high school education, is a good example of a primary psychopath. A brief description of some of his exploits may help put the psychopath in perspective (see Critchton, 1959, for a more complete version).

Demara frequently came into contact with the law, primarily because he persisted in adopting fake identities. He once obtained the credentials of a Dr. French, who held a PhD in psychology from Harvard. Demara was in the U.S. Navy at the time, awaiting a commission on the basis of other forged documents; but when he realized he was in danger of exposure via a routine security check, he decided he would prefer the Dr. French identity. He disappeared after staging a successful suicide by leaving his clothing on the end of a pier with a note stating that "this is the only way out." Navy officials accepted his "death," and Demara became Dr. French. With his impressive credentials in hand, he obtained a dean of philosophy position in a Canadian college, successfully taught a variety of psychology courses, and assumed administrative responsibilities.

He developed a friendship with a physician, Joseph Cyr, and learned the basics of medicine from their long conversations. He eventually borrowed and duplicated Cyr's vital documents—birth, baptism, and confirmation certificates, school records, medical license—and obtained a commission in the Royal Canadian Navy as Dr. Cyr. He read extensively to nurture his growing knowledge of medicine.

During the Korean War, Demara/Cyr was assigned to a destroyer headed for the combat zone. The ship met a small Korean junk carrying many seriously wounded men, who were brought on board for emergency medical care. Three men were in such critical condition that only emergency surgery could save their lives. Although Demara had never seen an operation performed, he hurriedly reviewed his textbooks. With unskilled hands, he operated through the night. By dawn, he had not only saved the lives of the three men, but had also successfully treated 16 others.

Demara/Cyr's deeds were broadcast over the ship's radio and disseminated, along with his photo, by the press. The real Dr. Cyr, shocked to see Demara's visage over his own respected name, immediately exposed him. Demara was discharged from the Canadian Navy, which, to save itself from additional embarrassment, allowed him to leave without prosecution. Demara's biography represents an example of a psychopath who did not engage in serious crime or lifelong violence.

Many psychopaths do commit violent crimes, though, some of them heinous and brutal. Neville Heath—charming, handsome, and intelligent—brutally and sadistically murdered two young English women (Critchley, 1951; Hill, 1960). Like Demara, Heath had an extraordinary career, much of it in the armed forces. Unlike Demara, his brushes with the law were serious and occasionally ended in imprisonment. He was commissioned and dishonorably discharged on three separate occasions, once each in the British Royal Air Force, the Royal Armed Service Corps, and the South African Air Force. He flew in a fighter squadron in the RAF until he was court-martialed for car theft at age 19. He then committed a series of thefts and burglaries and was sentenced to Borstal Prison. Pardoned in 1939, he joined the Royal Armed Service Corps but was dismissed for forgery. On his way home

to England, he jumped ship and eventually managed to obtain a commission in the South African Air Force until his past caught up with him. When not in trouble, Heath was regarded as a daring, confident, and highly charming officer—and a rake. After the third court-martial, he developed a taste for sadistic murder.

You may be able to identify other examples of psychopaths at their worst. The notorious Charles Manson, who in the 1960s exhibited an uncanny ability to attract a devout cluster of unresisting followers, is one probable example. The fictional Hannibal Lecter, whose sadistic offenses and deadly charm have captivated readers and screen audiences, is another. It is not advisable, though, to see psychopaths around every corner, despite the frequent usage of this designation in popular media. When the media first heard of Joran Van der Sloot, the "Dutch playboy" charged and ultimately convicted of killing a Peruvian woman and suspected in the disappearance of a U.S. college student in 2010, headlines asked whether he was a psychopath. Serial killers are often described as psychopaths, but—as we will see in Chapter 10— they typically do not meet those characteristics. Not every violent criminal is a psychopath; in fact, most are not. Moreover, as we noted above, psychopathy exists on a continuum, and it is likely that "full blown psychopaths" are rare. Throughout the remainder of this chapter, we examine in more detail their behavioral patterns, cognitive processes, interpersonal features, neuropsychological characteristics, and general backgrounds. We will also cover the different models presented to explain psychopathy, and the psychological measures most commonly used to determine whether someone meets the criteria for being labeled a psychopath.

Behavioral Descriptions

One pioneering authority on the behavioral characteristics of the psychopath was Hervey Cleckley, a psychiatrist who wrote *The Mask of Sanity*, first published in 1941. The book, classic and relevant to this day, describes in clear and empirically useful terms the major behaviors demonstrated by the full-fledged or primary psychopath, as distinct from the other psychopathic types referred to previously. It is important to note that contemporary research findings reveal that psychopaths—as a group—appear to be more complex and multidimensional than the original Cleckley descriptions. Still, the Cleckley formulations hold for many psychopaths.

Cleckley was able to identify 16 characteristics he felt described the typical psychopath (see Table 7–1). We discuss some of these psychological characteristics identified by both Cleckley and Hare in more detail below. The characteristics proposed by Hare are included in his well-known measure of psychopathy, the *Psychopathy Checklist*, to be discussed later in the chapter.

Behavioral Characteristics

Superficial charm and average to above-average intelligence are two of the psychopath's main characteristics, according to Cleckley, and they are both especially apparent during initial contacts. It should be emphasized, however, that a large portion of the psychopaths Cleckley worked with were well educated and from middle- or upper-class backgrounds (Hare & Neumann, 2008). As we shall see shortly, psychopaths do not necessarily have those characteristics. Many impress others as friendly, outgoing, likable, and alert, at least initially. They often appear well educated and knowledgeable, and they display many interests. They are verbally skillful and can talk themselves out of trouble. In fact, their vocabulary is often so extensive that they can talk at length about anything (Hare, 1991). However, systematic study of their conversation reveals that they often jump "from one topic to another and that much of their speech is empty of real substance, tending to be

TABLE 7–1 Psychopathic Behaviors Identified by Hare and Cleckley

Hare PCL Checklist	Cleckley's Primary Psychopath Description
Glibness/superficial charm	Superficial charm and good intelligence
Grandiose sense of self-worth	Pathological egocentricity
Pathological lying	Untruthfulness and insincerity
Cunning/manipulative	Manipulative
Lack of remorse or guilt	Lack of remorse or guilt
Shallow affect	General poverty of affective reactions
Callous, lack of empathy	Unresponsiveness in interpersonal relationships
Failure to accept responsibility for actions	Unreliability
Promiscuous sexual behavior	Impersonal sex life
Lack of realistic, long-term goals	Failure to follow any life plan
Poor behavioral controls	Impulsive
High need for stimulation/prone to boredom	Inadequately motivated antisocial behavior
Irresponsibility	Poor judgment
	Absence of delusions
	Absence of anxiety
	Bizarre behavior after drinking alcohol

filled with stock phrases, repetitions of the same ideas, word approximations, abstract terms and jargon used in a superficial or inappropriate fashion, logically inconsistent statements and phrases, and half-formed sentences" (Hare, 1991, p. 57). As Hare (1996, p. 46) notes, "In some respects, it is as if psychopaths lack a central organizer to plan and keep track of what they think and say." However, since psychopaths are so charming and manipulative, these language shortcomings are not readily apparent.

Readers should not conclude that psychopaths as a group are usually verbally and socially skillful at *successfully* manipulating others and the system. In a revealing study that followed a large number of psychopaths from ages 8 to 48 (Ullrich, Farrington, & Coid, 2008), it was found that psychopathic traits did not lead to status or wealth, or successful intimate relationships. Apparently, the charm, deception, and impression management used by psychopaths does not necessarily lead to success in life.

Psychological Testing Differences

Psychometric studies (studies that use standard psychological tests as measures) indicate that psychopaths usually score higher on intelligence tests than the general population (Hare, 1970, 1996), particularly on individually administered tests. In fact, Hare wryly comments, the psychopaths who were the sample for his studies were probably the least intelligent of their ilk, since they were not quite bright enough to avoid being arrested and convicted for their offenses. (Hare has conducted much of his research on imprisoned psychopaths.) Later research (e.g., Ishikawa, Raine, Lencz, Bihrle, & Lacasse, 2001) found that a useful dichotomy of psychopathy may be to divide psychopaths into "successful" psychopaths (those who have committed crimes but avoided arrest and conviction for offenses) and "unsuccessful" psychopaths (those who have been convicted and imprisoned). "Success" should not be equated to "intelligent," however, nor should it be assumed that people convicted of crime are not intelligent. Overall, available research indicates that many psychopaths are bright—as measured by scores on standardized intelligence tests—but some are not (Benning, Venables, & Hall, 2018; Hare & Neumann, 2008). As noted by Benning et al. (2018), recent studies "have failed to detect a significant interaction between psychopathy and intelligence in predicting legal contacts, incarceration, or recidivism" (p. 595).

Psychopaths and Mental Disorders

Most psychopaths do *not* exhibit severe or disabling mental disorders. As a group they lack any symptoms of excessive worry and anxiety, psychotic thinking, delusions, severe depressions, or hallucinations. Even under high pressure conditions, they remain cool and calm, as did Ian Fleming's fictitious James Bond, probably a prime example. Later in the chapter we will discuss "boldness" and fearless dominance as possibly important features of psychopathy.

Not everyone agrees with the view that psychopaths do not suffer from some mental disorder. Some clinicians argue that psychopathy and schizophrenia are part of the same spectrum of disorders (Hare, 1996), and Cleckley briefly considered psychopathy as a form of masked psychosis. Some forensic clinicians maintain that they occasionally see a mentally disordered offender who qualifies as both a psychopath and a schizophrenic (Hare, 1996). There is some evidence to suggest that it is not uncommon to find psychopaths who seem mentally disordered in maximum security psychiatric units for highly violent or dangerous patients. Other researchers have reported similar findings (Porter, Woodworth, & Black, 2018; Quinsey, Harris, Rice, & Cormier, 2006; Tengström, Hodgins, Grann, Längström, & Kullgren, 2004; Vitacco, Neumann, & Jackson, 2005). Tengström et al. report that individuals diagnosed with schizophrenia and who demonstrated many of the features of psychopathy had more severe histories of offending and violence than persons diagnosed with schizophrenia alone.

Psychopaths and Suicide

Cleckley was under the impression that psychopaths rarely—if ever—committed suicide. Indeed, as Porter, Woodworth, and Black (2018) write, "Given the superficial affect, self-promoting tendencies, and grandiosity associated with psychopathy, suicide behavior may seem highly unlikely" (p. 620). Recent research and clinical experiences, however, have put Cleckley's observation in some doubt. Hare, for instance, knows of several psychopaths who took their own lives when it became clear to them there was no other way out of what they perceived as an intolerable situation (Hare & Neumann, 2008). Intolerable situations include a very long prison term, incurable illness, or being surrounded by the police. "We suspect that at least some cases of 'suicide by cop' involved psychopaths who were trapped and wished to go out in a 'blaze of glory'" (Hare & Neumann, 2008, p. 228). Suicide by cop represents situations in which people place themselves directly and deliberately in the line of police fire rather than allow themselves to be captured.

Verona, Patrick, and Joiner (2001) found that, among male inmates, psychopaths who were especially aggressive and impulsive did show some indicators of suicidality. *Suicidality* is a term used by clinicians to indicate there is a risk of suicide, usually inferred from their self-reported suicidal thoughts or intentions. In another study that examined psychopathy and suicidality in psychiatric patients, youthful offenders, jail detainees, and prison inmates, the researchers also found a significant relationship between psychopathy and suicidality (Douglas, Herbozo, Poythress, Belgrage, & Edens, 2006). However, the researchers also warned that the suicide–psychopathy relationship was highly complex and multifaceted, and required much more research to confidently establish it. In sum, research and clinical experience are beginning to find that some psychopaths who find themselves in desperate situations do commit suicide, especially if they are highly impulsive and violent. Nevertheless, psychopathy and suicide are generally believed not to go hand in hand.

Other Principal Traits

Other principal traits of the primary psychopath are selfishness and an inability to love or give affection to others. According to Cleckley, egocentricity is *always* present in the psychopath and is essentially unmodifiable. The psychopath is unable to feel genuine,

meaningful affection for others. Psychopaths may be likable, but they are seldom able to keep close friends, and they have great difficulty understanding love in others. They may be highly skillful at pretending deep affection, and they may effectively mimic appropriate emotions, but true loyalty, warmth, and compassion are foreign to them. Psychopaths are distinguished by flat emotional reaction and affect. And since they have so little need to receive or give love, psychopaths, as a group, have relatively little contact with their families, and many change their residences frequently (Hare, 1991). In addition, they do not usually respond to acts of kindness. They show capacity only for superficial appreciation. Paradoxically, they may do small favors and appear considerate. One prototype mowed the lawn for his elderly neighbor when she was ill—the next morning he stole her car.

Psychopaths have a remarkable disregard for truth and are often called "pathological liars." They seem to have no internalized moral or ethical sense and cannot understand the purpose of being honest, especially if dishonesty will bring some personal gain. They have a cunning ability to appear straightforward, honest, and sincere, but their claims to sincerity are without substance. Overall, they tend to be skillful "con artists."

Psychopaths are unreliable, irresponsible, and unpredictable, regardless of the importance of the occasion or the consequences of their impulsive actions. Impulsivity appears to be a central or cardinal feature of psychopathy (Hart & Dempster, 1997). This pattern of impulsive actions is cyclical, however. Psychopaths may, for months on end, be responsible citizens, faithful spouses, and reliable employees. They may experience great successes, be promoted, and gain honors, as did Demara and Heath. Skillfully as they have attained these socially desirable goals, they have an uncanny knack of suddenly unraveling their lives. They become irresponsible and may pass bad checks, sabotage the company computers, or go on a drunken spree. They also tend to have a "bad temper" that flares quickly into an argument and attack. Psychopaths may later say they are sorry and plead for another chance—and most will probably get it. Invariably, the irresponsible behavior will return.

Even small amounts of alcohol prompt most psychopaths to become vulgar, domineering, loud, and boisterous and to engage in practical jokes and pranks. Cleckley noted that they choose pranks that have no appeal for most individuals and seem bizarre, inappropriate, and cruel. They lack genuine humor and, not surprisingly, the ability to laugh at themselves.

Although often but not necessarily above average in intelligence, psychopaths appear incapable of learning to avoid failure and situations that are potentially damaging to themselves. Some theorists suggest that the self-destructive, self-defeating deeds and attitudes reflect a need to be punished to mitigate the guilt they subconsciously experience, or more simply, that they are driven by a masochistic purpose. However, most researchers and clinicians have difficulty accepting the guilt or masochistic tendencies as valid explanations for the psychopath's periodic self-defeating behavior.

Most experts conclude that a cardinal fault of psychopaths is their absolute lack of remorse or guilt for anything they do, regardless of the severity or immorality of their actions and irrespective of their traumatic effects on others. Since they do not anticipate personal consequences, psychopaths may engage in destructive or antisocial behavior—such as forgery, theft, rape, brawls, and fraud—by taking absurd risks and for insignificant personal gain. When caught, they express no genuine remorse. They may readily admit culpability and take considerable pleasure in the shock these admissions produce in others. Whether they have bashed in someone's head, ruined a car, or tortured a child, psychopaths may well remark they did it "for the hell of it."

When a psychopath drifts into criminal activity, impulsivity will usually prevent him or her from performing like a professional criminal. Psychopaths are more likely to participate in capers and hastily planned frolics, or in spontaneous, serious crimes for immediate satisfaction. The professional criminal has purpose and a plan of action; the psychopath is impulsive and lacks long-range goals.

Psychopaths have little capacity to see themselves as others perceive them. Instead of accepting the facts that would normally lead to insight, they project and externalize blame onto the community and family for their misfortunes. Interestingly, educated psychopaths have been known to speak fluently about the psychopathic personality, quoting the literature extensively and discussing research findings, but they cannot look into their own troublesome antics or mount a reasonable attack on their actions. They articulate their regrets for having done something, but the words are devoid of emotional meaning, a characteristic Cleckley calls **semantic aphasia**. Johns and Quay (1962) remarked that psychopaths "know the words but not the music." Similarly, Grant (1977) notes that the psychopath knows only the book meaning of words, not the living meaning. Hare (1996, p. 45) concludes, "In short, psychopaths appear to be semantically and affectively shallow individuals."

Semantic aphasia
A characteristic found in psychopaths whereby the words they speak are devoid of emotional sincerity.

Another important behavioral characteristic of psychopaths is their *excessive* use of instrumental aggression (Blair, Peschardt, Budhani, Mitchell, & Pine, 2006; Frick & Marsee, 2018; Porter et al., 2018). Instrumental-controlled aggression, as discussed in Chapter 5, is purposeful and goal-directed aggression used to achieve a specific goal, such as obtaining the possessions of another person. It is distinguished from reactive-hostile aggression, which is considered spontaneous, unplanned, and done in response to an event or an action by another individual.

Finally, an important behavioral distinction underlying much of Cleckley's description is what Quay (1965) refers to as the psychopath's profound and pathological stimulation seeking. According to Quay, the actions of the psychopath are motivated by an excessive *neuropsychological* need for thrills and excitement. It is not unusual to see psychopaths drawn to such interests as race car driving, skydiving, and motorcycle stunts. Stimulation seeking is also a behavioral trait identified by Waters (2015) in his two-factor model of psychopathy. We will examine this alleged need for stimulation in the pages to follow.

In recent years it has become useful for research purposes to focus on psychopaths who repeatedly commit crimes, collectively called criminal psychopaths. Concentrating on psychopaths who are violent or chronic offenders provides invaluable information about their backgrounds, learning history, and behavioral patterns. Such research also might offer key strategies for how to deal and potentially treat this challenging group of individuals.

The Criminal Psychopath

As emphasized previously, many psychopaths have no history of serious antisocial behavior, and persistent, serious offenders are not necessarily psychopaths. For our purposes here, the term *criminal psychopath* will be reserved for those psychopaths who demonstrate a wide range of *persistent* and *serious* antisocial behavior. As a group, they tend to be "dominant, manipulative individuals characterized by an impulsive, risk-taking and antisocial lifestyle, who obtain their greatest thrill from diverse sexual gratification and target diverse victims over time" (Porter et al., 2000, p. 220).

As noted above, contemporary theory and research consider psychopathic traits and predispositions as existing on a continuum. The entertainment media often portray the psychopath as an inhuman, vile, despicable person who enjoys violence. One is left with the impression that an individual is either a psychopath or a nonpsychopath. However, psychopathic traits and characteristics in adults and adolescents are best viewed today as occurring along a dimension or continuum, with some people demonstrating more psychopathic tendencies than others. As we will see shortly, someone is labeled a psychopath after attaining a given cutoff score on tests to measure the construct. The accumulation of psychopathic characteristics is what determines the final diagnosis, and not everyone agrees

on the required cutoff point. Therefore, the best perspective to take when studying the following material is that psychopathy exists on different levels rather than viewing people as either psychopaths or nonpsychopaths. Nevertheless, when we refer to percentages of psychopaths in a population, we mean the percentages that have met the cutoff criteria as defined by a particular research study.

Prevalence of Criminal Psychopathy

Early research on psychopathy focused almost exclusively on incarcerated male offenders (Benning, Venables, & Hall, 2018). Hare (1998) estimated that the prevalence of psychopaths in the general population was about 1%, whereas in the adult prison population, estimates ranged from 15% to 25%. Some researchers (e.g., Simourd & Hoge, 2000) wondered, however, whether these estimates were not somewhat inflated. Simourd and Hoge reported only 11% of their inmate population could be identified as criminal psychopaths. The inmates used in the Simourd and Hoge study were not simply inmates in a medium security correctional facility. All 321 were serving a current sentence for violent offending, more than half of them had been convicted of a previous violent offense, and almost all of them had extensive criminal careers. Even so, few qualified as criminal psychopaths. Therefore, percentage estimates of criminal psychopathy within any given prison population should be tempered by the type of facility, as well as the cultural, ethnic, gender, and age mix of the targeted population.

Offending Patterns of Criminal Psychopaths

Criminal psychopaths are believed responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime in society, and they are considered to be the most violent and persistent offenders (Declercq, Willemsen, Audenaert, & Verhaeghe, 2012; Forth & Burke, 1998; Hart & Hare, 1997; Newman, Schmitt, & Voss, 1997; Saltaris, 2002). Gretton, McBride, Hare, O'Shaughnessy, and Kumka (2001, p. 428) point out that criminal psychopaths generally "lack a normal sense of ethics and morality, live by their own rules, are prone to use cold-blooded, instrumental intimidation and violence to satisfy their wants and needs, and generally are contemptuous of social norms and the rights of others."

Sexual assault and rape tend to be overrepresented among psychopathic offenders (Knight & Guay, 2018). Moreover, the unlawful acts of psychopathic sex offenders are likely to be more violent, brutal, unconventional, and sadistic than those of other sex offenders (Hare, Clark, Grann, & Thornton, 2000; Hickey, Walters, Drislane, Palumbo, & Patrick, 2018; Porter, Birt, & Boer, 2001; Woodworth & Porter, 2002). Psychopathic sex offenders appear to be more motivated by thrill seeking and excitement rather than simply sexual arousal (Porter et al., 2018; Porter, Woodworth, Earle, Drugge, & Boer, 2003). Psychopaths as a group also appear to be significantly more sadistic than violent nonpsychopaths (Holt, Meloy, & Stack, 1999; Knight & Guay, 2018) and commit more diverse and severe forms of sexual homicides (Firestone, Bradford, Greenberg, & Larose, 1998; Hickey et al., 2018; Porter et al., 2003). Porter and his colleagues (2003) found that in a sample of the male offenders incarcerated in two Canadian federal prisons for homicide, nearly half could be classified as sexual homicide offenders. (In order to be classified as a sexual homicide, there had to be physical evidence of sexual activity with the victim before, during, or after the homicide.)

Murderers described as excessively sadistic and brutal tend to have many psychopathic features (Hare et al., 2000; Hickey et al., 2018; Stone, 1998). Serial murderers who exhibit psychopathic features are especially sadistic and brutal in their murders. As

noted previously, however, serial killers as a group are not believed to be high in psychopathy. Collectively, the research suggests that psychopaths may be more likely than other offenders to derive pleasure from both the nonsexual and sexual suffering of others (Porter et al., 2003).

Many of the murders and serious assaults committed by *nonpsychopaths* occurred during domestic disputes or extreme emotional arousal, thereby qualifying as hostile or reactive aggression. This pattern of violence is rarely observed for criminal psychopaths (Declercq et al., 2012; Hare, Hart, & Harpur, 1991; Williamson, Hare, & Wong, 1987). Criminal psychopaths frequently engage in violence as a form of revenge or retribution, or during a bout of drinking. Many of the attacks of nonpsychopaths are against women they know well, whereas many of the attacks of criminal psychopaths are directed at men who are strangers. Hare et al. (1991, p. 395) observe that the violence committed by criminal psychopaths was callous and cold-blooded, "without the affective coloring that accompanied the violence of nonpsychopaths." Research also indicates that rapists who have psychopathic characteristics are more likely to have "nonsexual" motivations for their crimes, such as anger, vindictiveness, sadism, and opportunism (Hart & Dempster, 1997).

Recidivism of Criminal Psychopaths

Research studies report that the recidivism rate of criminal psychopaths is very high. **Recidivism** refers to the tendency to return to offending, although studies differ in how it is measured (e.g., arrests, convictions, self-reported crime). In other words, criminal psychopaths commit crimes again and again, regardless of the methods used to stop or rehabilitate them. According to Porter et al. (2000), research suggests that psychopaths reoffend faster, violate parole sooner, and perhaps commit more institutional violence than nonpsychopaths. In one study (Serin, Peters, & Barbaree, 1990), the number of failures of male offenders released on unescorted temporary absence programs (furloughs) was examined. The failure rate for psychopaths was 37.5%, while none of the nonpsychopaths failed. The failure rate during parole was also examined. While 7% of nonpsychopaths violated parole conditions, 33% of the psychopaths violated their conditions. In another study (Serin & Amos, 1995), 299 male offenders were followed for up to 8 years after their release from a federal prison. Sixty-five percent of the psychopaths were convicted of another crime within 3 years, compared with a reconviction rate of 25% for nonpsychopaths. Quinsey, Rice, and Harris (1995) found that within 6 years of release from prison, more than 80% of the psychopaths convicted as sex offenders had violently recidivated, compared with a 20% recidivism rate for nonpsychopathic sex offenders. Recidivism was measured by either arrests or convictions for a violent offense.

High recidivism rates are also characteristic of psychopathic adolescent male offenders. Later in the chapter, though, we will discuss the controversy over whether juvenile psychopathy even exists, though evidence is mounting that it does. According to Gretton et al. (2001), these offenders are more likely than other adolescent offenders to escape from custody, violate the conditions of probation, and commit nonviolent and violent offenses over a 5-year follow-up period. The high recidivism rates among adult and juvenile offenders have prompted some researchers to conclude that there is "nothing the behavioral sciences can offer for treating those with psychopathy" (Gacono et al., 1997, p. 119). This is partly because psychopaths tend to "be unmotivated to alter their problematic behavior and often lack insight into the nature and extent of their psychopathology" (Skeem, Edens, & Colwell, 2003, p. 26). As we note below, other researchers (e.g., Salekin, Worley, & Grimes, 2010) are more optimistic. Moreover, Salekin et al. (2010) observe that surveys indicate that the bulk of mental health professionals view psychopathy as a treatable condition.

Psychological Measures of Psychopathy

Currently, the dominant psychological instrument for measuring criminal psychopathy is the 20-item **Psychopathy Checklist (PCL-R)** (Hare, 1991, 2003). The PCL-R has been published in a second edition, which includes new information on its applicability in forensic and research settings. The second edition also has been expanded for use with offenders worldwide, and includes updated normative and validation data on male and female offenders. Although several other personality scales for measuring psychopathy have been developed in recent years, the PCL-R is currently the most frequently used instrument for both research and clinical application; it will be the center of attention for the remainder of this section. As noted by Douglas et al. (2015), "There is little doubt that the PCL family of measures is the most heavily researched, and, as the first widely adopted measurement system on the market, it has been tremendously influential" (p. 263). It is generally regarded as the gold standard for the psychological measurement of psychopathy, but there are criticisms, as we note shortly.

Psychopathy Checklist (PCL) and Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R). Developed by Robert Hare, currently the best-known instrument for the measurement of criminal psychopathy. Additional versions include the **Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version,** the **P-Scan: Research Version,** and the **Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL:YV).**

"Family of measures" in the above quote refers to several instruments that have been derived from the original PCL and that stand alongside it in both research and practice. First, there is a 12-item short-form version, called the **Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version (PCL:SV)** (Hart, Cox, & Hare, 1995; Hart, Hare, & Forth, 1993). Other additions are the **Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL:YV)** (Forth, Kosson, & Hare, 2003) and the *P-Scan: Research Version*. The PCL:YV is beginning to be researched more extensively and is mentioned again in the section on juvenile psychopathy. The P-Scan is a screening instrument that serves as a *rough* screen for psychopathic features and as a source of working hypotheses to deal with managing suspects, offenders, or clients. It is designed for use in law enforcement, probation, corrections, civil and forensic facilities, and other areas in which it would be useful to have some information about the possible presence of psychopathic features in a particular person. Of course, the P-Scan needs much more research before its results can be considered definitive. All three checklists are conceptually and—with the exception of the P-Scan—psychometrically similar.

The PCL-R

The PCL scales are largely based on Cleckley's (1976) conception of psychopathy and were specifically designed to identify psychopaths in male prison, forensic, or psychiatric populations. Cleckley's work was based primarily on psychiatric patients. However, the scales are used to measure psychopathy and psychopathic features, not only in institutionalized populations, but also in clinical settings and among research participants.

The PCL-R assesses the affective (emotional), interpersonal, behavioral, and social deviance facets of psychopathy from various sources, including self-reports, behavioral observations, and collateral sources, such as parents, family members, friends, and arrest and court records, which can help to establish the credibility of self-reports (Hare, 1996, 2003; Hare, Hart, & Harpur, 1991). In addition, item ratings from the PCL-R, for instance, require some integration of information across multiple domains, including behavior at work or school; behavior toward family, friends, and sexual partners; and criminal or antisocial behavior (Kosson, Suchy, Mayer, & Libby, 2002). Typically, highly trained examiners use all this information to score each item on a 0–2 scale, depending on the extent to which an individual has the disposition described by each item on the checklist (0 = consistently absent; 1 = inconsistent; 2 = consistently present). Scoring is, however, quite complex and requires substantial time, extensive training, and access to a considerable amount of background information on the individual. Some researchers have obtained PCL-R scores from detailed records, without the interview component. Although there is some support

for conducting such reviews (Gretton et al., 2001), it appears that lower scores may result from using this approach (Hare, 2003).

A score of 30 or above usually qualifies a person as a primary psychopath (Hare, 1996). In some research and clinical settings, cutoff scores ranging from 25 to 33 are often used (Simourd & Hoge, 2000). Hare (1991) recommends that persons with scores between 21 and 29 be classified as "middle" subjects who show many of the features of psychopathy but do not fit all the criteria. As mentioned above, psychopathy is best conceptualized as occurring on a continuum; scores below 21 are considered "nonpsychopaths."

So far, the research has strongly supported the use of the PCL-R for distinguishing criminal psychopaths from criminal nonpsychopaths and for helping correctional and forensic psychologists involved in risk assessments of offenders (Hare, 1996; Hare & Neumann, 2008; Hare, Neumann, & Mokros, 2018; Neumann, Hare, & Pardini, 2015). In addition, the instrument provides researchers and mental health professionals with a universal measurement for the assessment of psychopathy that facilitates international and cross-cultural communication concerning theory, research, and eventual clinical practice (Hare et al., 2000). Currently, the PCL-R is increasingly being used as a clinical instrument for the assessment of psychopathy across the globe (Douglas et al., 2015), although it appears to be most powerful in identifying psychopathy among North American white men (Hare et al., 2000).

Criticisms of the PCL-R

Despite its widespread use, the PCL-R has garnered a substantial amount of criticism.

Some scholars (e.g., Skeem & Cooke, 2010a; 2010b) believe that the PCL-R has been so overused as representing the definition of psychopathy that the instrument has become confused with the concept of psychopathy itself. The debate centers on the issue of whether criminal behavior is a core feature of psychopathy. In other words, the PCL-R may not be an adequate measure for identifying psychopaths who do not engage in violence or criminal behavior. From Skeem and Cooke's perspective, psychopaths are likely to engage in *antisocial behavior* but not necessarily *criminal behavior*. They define antisocial behavior as "behavior that defeats the interests of the social order" (Skeem & Cooke, 2010a, p. 435). Skeem and Cooke believe that some antisocial behavior seems essential to the interpersonal and emotional core of psychopathy, such as noncriminal manipulation of others for personal gain. Criminal behavior, on the other hand, refers to behavior that is officially sanctioned by the legal system. Criminal behavior represents illegal behavior, punishable by criminal sanctions. "Given individual differences in talents and opportunities, psychopathic tendencies may be manifested in one individual's criminality, in another individual's heroism, and in still another's worldly success" (Skeem & Cooke, 2010a, p. 435).

In other words, criminality is not necessarily a core feature psychopathy. Douglas et al. (2015) posit that there are numerous ways to harm others, such as betrayals in relationships, harmful gossip, subterfuge in the workplace, and economic decisions that harm livelihoods or even lives. Very often psychopaths are masters of these behaviors.

Hare and Neumann (2010) disagree with Skeem and Cooke's claim that the measures in the PCL test series imply criminality is an essential core component of psychopathy. They argue that antisocial behavior—not criminal behavior—is central to the concept and measurement of psychopathy. In fact, Hare's statement in 2002 that not all psychopaths were in prison, some were in the boardroom, was widely publicized (Babiak, Neumann, & Hare, 2010), and Hare was not implying that persons with psychopathic characteristics in the corporate world were acting in a criminal manner. (See Box 7–1 for discussion of corporate psychopaths.)

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 7–1 CORPORATE PSYCHOPATHS

Research on psychopaths has overwhelmingly focused on incarcerated populations, such as prisoners or detained juveniles with psychopathic features. This is beginning to change. Perhaps the first exception is a study by Babiak, Neumann, and Hare (2010), who investigated psychopathy in corporate settings. As noted in the text, Hare was widely quoted in 2002 that not all psychopaths were in prison, some were in the boardroom. Four years later, Paul Babiak and Robert Hare (2006) published their book *Snakes in Suits* (2006), and in 2010 the results of their research were published in an academic journal.

Using a sample of 203 corporate professionals from seven companies scattered across the United States, the researchers reviewed records, conducted interviews, and administered the PCL-R (described in the text). The records included job applications, resumes, awards and commendations, performance reviews, and background checks, but did not include medical information. The professionals in the sample were managers and executives identified by their companies for participation in a management development program—essentially a program to develop or improve management skills through training and leadership conferences. The great majority were Caucasian men with 4-year degrees. All had been identified by the company as having management potential and almost 50% had high management potential.

The researchers found that the prevalence of psychopathic traits was higher than that found in community samples. Psychopathy correlated positively with supervisory ratings such as good communication skills and creativity, but negatively with responsibility and performance—such as being a team player and overall performance. In other words, the persons with psychopathic characteristics were viewed by others as being good communicators, strategic thinkers, and creative, but they also were seen as having poor management styles, and immediate supervisors gave them poor performance appraisals. Even so, as Babiak et al. (2010) noted, some companies viewed psychopathic executives as having leadership potential despite their negative reviews. "Their excellent communication and convincing lying skills, which together would have made them attractive hiring candidates in the first place, apparently continued to serve them well in furthering their careers" (p. 190).

Boldness—a characteristic described in the text—and the ability to manipulate and con others emerged as strong factors. As noted by Babiak et al. "being 'tough' or 'strong' (making hard, unpopular decision) or 'cool under fire' (not displaying emotions in the face of unpleasant circumstances) can work in their favor" (p. 191).

Questions for Discussion

1. Would you characterize the participants in the above study as "psychopaths" or as "people with psychopathic characteristics"? Why is the distinction important? What distinguishes a person high on psychopathic characteristics from a primary psychopath?
2. Assuming that the PCL-R could be legally administered to employees before acceptance into a management training program, should it be?
3. Very little research has been done on psychopathy in the corporate world. What are possible explanations for this? ■

Hare and Neuman further assert that "Although the PCL-R is not perfect, it works well enough to have generated many hundreds of empirical studies on psychopathy...and to have withstood unusually intense conceptual and statistical scrutiny" (p. 450). However, Douglas et al. (2015) point out that the PCL-R includes a significant amount of questions about criminal behavior as well as antisocial behavior, which clearly suggest that the measure is based largely on identifying criminality.

It should be noted, as well, that the PCL measures may be used to assess the likelihood of recidivism in criminal offenders. Richards, Casey, and Lucente (2003) found that the

PCL-R and the PCL:SV measures of persistent offending history, in conjunction with high scores on the PCL-R, are probably two of the most powerful predictors of violent recidivism available anywhere. In fact, the PCL-R is a strong predictor of recidivism even when the offender's criminal history is not known to the examiner (Hemphill & Hare, 2004; Hemphill, Hare, & Wong, 1998).

Core Factors of Psychopathy

Factor analysis
A statistical procedure by which underlying patterns, factors, or dimensions are identified among a series of scale items.

From the research on the PCL-R, it has become clear that psychopathy is multidimensional in nature. One statistical procedure designed to find different personality dimensions or behavioral factors in test data is **factor analysis**. Factor analysis is a mathematical procedure used to make sense of a vast array of variables. The procedure usually produces a small number of descriptive or explanatory concepts called factors. When expert ratings of psychopathy on the PCL-R were submitted to factor analysis, at least two behavioral dimensions or factors emerged (Hare, 1991; Harpur, Hakstian, & Hare, 1988; Hart, Hare, & Forth, 1993). More recently, many researchers find that more factors have been identified. Lilienfeld and Fowler (2006) even proposed an eight-factor model. Thus, though psychopathy began as a two-factor construct, it has expanded substantially to its dominant status now as comprising four factors.

The Two-Factor Position

Factor 1
A behavioral dimension, identified through factor analysis, representing the interpersonal and emotional aspects of psychopathy.

Factor 2
A behavioral dimension representing the socially deviant lifestyle characteristics of psychopaths.

In the two-factor scheme, **Factor 1** reflects the interpersonal and emotional components of psychopathy and consists of items measuring remorselessness, callousness, and selfish use and manipulation of others. The typical psychopath feels no compunctions about using others strictly to meet his or her own needs. **Factor 2** is most closely associated with a socially deviant or antisocial lifestyle, as characterized by poor planning, impulsiveness, an excessive need for stimulation, proneness to boredom, and a lack of realistic goals. Some researchers have found that Factor 1 appears to be associated with planned predatory violence, while Factor 2 appears to be related to spontaneous and impulsive violence (Hart & Dempster, 1997) and substance abuse problems (Nelson & Foell, 2018). Factor 1 is also linked to resistance and inability to profit from psychotherapy and treatment programs (Seto & Barbaree, 1999). Factor 2 appears related to socioeconomic status, educational attainment, and cultural/ethnic background, whereas Factor 1 may be more connected to biopsychological influences (Cooke & Michie, 1997; Fowles, 2018). Research also suggests that Factor 1 *may* be a more powerful indicator of psychopathy than Factor 2 (Cooke, Michie, Hart, & Hare, 1999; Fowles, 2018). In addition, while it is quite clear that Factor 1 does a better job of identifying psychopathy in general, there is some evidence that Factor 2 does a better job of predicting general recidivism and violent recidivism (Walters, 2003).

The Three-Factor Position

Factor 3
A core feature of psychopathy that refers to emotional shallowness, callousness, and lack of empathy.

As with any science, the more research done on a topic, the more complicated it becomes. Research finds that psychopathic behavior may be too diverse to be captured in only two dimensions. With increasing sophistication of statistical methods (e.g., confirmatory factor analysis and model-based cluster analysis), contemporary research indicates that there may be at least three core behavioral or personality dimensions that best describe psychopathy (Cooke & Michie, 2001; Cooke, Michie, Hart, & Clark, 2004; Vitacco et al., 2005). The third core factor (**Factor 3**) refers to the emotional

shallowness, callousness, and lack of empathy characteristic of most psychopaths. In an influential paper, Cooke and Michie (2001) challenged the traditional two-factor explanation of psychopathy and recommended that psychopathy be described by the following core dimensions:

1. An arrogant and deceptive interpersonal style, which includes a grandiose sense of self-worth, glibness, superficial charm, lying, conning, manipulation, and deceitfulness. (This dimension is also referred to as impression management.)
2. An impulsive and irresponsible behavioral style, including failure to think before acting, a lack of long-term goals, stimulation seeking, unsatisfactory work habits, and a parasitic lifestyle (living off others, including spouses, intimate partners, friends, and parents).
3. Deficient affective or emotional experience characterized by low remorse, low guilt, a weak conscience, the absence of anxiety, fearlessness, callousness, little empathy, and a failure to accept responsibility for one's actions.

The Four-Factor Model

Some researchers (e.g., Hare, 2003; Hare & Neumann, 2008; Salekin, Brannen, Zalot, Leistico, & Neumann, 2006; Vitacco, et al., 2005) have asserted that, in addition to disturbances in interpersonal, affective, and behavioral functioning, the definition of psychopathy should also include a fourth factor or dimension: antisocial behavior. Hare and Neumann (2008) write, "A number of recent studies...provide considerable support for a four-factor model of psychopathy across diverse and primarily very large samples of male and female offenders" (p. 232). The **four-factor model** has also been supported across various cultures, ethnic groups, young and adult offenders, and forensic patients (Jackson, Neumann, & Vitacco, 2007; Jones, Cauffman, Miller, & Mulvey, 2006; Neumann, Hare, & Newman, 2007; Neumann, Kosson, Forth, & Hare, 2006).

Four-factor model
Model of psychopathy that incorporates antisocial behavior.

The argument for a four-factor model is based on the finding that individuals manifesting psychopathic traits often exhibit violence and a large collection of other antisocial behavioral patterns that are more than the poor planning and impulsivity associated with Factor 2. Consequently, the argument contends that researchers and clinicians are missing a critical ingredient in the understanding and definition of the psychopath if measures of antisocial behavior are left out of the equation. It is also argued that much of the predictive power of psychopathy is enhanced if we take into consideration past criminal behavior (Salekin et al., 2006). According to the four-factor perspective, the factors are: (1) interpersonal, such as pathological lying and conning; (2) lifestyle, such as irresponsible behavior, sensation seeking, and impulsiveness; (3) affective (shallow affect or emotional reactions, lack of remorsefulness for their actions); and (4) antisocial tendencies, such as poor self-regulation, and a wide array of antisocial behavior including delinquency. Table 7–2 summarizes these four factors.

TABLE 7–2 Summary of the Four Hypothesized Core Factors of Psychopathy

Factor	Core features
Interpersonal (F1)	Lying, conning, and manipulating others; superficial charm; grandiose self-worth.
Lifestyle (F2)	Irresponsibility; sensation seeking; lack of realistic goals, poor planning; impulsivity.
Affective (F3)	Shallow emotions, callousness, little empathy; failure to accept responsibility for actions.
Antisocial tendencies (F4)	Poor self-regulation; persistent criminal activity; antisocial behavior; early behavior problems.

Triarchic Psychopathy Model (TriPM)

Triarchic psychopathy model (TriPM)
Recent model focusing on callous-unemotional traits, disinhibition, and boldness.

The most recent model of psychopathy is called the **triarchic psychopathy model** (abbreviated **TriPM**), developed by Christopher Patrick and his colleagues (Patrick, 2010; Patrick, Fowles, & Krueger, 2009). This is sometimes referred to as the triardic psychopathy model. To date, the model has received considerable scientific scrutiny and support in the United States and a number of other countries (Sellbom, Laurinavičius, Ustinavičiūtė, & Laurinaitytė, 2018; Sellbom, Lilienfeld, Fowler, & McCrary, 2018). The TriPM consists of three distinct dimensions: (1) meanness or callous-unemotionality; (2) disinhibition or externalizing proneness; and (3) boldness or fearless dominance. (See Table 7–3.)

Meanness trait
In psychopathy research, meanness is proposed as an additional feature characterizing the psychopathic personality. Refers to generally cruel verbal or physical behavior toward others.

Meanness refers to "deficient empathy, disdain for and lack of close attachments with others, rebelliousness, excitement seeking, exploitativeness, and empowerment through cruelty" (Patrick et al., 2009, p. 927). It can be expressed through extreme arrogance, defiance of authority, destructive excitement seeking, callous aggression, interpersonal detachment, and physical cruelty toward people and animals (Skeem et al., 2011). It is a motivational style in which pleasure and satisfaction are sought without consideration of others. Patrick et al. (2009) point out that meanness tends to be a central feature of the crime and delinquency that is actively directed at hurting others.

Callous-unemotional (CU) traits
Collection of traits in juveniles believed to be precursors of adult psychopathy. Also, a key characteristic of adult psychopaths.

Meanness is sometimes associated with **callous-unemotionality (CU)** traits, which are often "linked with severe, chronic, and proactive antisocial and violent behavior" (Viding & Kimonis, 2018, p. 144) and are most central to the diagnosis of psychopathy in antisocial psychopaths (Nelson & Foell, 2018). As described in Chapter 6, CU traits include a persistent and significant lack of empathetic concern for others, limited capacity for guilt, and deficits in emotional expression. Paul Frick developed a measure to capture such traits in children. Many experts consider CU traits as signs and symptoms of juvenile and adult psychopathy, but these traits can be observed in young children as well. CU trait theory was first proposed by Frick and his colleagues (Frick, Barry, & Bodin, 2000; Frick, Cornell, et al., 2003; Frick & Marsee, 2018; Frick, Ray, et al., 2014). Early in the development of CU theory, Frick's research team conducted a series of projects designed to detect developmental patterns that resulted in adult psychopathy. The researchers were able to identify a group of children who had been diagnosed with conduct disorders but who showed particularly severe and chronic patterns of antisocial behavior beyond what is normally seen in other children with conduct disorders. This group of children and adolescents displayed a significant lack of empathetic concern for others, limited capacity for feeling guilty about cruel deeds and dishonesty, and deficits in emotional expression. The researchers noticed that these behavioral characteristics were highly similar to those patterns found in adult psychopaths, and labeled this cluster of traits callous-unemotional. These findings have led researchers to concentrate on CU traits as very informative for understanding the development of adult psychopathy (Viding & Kimonis, 2018).

TABLE 7–3 Some Features of the Triarchic Psychopathy Model (TriPM)

Dimension	Brief Description	Behavioral Indicators	Associated Traits
Meanness	Deficient empathy, empowerment through cruelty, lack of close attachment with others	Arrogance, physical cruelty to others, defiance of authority, destructive excitement seeking	Callous-unemotionality, egocentricity
Disinhibition/Externalizing proneness	Poor self-regulation, irresponsibility, impulsivity	Low frustration tolerance, unreasonable risk taking, poor impulse control	Hostility, antisociality
Boldness/Fearless dominance	Positive personality characteristics that enable one to be brave in face of danger but also may be maladaptive	Relatively immune to stress, able to remain calm, able to negotiate social interactions. Also may be reckless and impulsive behaviors.	Self-confidence, calmness, charismatic

Further study revealed that high levels of impulsivity and egocentricity distinguished these CU youths, and that they were not only diagnosed with severe conduct disorders, but were also highly aggressive and often violent (Frick et al., 2014). In addition, the youths exhibited cognitive problems, such as the inability to take the perspective of others, self-serving cognitive distortions such as blaming others for their mistakes, and underestimating the likelihood they will be punished for their misbehavior. The research also led to the development of the Antisocial Process Screening Device (APSD) (Frick & Hare, 2001), a 20-item rating scale designed to measure CU traits in children (Viding & Kinonis, 2018). Several other scales have also been developed to measure potential psychopathic tendencies in children and adolescents and will be discussed later in the chapter under measures of juvenile psychopathy.

The second dimension of the TriPM is **disinhibition** (also referred to as **externalizing proneness**). This refers to impulsivity, poor self-regulation, low frustration tolerance, irresponsibility, alienation, and unreasonable risk taking. It involves "traits of hostility, antisociality, and having difficulties in regulating anger-related emotions" (Shou, Sellbom, Xu, Chen, and Sui, 2017, p. 1072) and "encompasses tendencies toward impulse control problems of various types" (Nelson & Foell, 2018, p. 127). It is characterized by reckless-impulsive tendencies that are often closely connected to the use of severe, potentially criminal coercive tactics (Porter, Woodworth & Black, 2018). Interestingly, the disinhibition trait (externalizing proneness) appears to have a strong genetic component (Patrick, 2018) and has been linked to impairments in the functioning of the prefrontal cortex that regulates emotions and self-control (Drislane, Brislin, Jones, & Patrick, 2018).

Disinhibition trait (externalizing proneness)
Refers to impulsivity, poor self-regulation, low frustration tolerance, irresponsibility, alienation, and unreasonable risk taking.

Boldness (sometimes referred to as **fearless dominance**) consists of personality characteristics of charisma, fearlessness, novelty seeking, calmness in the face of danger, and low stress reactivity (Lilienfeld, Watts, Smith, & Latzman, 2018). Behaviorally, it is described as an "interpersonal style that is characterized by fearlessness, being relatively immune to stress or anxiety, and being successful at negotiating social interactions to achieve desired goals" (Douglas et al., 2015, p. 265). Patrick et al. (2009) and Skeem et al. (2011) define boldness in the context of psychopathy as the ability to remain calm and focused in pressure or life-threatening situations, and to demonstrate high self-assurance and social efficacy in most social environments. In addition, boldness reflects the capacity to recover rapidly from stressful situations and to seek out unfamiliarity and danger.

Boldness trait (or fearless dominance)
A key characteristic of psychopaths according to the Triarchic Psychopathy Model.

To a large extent, boldness may be considered adaptive, which makes it a controversial topic as a core feature of psychopathy. For instance, recent research indicates that boldness is a strong personality characteristic of firefighters and first responders (Patton, Smith, & Lilienfeld, 2018). (See Box 7–2.) However, boldness appears to be also associated with a "dark side" including antisocial behavior, aggression, and sexual assault (Lilienfeld et al., 2018). At this point it appears boldness can be channeled into either adaptive behavior (e.g., heroism) or maladaptive behavior (e.g., criminality), and the trait demands further research (Lilienfeld et al., 2018).

Psychopathy and the "Dark Triad"

In recent years, some investigators have begun to focus on a small group of personality trait clusters that were first identified by Paulhus and Williams (2002) and referred to as the "**dark triad**." *Psychopathy* is one of these. The other two are *Machiavellianism* and *narcissism* (Maples-Keller & Miller, 2018; Sleep, Lynam, Hyatt, & Miller, 2017; Vize, Lynam, Collison, & Miller, 2018). Subsequent to the debut of the dark triad, Paulhus and his colleagues (Buckels, Jones, & Paulhus, 2013) suggested that a fourth dark characteristic—*everyday sadism*—could be identified. They then referred to this as the Dark Tetrad and listed

Dark triad
A cluster of personality traits that are associated with criminal psychopathy. The cluster includes psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism.

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 7–2 CHARACTERISTICS OF PSYCHOPATHY: IS THERE A POSITIVE SIDE?

Many contemporary researchers have demonstrated that characteristics associated with psychopathy—including narcissism, fearlessness, sensation seeking, and boldness—exist in a range of individuals who maintain leadership and service-oriented positions in society. They are referred to as successful psychopaths and include but are not limited to political figures, law enforcement officers, and military leaders. Recall Box 7–1, which discussed psychopathic characteristics in the corporate world. "The concept of successful psychopathy suggests that an individual can display many affective and interpersonal features of psychopathy without perpetrating numerous deviant behaviors, and that this combination of features could be associated with largely adaptive outcomes" (Patton, Smith, & Lilienfeld, 2018, p. 354).

Boldness, for example, is usually regarded as a positive personality trait. People who are bold are considered brave, daring, tough, confident, undaunted, and undeterred in reaching their goals. Dictionaries define it as willingness to take risks and act innovatively. Leadership and boldness often go hand in hand. Yet as noted in the chapter, a "dark side" of boldness also exists when boldness is associated with psychopathy. Criminal psychopaths, for example, exhibit boldness when they engage in antisocial behavior, including violence. It has also been noted that, psychopathy aside, people described as bold also may exhibit temper tantrums, are impatient with others, and inappropriately aggressive.

In a recent study, Patton et al. (2018) examined heroic and altruistic behavior along with several features of psychopathy, including boldness, in a sample of currently serving first responders (police officers, military members, emergency medical technicians, and firefighters). They compared them with a sample of civilians who were not first responders. Participants were recruited from two samples via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (M-Turk) survey platform.

The researchers found that everyday heroism and altruistic behavior were associated with fearless dominance, boldness and sensation-seeking, and antisocial behavior (which ranged widely from knowledge of workplace misconduct to motor vehicle accidents, to citizen complaints). First responders scored significantly higher than civilians on boldness, meanness, narcissism, sensation seeking, and interpersonal workplace deviance. They also scored significantly higher than civilians on off-duty altruism and everyday heroism. The researchers noted that the findings about antisocial behavior "suggest that antisocial and prosocial behaviors do not necessarily lie on opposite poles of the same dimension" (p. 361).

Questions for Discussion

1. The researchers emphasize that their study does not suggest that first responders are psychopathic. What knowledge from the chapter would you cite to support this cautionary statement?
2. Does the finding about antisocial behavior surprise you? Why or why not?
3. Like antisocial behavior, altruism and heroism were self-reported. They included such acts as stopping to help a motorist, helping push a car out of a snowbank, or breaking up a fight. Comment on the reliability of these self-reports. Were they likely to be more, less, or equally reliable to antisocial behavior reported by others?
4. What are the pros and cons of recruiting research participants via M-Turk? ■

the features that are associated with each cluster. (See Table 7–4.) Tetrad refers to a group of four characteristics.

Recall that in our earlier discussion of psychopathy, the traits of narcissism and Machiavellianism (or master manipulation of others) are often associated with that construct. Presumably, everyday sadism would be as well, because Buckels et al. (2013) describe

TABLE 7–4 Features of the Dark Tetrad of Personalities

Feature	Narcissism	Machiavellianism	Psychopathy	Sadism
Callousness	X	X	X	X
Impulsivity	X		X	
Manipulation	X	X	X	
Criminality		X	X	
Grandiosity	X		X	
Enjoyment of cruelty				X

Source: Paulhus, D. (2014). Toward a taxonomy of dark personalities. Current Directions in Psychologi-cal Science, 23, 421–426.

this as someone trying to hurt you, verbally or physically, for pure enjoyment. The bully, for example, is an everyday sadist. Proponents of the dark triad generally suggest there is considerable overlap in the three basic traits, but Paulhus (2014) has advocated keeping them very distinct, while still acknowledging that they overlap.

The dark personality traits have been studied in adolescents (Dubas, Baams, Doornwaard, & van Aken, 2017), children (De Clercq et al., 2017), adult offenders (Edwards, Albertson, & Verona, 2017), and leaders (Tokarev et al., 2017), among others. As is the case with psychopaths, dark personalities do not invariably commit crime. Rather, they are socially aversive and not likeable. Like the primary psychopath, though, they may make a good first impression. Furthermore, features of the dark personalities exist at some level in perhaps most people. It is when they appear in excess that the person becomes aversive to others. Furthermore, Paulhus believes the personalities should be kept distinct because they do not all share the same features. As noticed in Table 7–4, for example, the only feature they all share is callousness.

The dark triad, or dark tetrad, is an intriguing topic to discuss, and it has captured the attention of personality researchers who have developed inventories to measure it and to examine its relevance to the workplace (e.g., O'Boyle, Forsyth, Banks, & McDaniel, 2012). However, at this point there is insufficient research to tie it directly with antisocial or criminal behavior, although scholars are beginning to look in that direction (e.g., Edwards et al., 2017).

The Female Psychopath

Overall, research suggests that there are fewer female than male psychopaths, both in the general population and among persons convicted of crime (Bolt, Hare, Vitale, & Newman, 2004; Rogstad & Rogers, 2008; Verona & Vitale, 2018). In the general population, the estimated prevalence of psychopathy among men is 1% (Hare, 2003), but the prevalence is significantly less among women (Nicholls, Ogloff, Brink, & Spidel, 2005). Salekin, Rogers, and Sewell (1997) reported that the prevalence rate of psychopathy for female offenders in a jail setting was 15.5%, compared with the 25–30% prevalence rate estimated for male offenders. In another study, Salekin, Rogers, Ustad, and Sewell (1998) found, using a PCL-R cutoff score of 29, that 12.9% of their sample of 78 female inmates qualified as psychopaths. In a more recent investigation involving 528 adult women incarcerated in the state of Wisconsin, Vitale, Smith, Brinkley, and Newman (2002) report that only 9% of their participants could be classified as psychopaths, using the recommended cutoff score of 30 on the PCL-R. Finally, Hare (2003) found that about 7.5% of female offenders and 15% of male offenders meet the recommended cutoff score of 30 on the PCL-R. All these studies confirm that women generally score lower on the PCL-R than men.

Hare's PCL-R has been developed almost exclusively on white male criminal psychopaths. Some studies using the PCL-R suggest that female criminal psychopaths may demonstrate different behavioral patterns than male criminal psychopaths (Nicholls & Petrila, 2005; Vitale, Smith, Brinkley, & Newman, 2002). Although the data are far from conclusive, psychopaths who are women, compared with those who are men, appear to demonstrate a lack of realistic long-term goals, have numerous troubled marital relationships, engage in a wide range of crime, and show a greater tendency to be sexually promiscuous (Douglas et al., 2015; Grann, 2000; Salekin et al., 1997; Warren et al., 2003). We urge caution in interpreting this last characteristic, because men and women are often judged differently on this criterion. Female psychopaths also may not express the same emotional processing abnormalities as male psychopaths (Sutton, Vitale, & Newman, 2002). It appears that the affective features of psychopathy are especially important in identifying female psychopaths, with high levels of callousness and low levels of empathy clearly distinguishing them from nonpsychopathic women (Jackson, Rogers, Neumann, & Lambert, 2002; Rogstad & Rogers, 2008).

Kreis and Cooke (2011) also found that female psychopaths tend to be more subtle and skillful in their aggression, in their exploitative relationships, and in their manipulation of others, indicating that many of their harmful acts may go largely unnoticed by the authorities. Male psychopaths, on the other hand, are more likely to engage in direct, physical forms of aggression, dominance, and status seeking, which renders their harmful actions more noticeable and more likely to be officially recorded. These findings have led some scholars to propose that female psychopaths may rely more on relational aggression to get their way than male psychopaths (Skeem, Polaschek, Patrick, & Lilienfeld, 2011). There is also some evidence that female psychopaths have experienced greater levels of environmental deprivation and more sexual and physical victimization compared to male psychopaths (Hicks et al., 2012; Javdani, Sadeh, & Verona, 2011). It is also believed that those who offended began their criminal careers later than male psychopaths (Hart & Hare, 1997). Female psychopaths may also recidivate less often than male psychopaths (Salekin et al., 1998). In fact, the evidence suggests that psychopathic female inmates may have recidivism rates that are no different than the recidivism rates reported for nonpsychopathic female inmates (Salekin et al., 1998).

Similar to gender differences in criminality on the whole, the reported gender distinctions in psychopathy are probably due to a number of social influences and neuropsychological differences that occur across the developmental trajectory of men and women. Women and men arrive at crime via different pathways, and we must often look for different explanations for their crimes (Salisbury & Van Voorhis, 2009). As a result of these differences, women with psychopathic characteristics might rely on different tactics than men to reach the same goals (Nicholls & Petrila, 2005).

The more recent research utilizing the PCL-R shows considerable promise in identifying gender differences in psychopathy, but many researchers and experts urge caution before the instrument is adopted for clinical or diagnostic use with women (Nicholls et al., 2005). Douglas, Vincent, and Edens (2018) write that when it comes to psychopathy, "the interplay of gender with race, ethnicity, and age has been underexplored" (p. 691). Rogers (2000) admonishes that "psychologists are on safest ground if they limit their risk predictions on the PCL-R to White males with criminal histories" (p. 600). For the most part, however, there is emerging evidence that psychopathy as measured by the PCL-R has a significant relationship with antisocial behavior in adult women. To date, though, the research on female juvenile psychopaths is less convincing, as we will see shortly.

Racial/Ethnic Differences

The early work on the PCL as a measure of psychopathy was largely conducted using white inmates who were mostly Canadians (Douglas et al., 2015). One of the earliest studies on racial/ethnic differences reported that psychopathy, as measured by Hare's PCL, does exist in black male inmates in a pattern that resembles that of white male inmates (Kosson, Smith, & Newman, 1990). However, Kosson et al. found one important difference. The black criminal psychopaths tended to be less impulsive than white criminal psychopaths. This finding raises some questions as to whether the PCL is entirely appropriate to use with African American inmates or other diversified inmate populations. On the other hand, Vitale et al. (2002) found no significant racial differences in the scores and distributions of female psychopaths. More specifically, Vitale et al. discovered that 10% of the 248 incarcerated Caucasian women who participated in their study reached the cutoff scores of 30 or higher on the PCL-R compared with 9% of the 280 incarcerated African American women who had similar scores.

A meta-analysis by Skeem, Edens, Camp, and Colwell (2004) supports the conclusion that the differences between blacks and whites are minimal. They concluded: "Our finding that Blacks and Whites do not meaningfully differ in their levels of core psychopathic traits is consistent with community-based findings for self-report measures of psychopathy and clinical diagnoses of antisocial personality disorder" (p. 505). Additional research suggests that there are no significant differences between black and Hispanic inmates compared to white, non-Hispanic inmates (Neumann & Hare, 2008; Vachon, Lynam, Loeber, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2012). In fact a majority of studies have found no apparent differences between blacks and whites, convicted or nonconvicted, on PCL-SV scores, indicating that, in general, racial/ethnic differences in psychopathy scores are minimal (Douglas et al., 2015; Vachon et al., 2012). In a comprehensive literature review of psychopathy across various cultures and ethnicities, Fanti et al. (2018) found that PCL-R psychopathy scores are generally comparable. In other words, psychopathy as measured by the PCL-R appears to be a universal phenomenon across the globe.

Juvenile Psychopathy

As we have seen, one of the serious shortcomings of the extensive research conducted on psychopathy is that it has focused almost exclusively on white, adult men (Frick, Bodin, & Barry, 2000). Consequently, for many years research on juvenile (adolescent and child) psychopathy was limited. Within the last decade, however, the field expanded, leading to the general belief that a large amount of empirical research solidly supports the juvenile psychopathy construct (Asscher, van Vugt, Stams, Deković, Eichelsheim, & Yousfi, 2011). Furthermore, specific instruments designed to measure psychopathy in the young, such as a youth version of the PCL-R (PCL-YV) and the Child Psychopathy Scale (CPS; Lynam, 1997) have provided support for measuring the construct. These will be discussed again shortly. There is also substantial evidence that male criminal psychopaths begin their offending patterns at a very early age (Frick, 2009; Rutter, 2005).

Even so, attempts to apply the label "psychopathy" to juvenile populations "raise several conceptual, methodological, and practical concerns related to clinical/forensic practice and juvenile/criminal justice policy" (Edens, Skeem, Cruise, & Cauffman, 2001, p. 54). Some debate has focused on whether psychopathy can or should be applied to juveniles at all. Can features of adult psychopathy be found in children and adolescents in the first place? Others are concerned that—even if psychopathy can be identified in adolescents—the label may have too many negative connotations. More specifically, the label implies that

the prognosis for treatment is poor, a high rate of offending and recidivism can be expected, and the intrinsic and biological basis of the disorder means little can be done outside of biological interventions. This may lead those working in the juvenile justice system to give up on the juveniles so labeled, although some experts emphasize that psychopathy can indeed be treated (Salekin et al., 2010). (See Box 7–3 for illustration of a treatment program for juveniles with psychopathic characteristics.) A third debate contends that psychopathy assessments of youths must achieve a high level of confidence before they can be employed in the criminal justice system (Edens, Campbell, & Weir, 2007; Seagrave & Grisso, 2002). We will discuss these assessments shortly.

TREATMENT APPROACHES

BOX 7–3 TREATING ADOLESCENTS WITH PSYCHOPATHIC FEATURES

Offering psychotherapy is not for the faint of heart or the pessimistic. In particular, psychological treatment for adult and juvenile offenders generally does not receive good reviews in the research literature, despite the fact that evidence-based approaches have been identified. Treatment for adult psychopaths and juveniles with psychopathic characteristics has been especially discouraging, due largely to the intransigent nature of psychopathy itself. Nevertheless, there is reason for optimism.

A program with potential is described by Caldwell et al. (2007), who are mental health practitioners and researchers in Mendota, Wisconsin. "The Mendota Juvenile Treatment Center (MJTC) is a 29-bed intensive treatment program intended to provide mental health treatment to the most behaviorally disturbed juvenile boys held in the state's secured correctional facilities" (p. 576). Boys sent to the center failed to adjust in standard correctional institutions for adolescents. Subsequently, they were sent to MJTC even if they might have low IQ, psychosis, neurological deficits, or have displayed resistance to treatment.

In this intensive program, the boys typically have several individual counseling sessions each week, as well as group therapy focused on anger management and social skills development. A crucial component of the program is to address defiant resistance to treatment early on. That is, therapists tackle attitudes that can be barriers to change. Although not all boys have psychopathic characteristics, many do.

Caldwell et al.'s original study (2007) found that youths with psychopathic characteristics responded less favorably than those with nonpsychopathic characteristics, particularly in the short term. However, longer duration in the program (an average of nearly 45 weeks) produced positive change in the psychopathic youth, such as reduced aggression and more engagement in the treatment program itself. A 2-year follow-up study revealed that the treated youth were significantly less likely than other institutionalized youth to reoffend violently though there were no differences in property offending (Caldwell, Skeem, Salekin, & Van Rybroek, 2006).

The MJTC program suggests that "there is a group of youth with pronounced psychopathic features who can respond to appropriate treatment of sufficient duration" (Caldwell et al., 2007, p. 584). As such, it is cited by independent researchers as a promising program in the juvenile justice system (Cruise et al., 2016).

Questions for Discussion

1. The above is an admittedly brief description of a promising program. What more would you want to know about the operation of the program before evaluating its merits?
2. What do you think of the lack of the exclusion criteria mentioned above (e.g., low IQ scores)? Why might the program developers have decided *not* to exclude youth with these features? ■

Can Juvenile Psychopathy be Identified?

Another major problem of identifying juvenile psychopaths is that psychopathy—if it exists in this age group—may be very difficult to measure reliably because of the transient and constantly changing developmental patterns across the life span. Many clinicians and researchers have resisted any trend to search for psychopathy in juveniles, noting that features of the adult psychopath simply represent normal adolescent development. In other words, adolescents often appear callous and narcissistic, sometimes to hide their own fear and anxiety. They are often impulsive and engage in sensation-seeking behaviors, and many are not particularly good at long-range planning. In reality, these and other psychopathic-like characteristics represent either a passing phase in the difficult transition to adulthood and/or the adolescents' "cover" to make themselves appear noncaring.

For other children, psychopathic-like characteristics might be indicative of physical or sexual abuse. Children in abusive homes often demonstrate an abnormally restricted range of emotions that are similar to the emotional characteristics of psychopathy. Actually, these symptoms are the child's way of coping with a very stressful home environment (Seagrave & Grisso, 2002).

Furthermore, "Some adolescent behavior may...appear psychopathic by way of poor anger control, lack of goals, and poor judgment, but is actually influenced by parallel developmental tasks encountered by most adolescents" (Seagrave & Grisso, 2002, p. 229). Going against the rules is part of many adolescents' attempts to gain autonomy from adult dominance, such as found in adolescent-limited offending.

Nevertheless, certain problem characteristics in children and adolescents—for example, conduct problems, hyperactivity, impulsivity, and attention difficulties—resemble features of the adult psychopath and suggest that the term *juvenile psychopath* may have some validity. On the other hand, these characteristics may simply represent disorders such as conduct disorder (CD) or oppositional defiant disorder (ODD) that are distinct from psychopathy. As Cruise, Colwell, Lyons, and Baker (2003) have emphasized, to be useful the construct of juvenile psychopathy must be distinguished from other diagnoses. It appears, though, that current research is rapidly approaching a distinct construct. For example, a multidimensional model that identifies callous and unemotional traits (C/U), narcissism, and impulsivity has been proposed and tested as indicative of childhood psychopathy (Barry, Barry, Deming, & Lochman, 2008; Fite, Stoppelbein, & Greening, 2009; Frick, 2009; Pardini & Loeber, 2008).

Studies continually find support for the existence and validity of psychopathy in the young, and it seems to remain stable from age 7 to at least age 24 (Lynam, Caspi, Moffitt, Loeber, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2007; Lynam, Charnigo, Moffitt, Raine, Loeber, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2009). As noted by Skeem et al. (2011): "Put simply, it seems that researchers are capturing something that looks like psychopathy" (p. 125).

Ethical Considerations

On the whole, though, there is considerable concern about misuse of labels suggesting psychopathy by juvenile justice professionals, including judges, youth detention workers, and treatment providers. As noted at the beginning of the chapter, even using the label with adult offenders is controversial (Berryessa & Wohlstetter, 2019). Because of the widespread assertion that psychopaths are highly resistant to treatment, an adolescent "psychopath" accused of a crime—or even a youth demonstrating psychopathic characteristics—is more likely to be transferred to the adult court system rather than kept in the juvenile system. In the latter, treatment is more likely to be available once the youth has been adjudicated delinquent.

Surprisingly, one study found no negative effects associated with the label in a juvenile court (Murrie, Boccaccini, McCoy, & Cornell, 2007). By contrast, Viljoen et al. (2010) found that juveniles whose cases indicated psychopathy received harsher treatment by juvenile courts, including being transferred to adult courts. Viljoen et al. remarked, "psychopathy evidence was commonly used to infer that a youth would be very difficult or impossible to treat" (p. 271). As we learned in Chapter 6, however, transfers to criminal court from juvenile court may be decreasing. Furthermore, dissemination of information about successful treatment programs for juveniles with psychopathic characteristics, such as that described in Box 7–3, may be of help.

Nevertheless, specialized and intensive treatment programs are not widely available for juveniles in institutional settings, where the dominant programs are substance abuse, anger management, and programs that address trauma (Cruise et al., 2016). The label "psychopath" may become a self-fulfilling prophecy with treatment providers who may be unlikely to expend considerable effort on a seemingly hopeless case. Supporters of the construct of juvenile psychopathy argue that treatment providers should have that information at their disposal, both to make management decisions regarding custody and programming and to fashion the type of treatment that could be effective. Others contend that is important to identify psychopathy as early as possible to avoid the negative consequences to society and to help juveniles with psychopathic characteristics. Fortunately, researchers are beginning to identify promising treatment (Caldwell, Skeem, Salekin, & Van Rybroek, 2006; Salekin & Lynam, 2010; Spain, Douglas, Poythress, & Epstein, 2004). In essence, if there is a distinct difference between psychopathic youth and nonpsychopathic youth, supporters claim it is critical that knowledge of this difference be communicated to those who work most closely with them. Additionally, it is helpful to identify and promote "protective factors" in a child's developmental sequence that might help insulate the child from psychopathy (Salekin & Lochman, 2008). Supporters also believe there is wisdom in targeting for early intervention in a subgroup of adolescents who otherwise might become career criminals (Skeem & Cauffman, 2003). This presumes, of course, that youth are correctly identified, which leads to the issue of reliability and validity in psychological measures. Reliability pertains to the question of whether the psychological test or inventory measures an attribute consistently. Validity involves the question of whether the instrument measures what it is supposed to measure.

Psychopathic assessments of youths must achieve a high level of confidence before they can be used in the criminal justice system, where individuals face dire consequences (Seagrave & Grisso, 2002). For example, if an assessment instrument is designed to measure juvenile psychopathy, then there must be considerable research to demonstrate that it, in fact, does measure what it says it measures and can do so with consistency. Many experts maintain that, with reference to "juvenile psychopathy," we are not near that point yet.

Even so, over the past 15 years, knowledge regarding the theoretical and empirical applicability of juvenile "psychopathy" has expanded at a fast pace (Salekin, Leistico, Trobst, Schrum, & Lochman, 2005; Skeem, Polaschek et al., 2011). The research has demonstrated that the diagnostic label is linked to conduct disorder (Forth & Burke, 1998; Frick, 1998; Lynam, 1998) and higher levels of delinquency and police contacts (Corrado, Vincent, Hart, & Cohen, 2004; Falkenbach, Poythress, & Heide, 2003; Murrie, Cornell, Kaplan, McConville, & Levy-Elkon, 2004; Salekin, Ziegler, Larrea, Anthony, & Bennett, 2003). Only about 25% of juveniles with conduct disorders show psychopathic tendencies (Blair et al., 2006). Forth and Burke (1998) report that children and adolescents with psychopathic traits differ from other antisocial youngsters in terms of the age of onset of their behavior problems, the number of violent acts committed, the seriousness of their offenses, and their recidivism rates. Consequently, it appears that those youth who demonstrate psychopathic characteristics also seem to be heavily involved in antisocial behavior, at least hinting that the psychopathic label may have some validity.

Measures of Juvenile Psychopathy

It is not surprising that the avid interest in psychopathy, including juvenile psychopathy, would lead to the development of a variety of instruments designed to measure it, or at least psychopathic characteristics. Several instruments for measuring juvenile psychopathy have been developed, including the *Psychopathy Screening Device* or the PSD (Frick & Hare, 2001; Frick, O'Brien, Wootton, & McBurnett, 1994), the *Childhood Psychopathy Scale* or the CPS (Lynam, 1997), the *Youth Psychopathic Traits Inventory* or YPI (Andershed, Kerr, Stattin, & Levander, 2002), and the *Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version* or the PCL:YV (Forth, Kosson, & Hare, 2003). Although originally developed as research instruments rather than for diagnostic purposes in clinics or for the courts, they are rapidly becoming available to forensic clinical examiners for use in their private practice and their consulting work with the courts and the juvenile justice system.

All the measures have some difficulty because juvenile psychopaths—if they exist—are unlikely to give accurate or honest self-reports about their emotions, thoughts, or behavior. The PCL:YV relies on an interview that has some specific questions to ask, plus collateral and other written data. Because of the interview and collateral data requirement, the PCL:YV necessitates extensive training to administer and is time consuming. In addition, the PCL:YV is more research based and measures four dimensions of psychopathy (interpersonal, affective, behavioral, and antisocial). In contrast, the PCS and the YPI rely heavily on self-reports, while the APSD and CPS are designed to obtain information from teachers, parents, and the child or adolescent himself or herself.

The PCL:YV (youth version) is a 20-item rating scale adapted from the adult PCL-R (Hare, 1991, 2003) for use with juveniles. The PCL-YV has been subjected to extensive research, which suggests that it has adequate reliability and validity (for a review, see Vincent, 2006). However, caution is urged in its use. In particular, it appears to have limited ability to identify a meaningful relationship to psychopathy and antisocial behavior in adolescent girls (Odgers, Reppucci, & Moretti, 2005; Sevecke, Pukrop, Kosson, & Krischer, 2009; Vincent, Odgers, McCormick, & Corrado, 2008). It appears, therefore, that further investigations into the capacity of the PCL:YV to distinguish psychopathy in girls are critical before it can become a useful forensic tool.

There have been several attempts to compare various measures of juvenile psychopathy in terms of their validity and reliability (Farrington, 2005a). Preliminary research so far indicates that the measures do not have much in common, but more research needs to be done before conclusions can be drawn. One study shows considerable promise. Lynam and his colleagues (2007) were interested in discovering whether psychopathy scores on the CPS at age 13 predicted psychopathy scores on PCL:SV (short or screening version) at age 24. Surprisingly, the researchers determined that the CPS did a decent job of predicting PCL:SV scores. These results suggest that psychopathy not only appears stable across stages of development but also implies that juvenile psychopathy appears similar to adult psychopathy in many ways.

Neuropsychological Factors and Psychopathy

There is belief among the general public that psychopathic tendencies are caused exclusively by social factors, such as abuse and poor upbringing. However, researchers have implicated a variety of neuropsychological factors as well. Contemporary research favors the view that psychopathic behavior results from a complex interaction between neuropsychological and learning or socialization factors. Nevertheless, the neuropsychological

factors are crucial. Some research also has indicated that some aspects of psychopathy may be inherited (Waldman & Rhee, 2006; Waldman, Rhee, LoParo, & Park, 2018).

Genetic Factors

There is emerging evidence that genetics may play a role in the development of psychopathy (Blonigen, Carlson, Krueger, & Patrick, 2003; Blonigen et al., 2005; Waldman & Rhee, 2006; Waldman et al., 2018; Viding, Blair, Moffitt, & Plomin, 2005). Recall that the TriPM discussed previously included a disinhibition trait that is believed to have a genetic component (Patrick, 2018). As another example, some evidence suggests that temperament linked to low arousal and fear responses is associated with psychopathy (Frick & Morris, 2004). A temperament of this nature may disrupt the formation of guilt, conscience, or concern about punishment. It is also suggested that youth with psychopathic features may have brain abnormalities (Newman, Curtin, Bertsch, Baskin-Sommers, 2010) and that psychopathy may run in families (Viding & Larsson, 2010). Research extended to psychopathy in children and adolescents, while still relatively new, has thus far found many similarities and some differences (Salekin et al., 2010).

The overall influence of genetics on psychopathy may not be large, but it seems large enough to draw the increasing attention of developmental and genetic researchers, especially those investigators interested in twin studies. Blair et al. (2006) believe that genetic contributions may play a significant role in the emotional dysfunction frequently found in psychopaths. That is, heredity may contribute significantly to the underarousal and low emotional responsiveness of psychopaths. However, at this point in our knowledge, we appear to be a long way off from a clear genetic account of psychopathy. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that genetics creates psychopathic features in isolation. That is, many factors are likely to interact with genetics along the developmental pathway to psychopathy.

Neuropsychology and Psychopathy

Although research often has focused on the psychometric characteristics of psychopaths, the most current trend is the investigation of neuropsychological factors involved in determining psychopathic behavior (Gao, Glenn, Schug, Yang, & Raine, 2009; Vien & Beech, 2006; Yang & Raine, 2018). **Neuropsychology** refers to the branch of psychology that combines neurosciences and psychology. Neuropsychological indicators (called **markers**) have been repeatedly found in psychopaths, as reflected in electrodermal (skin conductance) measures and cardiovascular and other nervous system indices (Fishbein, 2001; Morgan & Lilienfeld, 2000). It is important, therefore, to become familiar with additional neuropsychological vocabulary and basic structures of the nervous system, some of which appeared in Chapter 3. The concepts presented here will also lay the foundation for topics in later chapters (e.g., Chapters 12 and 13 on sexual offenses).

Neuropsychology
The branch of psychology that combines theory and research from the neurosciences and traditional psychology.

Markers
A term used for the neurological indicators of a particular phenomenon, such as psychopathy.

Basic Neuropsychological Concepts and Terminology

The human nervous system can be divided into two major parts, either on the basis of structure or function. The structural division—the way it is arranged physically—is perhaps the clearest distinction. The central nervous system (CNS) and the peripheral nervous system (PNS) are the two principal parts. The CNS comprises the brain and spinal cord, and the PNS comprises all nerve cells (called neurons) and nerve pathways located outside the CNS (see Table 7–5). In other words, those nerves that leave the spinal cord and brain stem and travel to specific sites in the body belong to the peripheral (outside) nervous

TABLE 7–5 Major Divisions of the Human Nervous System

I. Central Nervous System (CNS)
A. Brain
B. Spinal cord
II. Peripheral Nervous System (PNS)
A. Somatic nervous system (communicates with voluntary muscles)
B. Autonomic nervous system
1. Parasympathetic nervous system (relaxes and deactivates after emergencies)
2. Sympathetic nervous system (activates for emergencies)

system. This includes all the nerves connecting the muscles, skin, heart, glands, and senses to the CNS.

The basic function of the PNS is to bring all the outside information to the CNS, where it is processed. Once the CNS has processed information, it relays the interpretation back to the PNS if action is necessary. When you place your finger on a hot object, the PNS relays this raw data (it is not yet pain) to the CNS, which interprets the datum as the sensation of pain, and in return, relays a command to the PNS to withdraw the finger. The PNS cannot interpret; it only transmits information to the CNS and carries communications back. In the following pages, we will consider the significance of each of these systems to the diagnosis of psychopathy.

Central Nervous System Differences

Structurally, the CNS consists of the brain and spinal cord. Interpretation, thoughts, memories, and images all occur in the cerebral cortex (the highest center of the brain). It is the processing center for stimulation and sensations received from the outside world and the body via the PNS. The cerebral cortex, which is the outer surface of the human brain, contains more than 100 billion nerve cells (called neurons) (Hockenbury & Hockenbury, 2004; *Scientific American,* 1999). Each neuron has a complicated communication link to numerous other neurons, creating an extremely complex communications network. Although the physical structure of the brain does not directly concern us, the electrical circuitry and arousal properties of the cortex are relevant in understanding the neuropsychological characteristics of the psychopath.

Hemisphere Asymmetry and Deficiency. The human brain can be divided anatomically into two cerebral hemispheres—a right and a left. These two cerebral hemispheres seem to coexist in some sort of reciprocally balancing relationship in cortical functioning and information processing. For most individuals, the right hemisphere specializes in nonverbal functions, whereas the left specializes in verbal or language functions. Furthermore, the left hemisphere processes information in an analytical, sequential fashion. Language, for example, requires sequential cognition, and the left seems to be the best equipped for this operation. The right hemisphere, on the other hand, seems to process information holistically and more globally. For example, the right is involved in the recognition of faces, a complicated process requiring the processing of information all at once or simultaneously. Thus, the right and left hemispheres are two functionally differentiated information processing systems.

In addition to information processing, research is now finding that these two cerebral hemispheres also make different contributions to human emotions (Jacobs & Snyder, 1996; Tomarken, Davidson, Wheeler, & Doss, 1992). The right hemisphere appears to be particularly important in the understanding and communication of emotion (Kosson, et al., 2002;

Wheeler, Davidson, & Tomarken, 1993). The left seems to be closely tied to self-inhibiting processes, in contrast with the right which appears to be more spontaneous and impulsive (Tucker, 1981). Furthermore, the two hemispheres must have a balance of contribution from each for normal judgment and appropriate self-control (Tucker, 1981), and self-regulation of emotion (Tomarken et al., 1992). These control and judgment processes are especially prevalent in the frontal lobes (front sections of the brain).

Hare (Hare, 1998; Hare & Connolly, 1987; Hare & McPherson, 1984) hypothesizes that criminal psychopaths manifest an abnormal or unusual balance between the two hemispheres, both in language processing and in emotional or arousal states, which he calls **hemisphere asymmetry**. Hare notes that criminal psychopaths are often strikingly inconsistent with their verbalized thoughts, feelings, and intentions. Criminal psychopaths seem to be highly peculiar in the organization of certain perceptual and cognitive processes. Their left hemisphere seems, in some ways, deficient in linguistic processing because they do not rely on the verbal sequential operations to the extent that a majority of individuals do. Hare (1998) also hypothesizes that as the language task increases in complexity, nonpsychopathic persons rely more and more on the left hemisphere to process the information, while psychopaths rely more on the right hemisphere. More recent research supports this hypothesis (Lorenz & Newman, 2002).

There is also some research indicating that psychopaths are less accurate than nonpsychopaths at reading emotional expressions portrayed by faces. More specifically, psychopaths appear to be less accurate than nonpsychopaths in facial emotional recognition under conditions designed to promote reliance on left-hemisphere processing (Kosson et al., 2002). These data are in support of the *left-hemisphere activation hypothesis* (Kosson, 1998), which states that psychopaths exhibit deficits on a variety of tasks that require activation of the left hemisphere.

Since language plays a very important role in the self-regulation of behavior, one of the contributing factors in the extremely impulsive, episodic behavior of psychopaths may reside in some deficiency in their use of internal language. This characteristic was pointed out some time ago by Flor-Henry (Flor-Henry, 1973; Flor-Henry & Yeudall, 1973), who was convinced that psychopathy is closely linked to left-hemispheric language dysfunction. There has been some research to suggest that the right hemisphere of psychopaths may be deficient as well (Herpertz & Sass, 2000). Research by Day and Wong (1996) and Silberman and Weingartner (1996), for example, suggests that many psychopaths have impairments in the right hemisphere that prevent them from experiencing emotions as strongly as the nonpsychopath population. Other researchers have found evidence that psychopaths exhibit an **emotional paradox**. "That is, psychopaths demonstrate normal appraisal of emotional cues and situations in the abstract (i.e., verbal discussion), but they are deficient in using emotional cues to guide their judgments and behavior in the process of living" (Lorenz & Newman, 2002, p. 91). In other words, psychopaths seem to be able to talk about emotional cues but lack the ability to use them effectively in the real world. This deficiency seems to be due to processing problems located in the left hemisphere (Bernstein, Newman, Wallace, & Luh, 2000; Lorenz & Newman, 2002). Nachshon (Nachshon, 1983; Nachshon & Denno, 1987) points out that many studies have found that a disproportionate percentage of violent, repetitive offenders have left-hemispheric dysfunction. Researchers in Germany have found similar results (Pillmann et al., 1999).

Emotional paradox
The research observation that psychopaths seem to be able to talk about emotional cues but lack the ability to use them effectively in the real world.

Frontal Neuropsychological Studies Some studies suggest that high psychopathic offenders may also suffer from frontal lobe problems or dysfunctions (Kiehl, 2006; Morgan & Lilienfeld, 2000; Sellbom & Verona, 2007; Yang & Raine, 2018). This observation is especially the case in many structural brain imaging studies that suggest psychopaths exhibit impairments in this region (Gao et al., 2009; Gregory et al., 2012;

Yang & Raine, 2018). The frontal lobe refers to that section of the cerebral cortex we commonly call the forehead (see Figure 3–1). The frontal lobes are believed to be responsible for the "higher level" cognitive functions of abstraction, decision making, cognitive flexibility, foresight, the regulation of impulses, and the control of appropriate behavior (Ishikawa et al., 2001). In other words, the frontal lobes perform the "executive functions" of the human brain, discussed in Chapter 3. Researchers tend to be more specific in their terminology and focus on the prefrontal cortex, the "front" area of the frontal lobe or cortex. As we learned in Chapter 3, **executive functions** refer to higher-order mental abilities involved in goal-directed behavior. Executive functions include organizing behavior, memory, inhibition processes, and planning strategies. Research has been consistent in demonstrating that prefrontal damage results in poor decision making, reduced autonomic functioning, and a psychopathic-like personality (Yang et al., 2005).

Executive function
Higher-order mental abilities involved in goal-directed behavior. They include organizing behavior, memory, inhibition processes, and planning strategies.

A growing amount of research indicates that psychopaths do appear to have defects in frontal lobe processing (Blair, 2007; Harenski et al., 2010; Yang & Raine, 2018). A comprehensive review by Morgan and Lilienfeld (2000) concluded that psychopaths, as a group, do show executive function deficits, which may result in faulty impulse control, judgment, and planning under certain conditions.

In an interesting study, Widom (1978) found that psychopaths recruited from newspaper advertisements for her experiment did not demonstrate the same level of frontal lobe deficits as incarcerated psychopaths. Widom speculated that "successful psychopaths" (community-based psychopaths who escaped conviction of their offenses and who answered the ad) probably had better functioning frontal lobes for controlling their behavior than the "unsuccessful" institutionalized psychopaths. Consistent with Widom's results, Ishikawa et al. (2001) discovered that successful psychopaths do not show the same psychophysiological or neuropsychological deficits as unsuccessful psychopaths. Overall, the researchers found that successful psychopaths exhibited stronger and better-organized executive functions than either the unsuccessful psychopaths or the controls used in the study.

Despite the increasing number of empirical studies on adult psychopaths, brain imaging studies on children and adolescents who show some psychopathic traits are rare (Gao et al., 2009), but there are exceptions (e.g., Viding & Larsson, 2010, mentioned above). Also, the few studies that have been conducted provide "some evidence supporting the speculation that the condition of psychopathy may, in part, be a result of neurodevelopmental abnormalities" (Gao et al., 2009, p. 815). Furthermore, these neurodevelopmental abnormalities appear to occur very early in life. One study, for instance, found that individuals who incurred damage to the prefrontal cortex before the age of 16 months showed considerable similarity to psychopaths (Anderson, Bechara, Damasio, Tranel, & Damasio, 1999). The researchers noted that these patients were "characterized by a pervasive disregard for social and moral standards, consistent irresponsibility and a lack of remorse" (Anderson et al., 1999, p. 1035).

At this point, the evidence suggests that the frontal lobes or prefrontal cortex may play an important role in explaining some of the observed behavioral differences between psychopaths and nonpsychopaths. Furthermore, frontal lobe dysfunction may not be simply limited to psychopaths but may be a feature that is characteristic of many other types of offenders (Raine, 1993, 2013).

Amygdala and Hippocampus Dysfunction Psychopaths clearly demonstrate some problems in emotional processing. The frontal lobe is most often associated with this observation, as we have seen. Researchers are beginning to believe that other neurological structures responsible for this dysfunction may be the amygdala in combination with the hippocampus (Crowe & Blair, 2008; Kiehl, 2006; Yang & Raine, 2018). As noted by Yang and Raine (2018), "Several studies have revealed abnormal function and structure in the amygdala-hippocampal complex in psychopathic individuals" (p. 384).

The amygdala is an almond-shaped cluster of neurons in the brain responsible for emotions such as fear, anger, and disgust. Each amygdala (there is one for each side of the brain) is located close to the hippocampus in the front portion of the temporal lobe. The hippocampus is shaped like a seahorse located in the temporal lobe.

Kiehl et al. (2001) found that psychopaths exhibited lower amygdala activity during an emotional processing task when compared with criminal nonpsychopaths and noncriminal controls. Similar findings were reported by others (Gao et al., 2009; Harenksi, Harenski, Kiehl, & Shane, 2010; Jones, Laurens, et al., 2009; Marsh et al., 2008; Müller et al., 2003). With further research, the relationship between amygdala and learning might emerge as a highly significant factor in understanding the emotional behavior of the psychopath. Yang and Raine (2018), in their careful review of the research literature, conclude: "In summary, despite some inconsistencies, the majority of published findings to date support a possible link between abnormalities in the amygdala-hippocampus complex and psychopathy" (p. 385).

Peripheral Nervous System (PNS) Research

The PNS is subdivided into a *somatic division*, comprising the motor nerves that innervate the muscles involved in body movement, and an *autonomic division*, which controls heart rate, gland secretion, and smooth muscle activity. Smooth muscles are those muscles found in the blood vessels and gastrointestinal system; they look smooth under a microscope in comparison with the skeletal muscles, which look striped or textured.

The autonomic segment of the PNS is extremely relevant to our discussion of the psychopath, because here, too, research has consistently uncovered a significant difference between the psychopath's and the general population's reactivity or responsiveness to stimuli. The autonomic division is especially important, because it activates emotional behavior and responsivity to stress and tension. It can be subdivided into the *sympathetic* and *parasympathetic systems* (see Figure 7–1).

The sympathetic system is responsible for activating or arousing the individual for fight or flight before (or during) fearful or emergency situations. As you will recall, the psychopath displays a James Bond–like coolness, even in stressful situations. We might explain this in one of two ways. Either the sympathetic nervous system does not react sufficiently to stressful stimuli, or the parasympathetic system springs into action in the psychopath more rapidly than in nonpsychopaths. There is research support for both of these positions.

Before discussing in more detail the psychopath's autonomic nervous system, we should note the principles and techniques of measuring autonomic activity. Emotional arousal, which is largely under the control of the autonomic nervous system, can be measured by monitoring the system's activity, such as heart rate, blood pressure or volume, and respiration rate. The most commonly used physiological indicator of emotional arousal, however, is *skin conductance response* (SCR), also known as the *galvanic skin response* (GSR). Since SCR is the label most advocated by contemporary researchers (Lykken & Venables, 1971), it will be used throughout this section.

SCR is simply a measure of the resistance of the skin to conducting electrical current. Although a number of factors in the skin influence its resistance, perspiration seems to play a major role. Perspiration corresponds very closely to changes in emotional states and has therefore been found to be a highly sensitive indicator of even slight changes in the autonomic nervous system. Other things being equal, as emotional arousal increases, perspiration rate increases proportionately. Small changes in perspiration can be picked up and amplified by recording devices, known as polygraphs or physiographs. An increase in perspiration lowers skin resistance to electrical conductance. In other words, skin conductance (SC) increases as emotional arousal (anxiety, fear, and so on) increases.

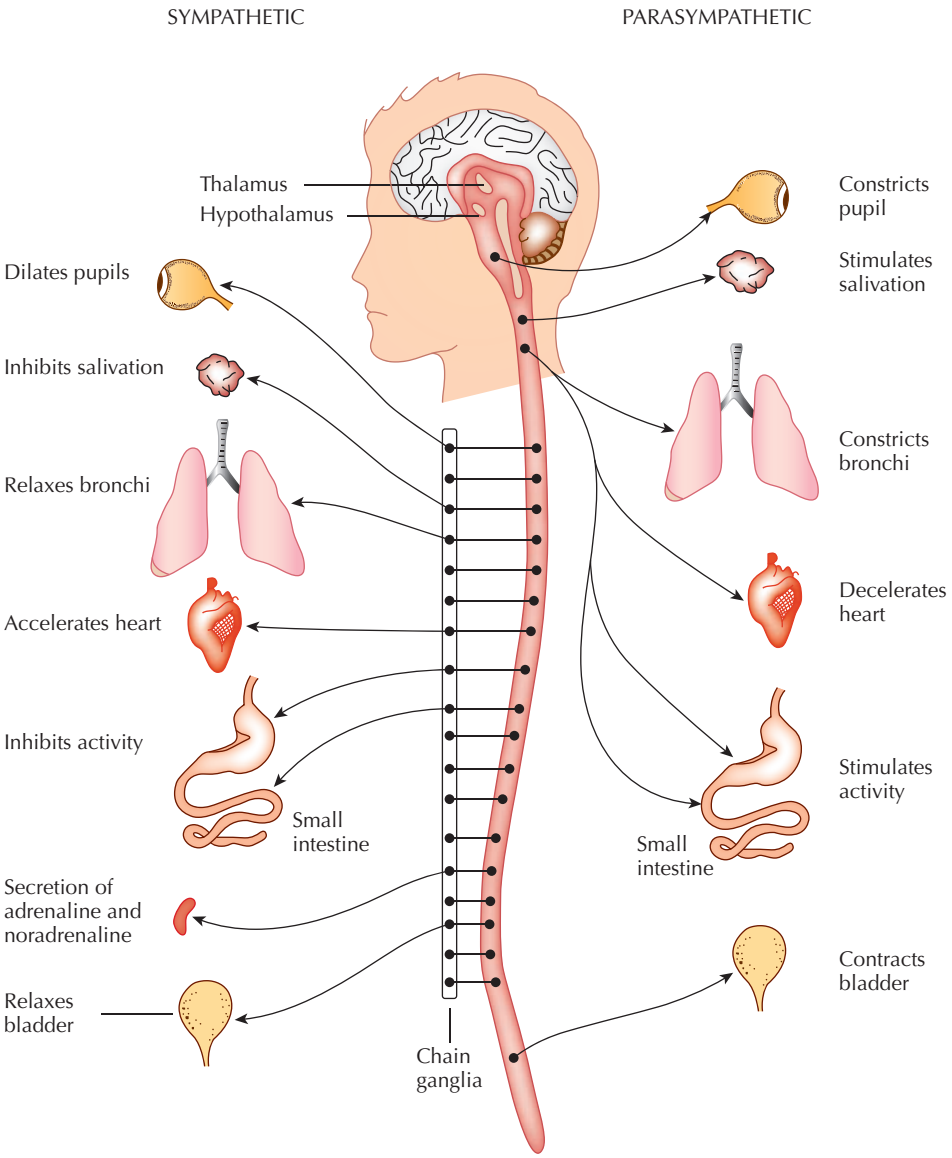

FIGURE 7–1

Illustration of the Sympathetic and Parasympathetic Subdivision of the Autonomic Nervous System

We noted earlier that psychopaths lack the capacity to respond emotionally to stressful or fearful situations. Essentially, they give the impression of being anxiety-free, carefree, and cool, and they display a devil-may-care attitude. We would expect, therefore, that compared with the normal population, the psychopath has a comparatively underactive, underaroused autonomic nervous system. What has the research literature revealed? Consistently, investigators have reported low SC arousal in psychopaths (Fishbein, 2001). "Deficits in measures of SC arousal are believed to be associated with low autonomic arousal levels which are, in turn, related to low emotionality, lack of empathy and remorse, and ability to lie easily" (Fishbein, 2001, p. 51). We now turn our attention to the division of the nervous system most responsible for SC arousal.

Autonomic Nervous System Research

A relatively large number of studies focusing on the autonomic nervous system of the psychopath have been conducted (Gao et al., 2009). In a pioneering study, Lykken (1957) hypothesized that since anxiety reduction is an essential ingredient in learning to avoid painful or stressful situations, and since the psychopath is presumed to be anxiety free,

then the psychopath should have special difficulty learning to avoid unpleasant things. Recall that two characteristic features of psychopaths are their inability to learn from unpleasant experiences and their very high recidivism. Lykken carefully delineated his research groups according to Cleckley's criteria. His psychopaths (both male and female) were drawn from several penal institutions in Minnesota and were classified as either primary or neurotic psychopaths. College students comprised a third group of nonpsychopathic participants.

Lykken designed an electronic maze that subjects were expected to learn as well as possible in 20 trials. There were 20 choice points in the maze, each with four alternatives, with only one being the correct choice. Although three alternatives were incorrect, only one of these would give the subject a rather painful electric shock. Lykken was primarily interested in discovering how quickly subjects learned to avoid the shock, a process called **avoidance learning**. He reasoned that avoidance learning would be rewarded by the reduction of anxiety on encountering the correct choice point, but since psychopaths are presumably deficient in anxiety, their performance should be significantly worse than that of people who were not psychopaths. The hypothesis was supported.

Avoidance learning
A process whereby someone responds in time to a warning signal in order to avoid painful or aversive stimuli.

Before the maze portion of the experiment, Lykken measured the skin conductance changes of each subject while he or she tried to sit quietly for 30 to 40 minutes. During this time, the subjects would periodically hear a buzzer and occasionally receive a slight, brief electric shock several seconds after the buzzer. Eventually, the buzzer became associated with the shock. In nonpsychopaths, the sound of the buzzer itself produced an anxiety response in anticipation of the electric shock (classical conditioning), which was reflected by a substantial increase in SCR. Psychopaths, however, were considerably less responsive to this stress. Furthermore, psychopaths were incapable of learning to avoid the painful electric shocks, while the nonpsychopaths learned significantly better.

Lykken's data indicate that psychopaths do in fact have an underresponsive autonomic nervous system and, as a result, do not learn to avoid aversive situations as well as most other people. More recent research continues to support these findings (Gao et al., 2009; Gottman, 2001; Ogloff & Wong, 1990). Diminished autonomic reactivity also has been discovered in adolescents and children who exhibit psychopathic traits (Fung, Raine, Loeber, Lynam, Steinhauer, Venables, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 2005; Gao et al., 2009). Does this provide at least a partial explanation for why psychopaths continue to get into trouble with the law, despite the threat of imprisonment?

Schachter and Latané (1964) followed up on Lykken's work by using similar apparatus and basic procedures, with the exception of one major revision. Each subject was run through the maze twice, once with an injection of a harmless saline solution, once with an injection of adrenaline, a hormone that stimulates physiological arousal. Subjects were prisoners selected on the basis of two criteria: how closely they approximated Cleckley's primary psychopath and how incorrigible they were, as measured by the number of offenses and time in prison. Prisoners high on both criteria were psychopaths; prisoners relatively low were nonpsychopaths.

Injections of adrenaline dramatically improved the performance of the psychopath in the avoidance learning task. In fact, with adrenaline injections, the psychopaths learned to avoid shocks more quickly than did normal prisoners with similar injections. On the other hand, when psychopaths had saline injections, they were as deficient in avoidance learning as Lykken's psychopaths.

Since anxiety is presumed to be a major deterrent to antisocial impulses, the manipulation of arousal or anxiety states by drugs may suggest policy implications for the effective treatment of convicted psychopaths. Specific drugs apparently have the potential to increase the emotional level of psychopaths to a point equivalent to the level of the general population.

Subsequent research by Hare (1965a, 1965b) found that primary psychopaths have significantly lower skin conductance while resting than do nonpsychopaths. Skin

conductance is a measure of how well the skin conducts the passage of a very small electrical current between two electrodes attached to the person, usually on two fingers of the same hand. The electrical current is undetectable to the person receiving the current. It is most often used as a measure of arousal (the more arousal, the better the skin conducts the electrical current) and represents the basic measure of lie detection (polygraph) devices. Other researchers have reported similar results as found by Hare (Herpertz & Sass, 2000; Lorber, 2004). In another major study, Hare (1968) divided 51 inmates at the British Columbia Penitentiary into three groups—primary psychopaths, secondary psychopaths, and nonpsychopaths—and studied them under various conditions, while constantly monitoring their autonomic functioning. The experimental conditions also permitted the observation of a complex physiological response known as the *orienting response* (OR).

The OR is a nonspecific, highly complicated cortical and sensory response to strange, unexpected changes in the environment. The response may take the form of a turning of the head, a dilation of the eye, or a decrease in heart rate. It is made in an effort to determine what the change is. Pavlov referred to the OR as the "what-is-it" reflex. It is an automatic, reflexive accompaniment to any perceptible change, and it can be measured by various physiological indices. The OR produces, among other things, an increase in the analytical powers of the senses and the cortex.

Hare found that not only did psychopaths exhibit very little autonomic activity (skin conductance and heart rate), but also that they gave smaller ORs than did nonpsychopaths. His data suggest that psychopaths are less sensitive and alert to their environment, particularly to new and unusual events.

Hare later reported intriguing data relating to the heart or cardiac activity of the psychopath. The aforementioned conclusions were based on skin conductance data. When cardiovascular variables are considered, however, some apparent anomalies appear. While skin conductance is consistently low, cardiac activity (heart rate) in the psychopath is often as high as that found in the nonpsychopathic population (Hare & Quinn, 1971). Hare comments, "The psychopaths appeared to be poor electrodermal [skin conductance] conditioners but good cardiovascular ones" (Hare, 1976, p. 135). That is, although psychopaths do not learn to react to stimuli as measured by skin variables, it appears that they learn to react autonomically as well as nonpsychopaths when the heart rate is measured. Hare suggests that the psychopath might be more adaptive to stress when "psychophysiological defense mechanisms" are brought into play, thereby reducing the impact of stressful stimuli.

Hare and his colleagues designed experiments in which the heart rate could be monitored throughout the experimental session. In one experiment, a tone preceded an electric shock by about 10 seconds (Hare & Craigen, 1974). In anticipation of the shock, psychopaths exhibited a rapid acceleration of heartbeat, followed by a rapid deceleration of heart rate immediately before the onset of the noxious stimulus (a "normal" reaction is a gradual but steady increase in heart rate until the shock). However, their skin conductance remained significantly lower than that of nonpsychopaths. Therefore, psychopaths appear to be superior conditioners when cardiac activity is measured, indicating that they do indeed either learn or inherit autonomic adaptability to noxious stimuli. Hare suggests that this accelerative heart response is adaptive and helps the psychopath tune out or modulate the emotional impact of noxious stimuli. This, he speculates, may be the reason that skin conductance responses are relatively low in the psychopath.

Lykken (1955) also conducted experiments testing the performance of psychopaths on polygraph equipment. If psychopaths are generally underaroused, we would expect that lie detectors would be unable to differentiate their deceptive responses from their truthful ones, since polygraphs rely on physiological reactivity to questions. Also, psychopaths should have no trouble being deceptive, since they are typically adept at manipulating and deceiving others. Lykken's research confirmed these expectancies. Psychopaths emitted

similar skin conductance responses, regardless of whether they were lying or telling the truth. Nonpsychopaths displayed significant differences in reactivity; their lie ratios, reflected by skin conductance, were larger than those of psychopaths. Because of the artificial atmosphere of the laboratory compared with real-life situations, particularly stressful ones, Lykken admonished against uncritical acceptance of his findings until further testing.

To date, few studies have since directly examined the relationship between psychopathy and lie detection. However, in recent years lie detection research has shifted to brain imaging studies of lying by psychopaths, a procedure that is offering promising results. In summarizing these fMRI studies, Yang and Raine (2018) conclude that "available findings suggest that brain abnormalities, specifically in frontal regions, ...may be specific to the lying, manipulative, conning characteristics of psychopathy" (p. 387).

Research studies have also continually reported that psychopaths appear to have a lack of fear under a variety of environmental conditions that normally engender fear in nonpsychopaths (Fowles & Dindo, 2009; Skeem, Polaschek, et al., 2011). "On balance, available evidence indicates that fearlessness is a key component of psychopathy but that it is unlikely to account for all of the affective, interpersonal, and behavioral aspects of the condition" (Skeem, Polaschek, et al., 2011, p. 113).

In summary, the research reviewed thus far allows us to make four tentative conclusions about the autonomic functioning of the psychopath. First, psychopaths appear to be both autonomically and cortically underaroused, both under rest conditions and under some specific stress conditions. They are much more physiologically fearless compared to nonpsychopaths. Second, because they lack the necessary emotional equipment, psychopaths appear to be deficient in avoidance learning, which might account partially for their very high recidivism rates. Third, some data suggest that if emotional arousal can be induced, such as by adrenaline, psychopaths can learn from past experiences and avoid normally painful or aversive situations, such as prison, embarrassment, or social censure. And fourth, with adequate incentives, such as monetary rewards, psychopaths can learn from past experiences and avoid aversive consequences as well as anyone.

Research also has shown that adult psychopaths usually exhibit significant antisocial behavior in their childhoods (Seagrave & Grisso, 2002). It is reasonable, therefore, to expect researchers to begin searching the developmental trajectory of psychopathy in order to identify tomorrow's psychopaths. The next section examines what we currently know about the childhood of the psychopath.

Childhood of the Psychopath

We have discussed the behavioral descriptions and neuropsychological components of psychopaths. Now, how did they get that way? Criminal behavior and other behavior problems are often assumed to be rooted in the home, usually in homes with conflict, inadequate discipline, or poor models. From our discussion of the neuropsychological components of psychopaths, however, it is obvious that the answer is not that simple. Psychopathy seems to be a result of a highly complex interaction of neuropsychological, social, and learning factors.

Cleckley (1976) was not convinced that any common precursors exist in the family backgrounds of psychopaths, even though relatively homogeneous classifications of psychopathy do exist. However, even if we accept that neuropsychological factors may be causal factors in the development of psychopathy, this does not mean they are necessarily hereditary. As described earlier, it is possible, though, that psychopaths are born with a biological predisposition to develop the disorder and that this predisposition requires certain psychosocial risk factors before emerging, such as neglectful or abusive parenting. It could be that psychopaths have a nervous system that interferes with rapid conditioning and association between transgression and punishment. Because of this defect, the psychopath

fails to anticipate punishment and, hence, feels no guilt (no conscience). As an alternative to the defect argument, it is possible that certain aspects of the psychopath's nervous system simply have not matured. Another possibility is that genetics, toxicity (e.g., lead paint or other sources of lead or other toxic substances) in utero or early childhood, birth difficulties, temperament, and other early developmental factors may affect certain processes in the nervous system, rendering some children vulnerable to develop conduct problems and psychopathic characteristics. We have learned in the chapter, for example, that early damage to the prefrontal cortex may contribute significantly to psychopathic trait development. In addition, it should be emphasized that social factors play a major role in affecting these predispositions. "For example, a problematic temperamental predisposition at 6 months of age *and* low socioeconomic status at birth *and* early life experiences of physical abuse *and* peer rejection in early elementary school combine to predict clinically significant conduct-problem outcomes...in adolescence" (Dodge & Pettit, 2003, p. 354). Basically, persistent and serious offending that emerges early in life is driven partially by heritable influences that are strengthened or weakened during childhood and adolescence by parenting and other environmental factors (Frick & Marsee, 2018; Tengström et al., 2004).

Many researchers believe that psychopathy begins in childhood and continues throughout adulthood (Farrington, 2005b; Forth & Burke, 1998; Frick & Marsee, 2018; Lynam, 1998), which has led to the intense interest in juvenile psychopathy. According to the research, the childhood of the psychopath is littered with signals that something is amiss. Marshall and Cooke (1999) found that, compared with nonpsychopaths, psychopaths were more likely to have experienced family difficulties such as parental neglect, abuse, or even antipathy and indifference. They were also more likely to have experienced negative school experiences. Poor parental monitoring and discipline have also been identified in the backgrounds of psychopaths (Tolan, Gorman-Smith, & Henry, 2003). Lynam (1998) reports that children with symptoms of hyperactivity, impulsivity, and attention problems *and* conduct problems closely resemble psychopathic adults. The extensive research of Paul Frick (2009) supports these observations. We hasten to add, however, that while it may appear that all psychopaths have experienced all or some of these problems as children, this is not to say that children with similar problems are fledgling psychopaths, though some might be.

"Few researchers have tried to investigate early childhood risk factors that might predict, influence, or cause psychopathy" (Farrington, 2005a, p. 493). And very few researchers have conducted prospective longitudinal investigations of those risk factors (Farrington, 2005a). Some retrospective studies (Koivisto & Haapasalo, 1996; Patrick, Zempolich, & Levenston, 1997) and some longitudinal studies (Lang, af Klinteberg, & Alm, 2002; Weiler & Widom, 1996) have found that PCL-R scores appear to be related to early childhood abuse. In one prospective longitudinal study of 400 London boys, ages 8–10 years, it was found that physical neglect, poor parental supervision, a disrupted family, large family size, a convicted parent, a depressed mother, and poverty predicted psychopathy scores at age 48 (Farrington, 2005b).

A fruitful avenue for exploring the childhood of the psychopath would be close examination of the life-course-persistent (LCP) offender described by developmental theorists. Developmental theory postulates that LCP offenders manifest antisocial behaviors across all kinds of conditions and situations in their childhoods. Neurologically, LCPs demonstrate a variety of minor neuropsychological disorders, such as difficult temperaments as infants, attention-deficit disorders or hyperactivity as children, and learning problems as adolescents. Socially, LCPs are rejected by peers during their preteen years and are annoying to adults. Emotionally, these children display virtually no empathy or concern for others, show very little bonding to family, and often are sadistic and manipulative. They are highly impulsive and lack insight. A careful reading of LCPs' developmental histories often shows a striking resemblance to the symptomology of criminal psychopaths. It should be emphasized, however, that only a modest number of LCPs probably qualify as full-blown psychopaths.

Treatment of Psychopaths

The treatment and rehabilitation of criminal psychopaths have been shrouded with pessimism and discouragement. Hare (1996, p. 41) asserted, "There is no known treatment for psychopathy." He admonished, though, "This does not necessarily mean that the egocentric and callous attitudes and behaviors of psychopaths are immutable, only that there are no methodologically sound treatments or 'resocialization' programs that have been shown to work with psychopaths." A long line of research documents that *adult* psychopaths are not responsive to treatment, whether in prisons, in psychiatric treatment centers, or in the community (e.g., Hare et al., 2000; Polaschek & Skeem, 2018). Some commentary has indicated that psychotherapy or intervention with psychopaths is basically a waste of time. Gacono et al. (2001) concluded from their review that "simply stated, at this time there is no empirical evidence to suggest that psychopathy is treatable" (p. 111). O'Neill, Lidz, and Heilbrun (2003) remarked that "to date, there is no treatment for psychopathy that has been established as effective" (p. 300).

Several early studies indicate that adult psychopaths are either completely nonresponsive to treatment or play the treatment game well, pretending to cooperate but in actuality "conning" the treatment provider (Hare, 1996; Porter et al., 2000; Rice, Harris, & Cormier, 1992). Farrington (2005a) states that "it seems to be generally believed that psychopaths are difficult to treat because (a) they are an extreme, qualitatively distinct category; (b) psychopathy is extremely persistent throughout life; (c) psychopathy has biological causes which cannot be changed by psychosocial interventions; and (d) the lying, conning, and manipulativeness of psychopaths make them treatment resistant" (pp. 494–95).

Other literature has pushed back on these conclusions, however (Salekin et al., 2010). Many researchers and clinicians believe that untreatability statements concerning the adult psychopath are unwarranted (Salekin, 2002; Skeem, Monahan, & Mulvey, 2002; Skeem, Poythress, Edens, Lilienfeld, & Cale, 2003; Wong, 2000). It is clear that treating psychopaths is not easy. Skeem et al. (2011) assert that criminal psychopaths—like other high-risk offenders—"tend to be evasive, verbally combative, hostile, prevaricating, disruptive and less ready to change, less committed to adjunct activities such as work and education, and more likely to be removed from or leave treatment prematurely" (p. 134). Polaschek and Skeem (2018), in their comprehensive review of the treatment literature on adult psychopaths, conclude that the results of well-designed studies are encouraging but not yet compelling.

There is some evidence that psychopaths who receive larger "doses" of treatment are less likely to demonstrate subsequent violent behavior than those who receive less treatment (Skeem, Poythress et al., 2003). It should be mentioned that a vast majority of the research has focused on recidivism rates of male psychopathic offenders, and very little is known about the recidivism rates of female psychopathic offenders.

It is usually difficult to evaluate properly the effectiveness of programs designed to treat psychopaths because of the ability of these individuals to manipulate the system. For example, many psychopaths volunteer for various prison treatment programs, show "remarkable improvement," and present themselves as model prisoners. They are skillful at convincing therapists, counselors, and parole boards that they have changed for the better. Upon release, however, there is a high probability that they will reoffend. In fact, there is some evidence to suggest that psychopaths who participate in therapy are more likely to engage in violent crime following treatment than psychopaths who did not receive treatment. Rice et al. (1992) investigated the effectiveness of an intensive therapeutic community program offered in a maximum security facility. The study was retrospective in that the researchers examined records and files 10 years after the program was completed. The results showed that psychopaths who participated in the therapeutic community exhibited higher rates of violent recidivism than did the psychopaths who did not. The results were the reverse for

nonpsychopaths. Nonpsychopaths who received treatment were less likely to reoffend than nonpsychopaths who did not receive treatment.

Some critics of this study have remarked that the therapeutic community referred to was highly atypical of treatment programs in correctional facilities and has limited generalizability. Furthermore, the researchers themselves cautioned that the psychopaths used in the study were an especially serious group of offenders. Eighty-five percent had a history of violent crimes. Whether less serious psychopathic offenders will show similar results is unknown. The researchers conclude, "The combined results suggest that a therapeutic community is not the treatment of choice for psychopaths, particularly those with extensive criminal histories" (Rice et al., 1992, p. 408). Hare (1996) suggests that group therapy and insight-oriented treatment programs—both of which were features of the program reviewed above—may help the psychopath develop better ways of manipulating and deceiving others.

So far, in summary, treatment for adult psychopathy has not been overly encouraging. As Polaschek and Skeem (2018) indicated, even positive results from some well-designed studies are certainly not compelling. In their review of the research literature on this topic, Polaschek and Skeem conclude: "With adults, we have found no methodologically sound research demonstrating change in symptoms of psychopathy as a function of treatment" (p. 715).

Treatment of Children and Adolescents with Psychopathic Features

As we noted in the previous section, the treatment and rehabilitation of adult criminal psychopaths has been cloaked with pessimism and discouragement, although slightly less so in more recent years. Unfortunately, little is known about the effectiveness of prevention and treatment methods for child and adolescent psychopathy (Farrington, 2005a, p. 494) or, as many researchers and clinicians prefer to say, children and adolescents with psychopathic tendencies or characteristics. (See again Box 7–3 for an exception.)

Logically, it makes sense to hypothesize that children and adolescents with psychopathic features would respond more positively than psychopathic adults to prevention and treatment strategies because of their developmental malleability. Consequently, researchers have begun to evaluate the effectiveness of (a) treatment programs designed specifically for juveniles with psychopathic characteristics, and (b) programs for youthful offenders that include those with psychopathic characteristics.

Studies have underscored the observations that children and adolescents with psychopathic features show distinct sets of emotional and cognitive deficits that lead to their violent and antisocial behavior. According to Salekin and Frick (2005), knowledge about these areas may be important for designing more individualized interventions for youths with psychopathic traits. For example, laboratory studies have revealed that children with conduct problems and high levels of callous-unemotional (CU) traits exhibit tendencies to respond better to reward-driven interventions and respond poorly to punishment-driven or fear-induced forms of intervention (Hawes & Dadds, 2005). These findings imply that children displaying high-reward drive and low fearful inhibitions should, compared with conduct-problem children *without* CU traits, respond well to parents who use reward-based strategies for changing behavior (e.g., praise, rewards, reinforcement tokens), but remain insensitive to other parental disciplinary practices (e.g., time-outs, forms of verbal or behavioral punishments, such as scolding or confiscating a favorite game). "The assessment of CU traits in addition to other established risk factors," Hawes and Dadds (2005) conclude, "may allow such children to be targeted with more individualized intervention" (p. 740).

Polaschek and Skeem (2018) found that high-quality research specific to the treatment of juvenile offenders with psychopathic features is not extensive, but there are some indicators of success. They suggest that the best time to apply treatment programs designed for psychopaths is early adolescence. They note that recent neuropsychological research indicates that "the onset of puberty marks the beginning of dramatic changes in reward processing, processing of emotional stimuli, and social cognitive reasoning" (p. 725). Adolescence may represent the most critical time for altering the lifetime course toward adult psychopathy. In their research review Polaschek and Skeem write: "The main conclusion that can be drawn from these studies is that children and adolescents with callous-unemotional features respond to prevention or intensive treatment with reduced antisocial behavior" (p. 721). These studies suggest that CU features appear to be a meaningful target in changing the antisocial behavioral patterns in children and adolescents, but much more well-designed research needs to be done before firm conclusions of success can be advanced. Nevertheless, there is hope.

On another promising note, Salekin, Rogers, and Machin (2001) in their survey of over 500 child clinical psychologists discovered that many of these clinicians reported that they were moderately to significantly successful in treating children and adolescents with psychopathic features. The treatment duration for these psychopathic youth averaged about 12 months. "After nearly 1 year of treatment these youths reportedly made marked improvement on such criteria as violence and recidivism" (Salekin et al., 2001, p. 192). The clinicians estimated that approximately 42% of the boys and 45% of the girls made moderate-to-marked improvement in reducing their psychopathic symptomatology overall. As Salekin et al. conclude, "These findings are important and indicate that psychopathy, at least in youth, may be less recalcitrant to treatment than previously thought" (p. 192).

Salekin (2002) also published a comprehensive review of 42 studies specifically directed at treating psychopathy. Despite some methodological shortcomings with many of the studies (e.g., small sample size, diverse definitions of psychopathy), cognitive-behavioral, psychodynamic, and eclectic interventions were shown to be effective. The most notable benefits included a reduction in psychopathic characteristics, such as a decrease in lying, an increase in remorse or empathy, and improved relations with others. Salekin specifically noted that one intensive action-oriented program was highly successful (88%) with youngsters showing psychopathic tendencies. Ingram, Gerard, Quay, and Levison (1970) devised a program specifically designed to address psychopathic behaviors in youth. The program was based on the sensation-seeking model that kept the 20 young participants interested in treatment throughout the sessions. The program was able to decrease institutional aggressive behavior and improved overall adjustment in the community. Those psychotherapies that proved most effective tended to be more intensive and often combined with other programs, such as group psychotherapy, pharmacotherapy, or the involvement of family members. "These results indicate, at least preliminarily," Salekin writes, "that for complex problems such as psychopathy, more elaborate and intensive intervention programs involving individual psychotherapy, treatment of family members, and input from groups (other patients/inmates) are beneficial and may enhance their overall effectiveness" (p. 105). The key for success with psychopaths may be the scope, type, intensity, and duration of the treatment, as well as the training of the staff applying the intervention. Salekin points out that those intervention programs that were less successful were characterized by little input by trained mental health professionals and extremely little one-to-one patient–psychologist contact. He further stated that early intervention is particularly important in working with children exhibiting psychopathic traits. Salekin concludes then, as he has more recently (Salekin & Lynam, 2010; Salekin, Worley, & Grimes, 2010), that the therapeutic pessimism that surrounds the treatment of psychopathy and undermines motivation to search for effective modes of intervention for the disorder is unwarranted.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Psychopathy may well be the most studied construct in psychological criminology. Although psychopaths comprise a minuscule percent of the general population, their numbers are larger among convicted criminals. When psychopaths commit crimes—and they do not always do so—their crimes may be, but again are not necessarily particularly vicious and brutal. The primary psychopath should be distinguished from people who may be classified as psychotic, neurotic, or emotionally disturbed. The primary psychopath also should be distinguished from the sociopath and from the secondary and dissocial psychopaths. The diagnostic category antisocial personality disorder (APD also is distinct from "psychopathy," even though these two terms are often confused by clinicians and researchers. This is understandable, because APD, as defined behaviorally in the DSM-5, has many parallels to Robert Hare's concept of criminal psychopathy.

Psychopaths demonstrate a variety of behavioral and neurophysiological characteristics that differentiate them from other groups of individuals. In this text, we are of course most interested in the psychopath who runs afoul of the law, particularly by way of persistent and/or violent offending. In this sense, the criminal psychopath, the sociopath, and the person with antisocial personality disorder are very similar in their offending patterns.

Psychopaths most often function in society as charming, daring, witty, intelligent individuals, high on charisma but low on emotional reaction and affect. They appear to lack moral standards or the ability to manifest genuine sensitivity toward others. If they commit crimes, they become the despair of law enforcement officials because their crimes appear to be without discernible or rational motives. Even worse, they show no remorse or desire or ability to be rehabilitated. In recent years, nevertheless, mental health professionals have reported some success in providing psychotherapy to psychopaths in intensive treatment programs of long duration.

Although there are several theoretical approaches to describe psychopathy, the predominant one until recently has been the four-factor model, which conceives of psychopathy as a condition defined by interpersonal, lifestyle, affective, and antisocial features. Lately, a TriPM model proposed by Patrick (Patrick et al., 2009; Patrick, 2010) focuses on three dimensions with their accompanying traits: meanness, disinhibition, and boldness. The TriPM model has attracted much research attention and has been supported in recent research.

Psychopathy also is one of the components of the dark triad of personality, which has gained much attention among contemporary personality researchers. In addition to psychopathy, the dark triad includes Machiavellianism and narcissism. A recent revision—the dark tetrad—adds everyday sadism. As of yet, however, the research is too new to advance firm conclusions about ties to criminality.

Various instruments have been devised to measure psychopathy. Chief among them are the PCL, its revision, and its offshoots, developed by Hare and his colleagues. These include screening versions and measures designed specifically for youth. Other researchers also have developed additional scales for youth, including the Child Psychopathy Scale and the Youth Inventory of Psychopathic Traits. While the PCL remains the most heavily researched and most widely used, caution was urged with regard to the populations for which it is used. Furthermore, the use of any measures by nontrained examiners is inadvisable. Being labeled a psychopath has been shown to have negative consequences in the legal system as well as in some institutional settings.

There are still numerous gaps in our knowledge of the psychopath, one being in the area of gender differences. Research on female psychopaths is scant but has increased in recent years. Some research suggests that behavioral characteristics for psychopathic women are generally similar to those of psychopathic men, with slightly more emphasis among women on sexual acting-out behavior. This probably reflects a cultural bias, however, since women have been traditionally chastised more than men for behavior deemed inappropriate

according to sexual mores. However, research on female criminal psychopaths using Hare's PCL-R implies that their behavioral patterns may be somewhat different from those of male criminal psychopaths. Female psychopaths, for example, are believed to be less physically aggressive and more relationally aggressive. They also have been found to have more environmental deprivation and more physical and sexual victimization in their backgrounds than male psychopaths. Some research has found that their criminal careers began later and that they recidivated less than male psychopaths.

In recent years, some scholars have begun to examine psychopathy in a different way, focusing on its features as adaptive and at times positive. Put another way, the characteristics of psychopathy are often found in people who are quite successful in their lives, even to the point of achieving leadership positions. Because psychopathy is now believed to exist on a continuum, it is likely that some individuals with many psychopathic traits (e.g., boldness, risk-taking, sensation-seeking) also become high achievers and make significantly positive contributions to society. This aspect of psychopathy deserves far more research attention.

A highly controversial area relating to psychopathy has been the measurement and existence of juvenile psychopathy. Researchers are very actively involved in developing scales to assess this construct and in comparing features of juvenile and adult psychopaths. Psychopathic characteristics in juveniles may be deceiving, however. Many youth, for example, are impulsive, seek stimulation, and appear to be noncaring; these features are often part of the normal turmoil of adolescent development. While it is worthwhile to study these characteristics, we must not rush to judgment and assume they are indicative of psychopathy. However, contemporary research has now documented that something very much like psychopathy exists in some children and adolescents, and, more importantly, that successful treatment is possible.

Contemporary research on psychopathy is robust and shows few signs of abating. By now, it is quite clear that Hare's primary psychopath—as measured by the PCL—has many unique features. Psychopathy includes distinctive cognitive and emotional styles and physiological indicators, and there is some research indicating that these psychopathic characteristics may be inherited. Many psychopaths also had childhoods marked by parental deficiency and conduct problems. These features combine to render the psychopath highly resistant to treatment. This is particularly frustrating to clinicians working with criminal psychopaths, many of whom know how to play the clinical games that will make it appear that they have changed their behavior. Nevertheless, promising intensive programs have been developed, suggesting that pessimistic conclusions about the possibility of bringing about change in the behavior of the criminal psychopath might have been premature.

KEY CONCEPTS

Antisocial personality disorder (APD), 210

Avoidance learning, 240

Boldness trait (fearless dominance), 225

Callous-unemotionality (CU), 224

Criminal psychopath, 211

Dark triad, 225

Disinhibition trait (externalizing proneness), 225

Dyssocial psychopath, 210

Emotional paradox, 236

Executive functions, 237

Factor analysis, 222

Factor 1, 222

Factor 2, 222

Factor 3, 222

Four-factor model, 223

Markers, 234

Meanness trait, 224

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Primary psychopath, 209

Psychopathy Checklist (PCL and PCL-R), 219

Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version (PCL:SV), 219

Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL-YV), 219

Recidivism, 218

Secondary psychopath, 209

Semantic aphasia, 216

Sociopath, 209

Triarchic psychopathy model (TriPM), 224

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Briefly describe the core behavioral characteristics of the criminal psychopath.
2. What differences have been found between male and female psychopaths?
3. Name and describe briefly any five instruments used to measure psychopathy.
4. Define each of the following as proposed by Hare: primary psychopath, secondary psychopath, dyssocial psychopath, and criminal psychopath.
5. What has been learned about (a) recidivism, and (b) treatment of the criminal psychopath?
6. Identify some of the ethical problems created as a result of labeling a child or adolescent a "psychopath."
7. Describe the three- and four-factor models of psychopathy.
8. Describe the Triarchic Psychopathy Model.
9. How is the psychopath different from the nonpsychopath on psychophysiology? Thoroughly discuss all relevant features.

8

Crime and Mental Disorders

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Define mental disorders.
- Provide an overview of the DSM and the diagnoses that are most relevant to criminal behavior.
- Define and review issues relating to competency to stand trial.
- Review the insanity defense rules and standards.
- Discuss special defenses sometimes raised to absolve defendants of criminal responsibility or mitigate responsibility.
- Describe the prevalence of mental illness in incarcerated populations.
- Define risk assessment and identify the risk factors employed in assessing violent criminal behavior.
- Explore the relationship between mental disorder and violence.

- In 2013 a military veteran who had served four tours of duty in Iraq, Chris Kyle, was murdered along with a friend at a shooting range in Texas. The shooter was tried, convicted, and sentenced to life in prison without parole. He had pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity, saying he was in a psychotic state when he shot his victims.
- In January 2011 Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords of Arizona was shot in the head by a 23-year-old who also in the same incident killed six people, including a 9-year-old girl and a federal judge. Twelve people in addition to Congresswoman Giffords were wounded. The shootings occurred while the Congresswoman was meeting with her constituents outside a supermarket in Tucson. The assailant was initially ruled incompetent to stand trial (IST) and was treated for severe mental disorders at a hospital in Missouri. In August 2012, he pleaded guilty, apparently to avoid the death penalty.
- In 2015, a man who killed 12 people and injured many others in a Colorado theater in 2012 during a midnight showing of a Batman film went on trial, pleading not guilty by reason of insanity. He had offered to plead guilty in exchange for a life sentence, but prosecutors rejected that guilty plea, opting to take the case to trial and hoping a jury would want the death penalty. The assailant was convicted but not sentenced to death.

- Finally, in another shocking case that cannot be forgotten, a 31-year-old woman drowned her five children, ages 6 months to 7 years, in a bathtub in 2001. The woman had a history of mental disorder; she had attempted suicide twice and had been hospitalized at least four times, apparently for depression. At her jury trial, she raised the insanity defense, citing in particular a severe case of postpartum psychosis. Her lawyers said she believed she was possessed by Satan and that her children would suffer in hell because she represented evil. The woman was found guilty of the deaths of three of her children, but she was retried when an appeals court found significant legal errors in the prosecution of her case. In her second trial, a bench trial, the judge found her not guilty by reason of insanity (NGRI). She remains institutionalized today, receiving treatment in a secure hospital setting.

Each of the above cases, as well as others since then that will be cited occasionally in this chapter, received national attention, and each has raised troubling questions about the way criminal laws deal with persons with mental illness who commit serious crimes. The case of the mother who killed her children—Andrea Yates—prompted a national debate over the legal standards for mental disorders. The case of the man who shot Congresswoman Giffords and killed and wounded others—Jared Loughner—questioned the availability of guns to people with mental illness, as well as the process used in bringing them to trial. Loughner was given psychoactive medication against his will to make him competent to be tried for his actions. The Colorado theater shooter—James Holmes—was willing to plead guilty, but chose the not guilty route when prosecutors persisted in seeking the death penalty; jurors then struggled with his insanity defense. The man who killed Chris Kyle—Eddie Ray Routh—was diagnosed with PTSD, but lawyers did not use that diagnosis; rather, they argued that he acted under a state of psychosis, believing his victims were "pig assassins" who were sent to kill him.

Despite the tragedy of the above cases, brutal and violent crimes are not usually committed by people who are mentally ill, and persons with mental illness do not usually commit such crimes. Gun violence, aggravated assaults, and sexual assaults, for example, are perpetrated by many individuals who have no mental illness in their backgrounds. If the mentally ill were responsible, crime rates would skyrocket. It has been estimated that about 18% of the total U.S. adult population has a mental illness, with just over one-fifth of that group having a *serious* mental illness (National Institute of Mental Health, 2019; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, SAMSHA, 2013). Nevertheless, it is a common perception that someone who walks into a business establishment and randomly shoots its customers and employees must be mentally ill. Likewise, someone who sexually assaults, tortures, and kills a 4-year-old child has to be sick. How else could these people do this? Closely related is the view that these individuals are basically evil. Although this "evil" thesis is gaining ground, perhaps reflecting public impatience with perceived insanity loopholes in the law, the public still strongly believes that mental illness is involved, particularly in the case of outrageous, inexplicable crimes. Even so, there is not widespread support for an insanity defense (Goldstein et al., 2013). As illustrated in the above cases, only one—the Yates case—resulted in a successful insanity defense, and it was achieved in a second trial, before a judge and not a jury.

The entertainment media also have been instrumental in developing the connection between mental disorder and crime, particularly serious violent crime. Along with greed and revenge, mental illness is a basic motivation for criminality in the vast majority of crimes on entertainment media (Surette, 1999). The plethora of profiling shows on cable television and the networks today tend to portray violent criminals, particularly murderers, as bizarre, often psychotic, and resistant to the efforts of the profilers to "get into their minds."

It is also not unusual for actual crimes, particularly those that involve many victims, such as public shooting events, to be blamed on persons with mental disorders. A mass shooting incident is almost invariably followed by calls to prohibit those with mental illness from

owning guns, even though the great majority of gun-related deaths are brought about by people who do not have a mental disorder. Some recent research (e.g., Duxbury, Frizzell, & Lindsay, 2018) also indicates that media accounts of multiple murders portray white and Latino perpetrators more sympathetically and as more likely to have mental illness than black perpetrators. We will return to this important topic later in the chapter.

Historically, mental illness has challenged society in general, the mental health professions, and the criminal justice system. Individuals exhibiting bizarre behaviors were submitted to strange and sometimes torturous methods in efforts to cure them of an incomprehensible disease. Historians have documented religious ceremonies to rid such individuals of what were believed to be evil spirits. There were untested techniques like spinning them on stools with wheels and dropping them into icy waters or simply locking them away in attics or asylums with little attempt to address their behaviors (Rothman, 1975, 1980.)

In the 20th century, these practices were replaced by the introduction of medication intended to manage mental illness. Psychological therapy or treatment would ideally accompany the medication. However, medication was crucial because the specific disorders were believed to be neurophysiologically based. The use of medication to address mental illness continues to this day, a rapidly expanding practice called psychopharmacology. This is not altogether problematic, because many drugs are effective, but persons with mental illnesses should be offered effective treatment in addition to the medication.

A major criticism of drug treatment to this day is the side-effects the medications often produce, sometimes including nausea, loss of energy, inability to concentrate, loss of appetite, dizziness, and other equally disturbing symptoms. Nevertheless, medications for mental disorder have improved substantially, produce fewer side effects, and mental health practitioners as a group accept that they are needed, but many are concerned nonetheless about overuse. Furthermore, mental health practitioners also emphasize that medication alone is not the solution to mental illness. It is not unusual today for psychiatrists, psychologists, and other mental health professionals to work with a patient as colleagues, some prescribing medication, others offering psychological treatment.

A minority but still forceful position is that taken by the psychiatrist Thomas Szasz, who criticized the psychiatric profession in his classic books, *The Myth of Mental Illness* (1961) and *The Manufacture of Madness* (1970), among numerous other publications and presentations. Szasz believed that deviations in behavior such as those demonstrated in mental disorders should not be regarded as illnesses, primarily because this gave too much power to the medical profession and enabled widespread use of drugs to control behavior of people who acted differently from the general population. He and his followers advocated a therapeutic approach wherein individuals could be taught to take responsibility for their own "problems in living." Szasz, who died in 2012, angered many in the psychiatric profession with his libertarian views, particularly his beliefs that psychiatrists overdiagnosed behaviors and infringed on civil liberties by overprescribing medication.

Today, Szasz's views are in the minority, as medication has become the dominant way of treating mental illness—or if one prefers, mental disorder or behavioral disorders. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Szasz made significant contributions by challenging the dominance of the psychiatric profession. Even if mental illness is not a myth, its causes and its treatment should continually be scrutinized.

Many researchers distinguish between mental illness in general and *serious mental illness* (SMI) in particular, and they focus their attention on the latter. It is estimated that in 2017, 11.2 million adults experienced serious mental illness (National Institute of Mental Health, 2019). This number represents 4.5% of all U.S. adults. SMI is not always defined the same way, but a common definition is "a mental, behavioral, or emotional disorder resulting in serious functional impairment, which substantially interferes with or limits one or more major life activities" (National Institute of Mental Health, 2019, p. 1).

It is important to emphasize, as well, that people with SMI—when they do commit crimes—typically commit minor offenses rather than those highlighted at the beginning of the chapter. They are more likely to trespass, shoplift, or commit simple assault than to murder someone. Furthermore, recent research indicates that serious mental illness is not a direct cause of crime (Peterson, Skeem, Kennealy, Bray, & Zvonkic, 2014—see Box 8–1) and that risk factors for offending are similar in both mentally ill and non–mentally ill offenders (Skeem, Winter, Kennealy, Louden, & Tatar, 2014).

Defining Mental Illness

Mental illness is a disorder (some say a disease) of the mind that is judged by experts to interfere substantially with a person's ability to cope with life on a daily basis. It presumably deprives the person of freedom of choice, but it is important to note that there are degrees to this deprivation. In other words, even a person with a serious disorder has some decision-making ability. Mental illness is manifested in behavior that deviates notably from what is considered normal conduct in any given society. Serious mental illness, as we noted above, not only deviates from normal conduct, it also severely impedes, or has potential to impede, a person's functioning. However, the word *illness* encourages us to look for etiology, symptoms, and cures, and to rely heavily on the medical profession both to diagnose and to treat. An alternative term, **mental disorder**, need not imply that a person is sick, to be pitied, or even necessarily less responsible for his or her actions. Therefore, although *mental illness* is still used in the psychological, psychiatric, and legal literature, as well as in both civil and criminal law, the less restrictive *mental disorder* is also often used. In essence, the two terms have become interchangeable. In fact, the DSM-5, published by the American Psychiatric Association (2013), is the manual of mental *disorders*. This is not to say that medication is not needed, and it is not to say that persons with mental disorders are always responsible for their behavior.

Mental illness
Term used for a variety of psychiatric diagnoses that indicate that the individual has problems in living; also referred to as **mental disorder.**

Another term that must be distinguished is **intellectual disability**, formerly known as mental retardation. This is a cognitive deficiency that cannot be cured. Intellectual disability was traditionally measured by standardized "IQ" tests, but these are increasingly being supplemented by other measures and complemented by observations and interviews. Though intellectual disability cannot be cured, people who are intellectually disabled can be provided training and support services to lead productive and independent lives.

Intellectual disability
Limitations in cognitive capacity, determined by IQ tests and a variety of performance measures. Cannot be cured, but can be compensated by care and training. Formerly called mental retardation.

Persons who are intellectually disabled are sometimes charged with primarily minor offenses that result in arrests, being detained in jail, and serving time. However, they also may be charged and convicted of serious felonies, including murder. This is an extremely controversial legal topic that has reached many courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court, in cases involving the death penalty. The Court announced in 2002 (*Atkins v. Virginia*) that it was a violation of the Eighth Amendment prohibition on cruel and unusual punishment to sentence to death those who were then termed "mental retarded." As we will discuss later in the chapter, this was followed by a series of cases challenging standards by which intellectual disability was determined (e.g., *Moore v. Texas*, 2017).

Misperceptions about the intellectually disabled are perhaps not as strong as misperceptions about the mentally disordered, but they represent a population whose needs may go unrecognized by the criminal justice system. Thus, while the chapter focuses primarily on issues related to people with mental disorders or mental illness, we will also give attention to unique problems faced by persons who are intellectually disabled, including being incarcerated in prisons and jails.

Mental disorders are manifested in a variety of behaviors, ranging in severity from dangerous, harmful acts to conduct that is essentially innocuous. In a classic work, Morse (1978) preferred the term *crazy behavior*, which he characterized as behavior that is obviously

strange and unusual *and cannot be logically explained*. The person who walks onto the hotel elevator at the lobby level and faces the rear, staring blankly at the elevator's rear wall, while others are facing the front, is exhibiting strange behavior. However, if the elevator subsequently opens at the "back" door, there is a logical explanation: the person is a hotel guest or employee who is familiar with the elevator's setup, though he or she presumably would explain this to other riders. If there is no such explanation—that is, the door does not open at the back, the behavior becomes disconcerting to the other passengers and, if only mildly, "crazy." In this instance, some clinicians—again in the absence of a logical explanation—may see the behavior as symptomatic of an anxiety disorder or a dissociative disorder, depending on other aspects of the individual's behavior. However, the behavior, as described above, is not dangerous. On the other hand, a person who walks into a hotel lobby in a highly agitated state, brandishing a knife, and stating that hotel employees were all trained by Satan and must die for their sins is exhibiting both "crazy" and dangerous behavior. There is obviously a crucial distinction between the above scenarios.

The DSM

Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)
The official guidebook or manual, published by the American Psychiatric Association, used to define and diagnose specific mental disorders. Now in its fifth revised edition (DSM-5).

The concept of mental illness, therefore, connotes a wide range of bizarre, dramatic, harmful, or mildly unusual behaviors whose classifications are published in the ***Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)***. Compiled by committees appointed by the American Psychiatric Association, the DSM—now in its fifth edition (DSM-5; American Psychiatric Association, 2013)—is the guidebook for clinicians seeking to define and diagnose specific mental disorders. It is used by mental health professionals to guide diagnosis and to justify third-party reimbursement for treatment. Some prefer to use an alternative classification system, the *International Classification of Disease* (*ICD*)—published by the World Health Organization (WHO)—now in its 11th edition. It is important to note, though, that the DSM-5 is in closer alignment with the structure of the ICD than it has been in the past (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Regardless of the system used, diagnoses often appear in official records, such as court documents and prison files, and they are commonly seen in noncriminal matters such as disability determinations and child custody proceedings.

Psychologists are generally advised not to include clinical diagnoses in their psychological reports unless specifically asked by the courts to provide them (American Psychological Association, 2013). This is because diagnoses are often misconstrued and misunderstood by persons who are not mental health professionals. Nevertheless, courts do often request diagnoses, and they almost invariably do in mental health assessments of criminal responsibility. Many mental health practitioners, then, find it impossible to avoid offering such diagnoses (Melton et al., 2018).

We now turn to the specific mental disorders or diagnoses that are most likely to be associated with criminal conduct, though not necessarily serious criminal conduct. It must be stressed, however, that (1) persons with these disorders are not "crime prone," and (2) even if an individual is diagnosed with these disorders, that person still can be held responsible for criminal conduct.

We emphasize that the material in this section is intended to provide a cursory overview of specific disorders and their possible relationship to criminal behavior. The DSM-5 and a vast array of psychological and psychiatric literature offer extensive descriptions as well as commentary and treatment recommendations for various forms of mental illness (e.g., Melton et al., 2018; Slobogin, 2018, special issue; Weiner, 2013).

For the present, the categories of mental disorders most relevant are: (1) the schizophrenia spectrum and other psychotic disorders; (2) bipolar disorder; (3) major depression; and (4) the personality disorder called "antisocial personality disorder." Swanson, McGinty,

Fazel, and Mays (2015), in a well-cited study, found that these four categories of mental disorders are the ones most closely associated with violence across the life span. Individuals with the first three frequently appear in the criminal justice system, often detained in jails (Steadman, Osher, Robbins, Case, & Samuels, 2009). Antisocial personality disorder, as we discuss below, is a catch-all diagnosis often given to individuals with a long history of antisocial behavior. We covered APD briefly in Chapter 7, noting that its behavioral features resemble closely those of psychopathy, though the two are not identical. These four categories of disorders are relevant because they are most likely to be the diagnoses received by individuals charged with serious criminal behavior, assuming that a mental disorder is at issue. They are also the disorders most often cited to support an insanity defense to criminal charges or claims of diminished capacity. We review each of these disorders and then assess their relevance to criminal behavior. However, toward the end of the chapter, we briefly discuss other disorders like Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) that, when cited in courts, attract considerable media attention.

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 8–1 DOES SERIOUS MENTAL DISORDER CAUSE CRIME?

Many people are afraid of those with serious mental disorder, such as individuals with schizophrenia disorders, major depression, and bipolar disorder, each of which is discussed in the text. However, the vast majority of people with these conditions do not commit crimes, and those who do generally do not commit serious or violent crimes. The exceptions, of course, invariably are highlighted in the media, just as we have highlighted them in this chapter for illustrative purposes.

Psychological research overwhelmingly supports the view that persons with a mental disorder as a group are no more dangerous than the rest of the population. To add further clarification to this research, Jillian Peterson and her colleagues (Peterson et al., 2014) examined 429 crimes committed by 143 offenders who had three types of serious mental disorder. The researchers interviewed the offenders about the crimes on record as well as other crimes they may have committed over an average of 15 years that did not come to the attention of authorities. Two-thirds of the participants were men, and they were evenly divided between white and black offenders, with 16% other races.

The researchers were interested in learning whether the symptoms of their disorders contributed to their crimes—for example, did delusions cause the offender to assault a victim? They examined whether the crimes were directly related, mostly or directly related, mostly unrelated, or not at all related to the symptoms of mental disorder. Overall, only 7.5% of the crimes were directly related, but adding "mostly related" increased the percentage to 18%, or one in five crimes.

Of the three categories, bipolar disorder fared the worst, with 10% of the participants with that disorder committing crimes that appeared to be a direct result of their symptoms. For participants with major depressive disorders, only 3% of the crimes were a direct result of their symptoms, and for participants with symptoms of schizophrenia, only 4% were a direct result of their symptoms. For all three categories, the percentages increased when "mostly related" was combined with "directly related," but only for bipolar disorder did the percentage increase significantly (62% vs. 23% for schizophrenia and 15% for depression). The researchers attributed the highest percentage to a possible inflation factor, because 85% of the participants also had substance abuse disorders. Therefore, their crimes may have been substance-abuse related rather than bipolar related, or some combination of both.

The participants reported committing crimes over a 15-year span for reasons similar to those cited by offenders who do not have mental disorders, such as unemployment, homelessness, or substance abuse, when they respond to such questions. It is important to stress that many people who commit

(*continued*)

crimes are socially, politically, and economically privileged, and they would not likely admit their offenses or cooperate with researchers in providing their reasons. Overall, consistent with other literature, these researchers found no indication that persons with serious mental disorder were committing repeat crime because of their symptoms.

Questions for Discussion

1. Only one in five crimes were committed directly or mostly as a result of the symptoms of mental disorder. Discuss the importance of this finding.
2. It is noted that 85% of the participants also had substance abuse disorders. How might that affect any of the findings reported above?
3. After studying material on the insanity defense, discuss the extent to which this research is relevant to that defense.
4. Why is it important to emphasize that research very rarely captures motivations of persons who enjoy more privileged positions in society? ■

Schizophrenia Spectrum and Other Psychotic Disorders

Schizophrenia
Mental disorder characterized by severe breakdowns in thought patterns, emotions, and perceptions.

The specific disorders in this category include schizophrenia, other psychotic disorders, and schizotypal (personality) disorder. **Schizophrenia** in particular is the mental disorder that people most often associate with "crazy behavior," since it frequently manifests itself in highly bizarre actions. It is characterized by disturbances in cognition, emotional responses, and behavior. Schizophrenia is a mental disorder that is extremely complex and poorly understood (Andreasen & Carpenter, 1993; Sitnikova, Goff, & Kuperberg, 2009). The disorder generally begins early in life (adolescence to mid-30s), often leads to social and economic impairment, and leaves traces on its victims for the rest of their lives (Andreasen & Carpenter, 1993; Schatzberg & Nemeroff, 2017). Behavioral manifestations of schizophrenia are varied, but there are some common characteristics. In addition, it has features in common with the other psychotic disorders mentioned above. Specifically, these features are delusions, hallucinations, disorganized thinking, and grossly disorganized or abnormal motor behavior. The person may demonstrate childlike silliness, unpredictable agitation, and persecutory thoughts, such as thoughts that strange creatures are trying to kill him. In addition, persons with schizophrenia have other negative symptoms that the other disorders discussed herein do not necessarily have, such as diminished emotional expression (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

Psychoactive drugs to treat these disorders have improved significantly since the time they were first denounced by Szasz and others. They still have side effects and, like other medication, they often have to be adjusted until the proper dosage is identified. However, without such medication people who have these disorders often experience severe breakdowns in thought patterns, emotions, and perceptions. Spells of extreme social withdrawal from others also are typical. The thoughts and cognitive functioning of people with schizophrenia become disorganized and fail to correspond to reality, and their speech often reflects this. The most common example is a loosening of associations, in which ideas shift between totally unrelated and only obliquely related subjects. Thought becomes fragmented and bizarre, and **delusions**—false beliefs about the world—are common.

The person with schizophrenia is typically inappropriate in emotion or affect (e.g., indiscriminate giggling or crying), or reflects emotional flatness, where very little—if any—emotional reaction is exhibited. This may occur even with medication. Often, the voice is monotonous, the face immobile and expressionless. The major disturbances in perception are various forms of **hallucinations**, which involve sensing or perceiving things or events that others do not sense or perceive. The most common hallucinations are auditory, with the individual hearing voices or sounds that no one else in the vicinity hears.

Hallucinations
Things or events that a person with mental disorder sees or perceives. Characteristic of schizophrenia and some forms of dementia.

The proportion of violent crimes committed by people with schizophrenia and other psychotic disorders is small; however, when they do commit violent crimes, the level of violence may be higher than that of the "typical" violent offender, particularly with respect to homicide or aggravated assault. In a study of 125 homicide offenders diagnosed with schizophrenia (Laajasalo & Häkkänen, 2006), one-third were considered excessively violent. Excessive violence was most common among offenders with hallucinations and delusions, rather than one or the other. Delusions, particularly persecutory ones, are particularly common in persons with schizophrenia who commit violent offenses. Other researchers (Marleau, Millaud, & Auclair, 2003; Taylor et al., 1998) also have found that hallucinations alone (without delusions) are rare at the time of crime among homicide offenders. Interestingly, though, the strongest predictors of excessive violence in Laajasalo and Häkkänen's study were the offender's own history of violence and the presence of a co-offender at the scene.

Delusional disorder is now included under the schizophrenia spectrum and other psychotic disorders section in the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). It is characterized by the presence of one or more *nonbizarre* delusions that persist for at least one month. The judgment of whether the delusion's systems are bizarre or nonbizarre is especially important in deciding between a delusional disorder and schizophrenia. In delusional disorder, the delusions are reasonably believable and not completely far-fetched. An example of a nonbizarre delusion is the belief that a neighbor is spying and attempting to poison one's dog, when there is no evidence to that effect. Even so, neighbors sometimes spy and sometimes do try to poison dogs. A bizarre delusion—more characteristic of schizophrenia—is the belief that the neighbor has disguised herself as a mosquito and is hovering outside one's window. Delusional disorder has no psychotic symptoms (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

Delusional disorder
Mental disorder characterized by a system of false beliefs or delusions.

There are several subtypes of delusional disorder (erotomanic, grandiose, jealous, persecutory, somatic, mixed, and unspecified), each with a central theme. For purposes of criminal behavior, it would appear that erotomanic, jealous, and persecutory types would be of most concern, particularly in relation to potential harm to others. The former intimate partner with a delusional disorder of the jealous subtype, for example, may harm the former partner. However, it bears repeating that intimate partner violence (IPV)—a topic to be covered in the next chapter—is rarely perpetrated by individuals with serious mental illness. The persecutory type is also associated with criminal conduct, especially violent criminal conduct. Thus, the individual who believes he is being followed by someone intending to do him harm may try to kill or otherwise harm his "persecutor."

Bipolar Disorder

Previously referred to as manic-depressive disorder, bipolar disorder is characterized by episodes of behavior that are alternately characterized by such features as euphoria, hyperenergy, and distractibility (manic phase) and diminished interest or pleasure in all activities and depressed mood (depressive phase). In essence it is a mood disorder.

In the manic phase, the individual may be excessively involved in activities that have high potential for painful consequences, such as sexual indiscretion or making foolish business investments. The DSM-5 distinguishes between Bipolar I and Bipolar II disorders. As in all other disorders, numerous additional criteria are outlined in diagnostic guidebooks.

Although bipolar disorder is not usually implicated in violent crime, it may be a factor in reckless behavior that leads to criminal activity, such as driving at excessive speed resulting in the death of another individual. Interestingly, lifetime risk of suicide among persons with bipolar disorder is estimated to be at least 15 times that of the general population (American Psychological Association, 2013).

Major Depressive Disorder

Major depressive disorder
General label for symptoms that include an extremely depressed state, general slowing down of mental and physical activity, and feelings of self-worthlessness.

Major depressive disorder is one of several disorders that now form a category separate from the bipolar disorder mentioned above (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). What they have in common is "the presence of sad empty, or irritable mood, accompanied by somatic and cognitive changes that significantly affect the individual's capacity to function. What differs among them are issues of duration, timing, or presumed etiology" (p. 155). The symptoms of major depressive disorder include an *extremely* depressed state that lasts for at least 2 weeks and is accompanied by a generalized slowing down of mental and physical activity, gloom, despair, feelings of worthlessness, and perhaps frequent thoughts of suicide. Andrea Yates, the woman who drowned her children, was ultimately found not guilty by reason of insanity largely due to evidence of major depression. Everyone has up and down periods, and periods of bereavement have their own form of grief, but the mood changes in major depressive disorder are extreme and the depression is deep and usually long-lasting.

The role of depression in the development of criminal behavior has been studied now for many years, but distinctions are often not made between a depressive disorder and situational depression that may not rise to the level of a mental illness. Preliminary data indicate that depression may be strongly associated with delinquency, especially in teenage girls (Kerr et al., 2014; Lanctôt, Hauth-Charlier, & Lemieux, 2015; Obeidallah & Earls, 1999; Teplin, 2000), though it is not clear which comes first—the depression or the delinquency. However, both boys and girls display depressive symptoms (Diamantopoulou, Verhulst, & van der Ende, 2011; Wareham & Dembo, 2007). Depression seems to render teenagers—both boys and girls—indifferent to their own personal safety and the consequences of their actions. They just don't care what happens to them, which may increase the likelihood of gravitating toward delinquency. On the other hand, delinquent behavior may lead to depression—the depression does not come first. In a longitudinal study of 3,604 adolescents (Kofler et al., 2011), the researchers found more support for the former theory—that is, that early depressive symptoms predicted later delinquent behavior. This appeared to be the case especially for girls.

Because depression exists in an individual, this is not meant to say that depression leads to criminal activity, however. Recall that in their study of 429 crimes, Peterson et al. (2014) found that only 3% related directly to major depression (see again Box 8–1). Nevertheless, depression likely plays a significant role in mass murders, school shootings, workplace violence, and "suicide-by-cop" incidents in which a person commits a crime and then sets up a situation wherein police are essentially forced to shoot. These incidents are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 10. Depression also leads to an inordinate number of suicides that are not crime related.

Antisocial Personality Disorder

Antisocial Personality Disorder (APD)
A disorder characterized by a history of continuous behavior in which the rights of others are violated.

Conduct disorder (CD)
A diagnostic label used to identify children who demonstrate habitual misbehavior.

The essential feature of a person with **antisocial personality disorder (APD)** is a history of continuous behavior in which the rights of others are violated. As mentioned in Chapter 7, the criteria closely follow Robert Hare's definition of the criminal psychopath. To be diagnosed with APD, the individual must be at least 18 years of age and must have a history of some symptoms of conduct disorder before age 15. Recall that a diagnosis of **conduct disorder** is reserved for children and adolescents. Before a person can be diagnosed with APD, a pervasive pattern of disregard for and the violation of the rights of others must be indicated by at least three of the following behavioral patterns:

1. Failure to conform to social norms or the criminal law, as reflected by frequent performance of acts that are grounds for arrests.

2. Irritability and unusual aggressiveness, as indicated by repeated physical fights or assaults.
3. Consistent irresponsibility, as reflected in a poor work history or failure to honor financial obligations.
4. Impulsivity or a failure to plan ahead (characteristic at all ages).
5. Deceitfulness, as reflected in frequent lying, use of aliases, or conning others for personal profit or pleasure.
6. Reckless disregard for the safety of others or self.
7. Lack of remorse or guilt for wrongdoings, as indicated by indifference to or rationalization of having hurt, mistreated, or stolen from another.

Additional behavioral markers include stealing, fighting, truancy, and resisting authority. Antisocial personalities—also referred to as ASPs in the literature—lack empathy and tend to be callous, cynical, and contemptuous of the feelings, rights, and sufferings of others. Furthermore, they frequently exhibit precocious and aggressive sexual behavior, excessive drinking, and the use of illicit drugs. There is a markedly impaired capacity to maintain lasting, close, warm, and responsible relationships with family, friends, or sexual partners.

On average, people with APD fail to become independent, self-supporting adults. They spend most of their lives in institutions (usually correctional facilities) or remain highly dependent on their families. Other accompanying features include restlessness, an inability to tolerate boredom, and a belief that the world is hostile. They often complain of tension and depression, but they do not usually meet the criteria for a diagnosis of depression. They are often impulsive and unable to plan ahead, and show deficits in executive functioning.

It is estimated that between 0.2% and 3.3% of the population qualifies for an antisocial personality disorder diagnosis (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). The disorder occurs more frequently in men than women, but the DSM-5 suggests it may be underdiagnosed in women because criteria for diagnosis emphasize aggression. The DSM also points to a genetic and physiological risk—APD "is more common among first-degree biological relatives of those with the disorder than in the general population" (p. 661). As noted in Chapter 3, in recent years many researchers are adopting a neuropsychological perspective and finding an interaction between genes and the environment in many behaviors related to offending, including APD (see, e.g., Delisi, Beaver, Vaughn, & Wright, 2009; Karr et al., 2018; Luna & Wright, 2016).

Research dating from the 1970s has indicated that APD is a common diagnosis of criminal defendants and offenders. In an early study, Henn and his colleagues conducted an extensive series of investigations on all defendants referred by a St. Louis, Missouri, court for psychiatric assessment over a 10-year period (Henn, Herjanic, & Vanderpearl, 1976a). Focusing on a sample of 1,195 defendants accused of a variety of crimes and referred for psychiatric assessment, Henn and colleagues learned that the most frequent diagnosis was personality disorder, accounting for nearly 40% of all the diagnoses. Black, Gunter, Loveless, Allen, and Sieleni (2010) reported similar results (35.3%) in their study of 320 newly incarcerated offenders.

The pervasiveness of this diagnosis continues today. APD is frequently offered as a diagnosis in criminal courts and in corrections, sometimes serving as a catch-all category. Researchers have noted that when courts press for a diagnosis, many clinicians will oblige by concluding that an individual qualifies for APD (Melton, Petrila, Poythress, & Slobogin, 2007; Melton et al., 2018). In correctional facilities, rates of inmates considered APD range from 30% to 50%, and it is not unusual to find the diagnosis in over 50% of the correctional population (Gacono, Nieberding, Owen, Rubel, & Bodholdt, 2001). APD is such a common diagnosis applied to persons both accused of and convicted of criminal offenses that many jurisdictions specifically exclude it from the list of mental disorders that can support an insanity defense. However, it is important to note that APD does not necessarily appear

in isolation. As Skeem et al. (2014) discovered in their research on offenders with mental illness, it is not unusual for offenders with serious mental illness to have troubling personality traits that are also consistent with APD. "As such, they require both psychiatric and correctional treatment" (Skeem et al., 2014, p. 221).

The above psychiatric diagnoses, with the exception of APD, are often those that come into play when decisions must be made as to whether defendants who have mental disorder are competent to stand trial or, if competent, are culpable enough to be held responsible for the crimes that occurred. In the next section, we review these two very important legal constructs.

Competency to Stand Trial

Some persons charged with a crime are considered so intellectually and/or psychologically impaired that—were they to be tried—they would be present in body but not in mind. The U.S. Supreme Court has determined that the trial of such an individual violates the Constitution. Specifically, defendants are competent to stand trial if they have "sufficient present ability to consult with their lawyer with a reasonable degree of rational understanding ... and a rational as well as factual understanding of the proceedings" (*Dusky v. United States*, 1960, p. 402). To protect the rights of the individual and to preserve the dignity of the court process, the law states that a person who is incompetent must not be tried. It is also emphasized that competency is required at every stage of criminal justice processing, including pretrial and trial proceedings and sentencing.

Incompetence does not refer only to one's mental or emotional state, however. It may also refer to a lack of understanding of court proceedings, one's rights, or the functions performed by one's lawyer. Some criminal defendants, for example, may not understand the judge's role and may not know that they do not have to take the witness stand. Words and terms like "self-incrimination," "burden of proof," "stipulate," or even "plead" may be perplexing. This is especially, though not exclusively, a problem with relation to juveniles (Heilbrun, DeMatteo, & Goldstein, 2016; Rogers et al., 2012). Therefore, some efforts to restore individuals to competency involve educational strategies.

Competency is also an important issue in regard to defendants who are intellectually disabled. As Mumley, Tillbrook, and Grisso (2003, p. 343) noted, "Unlike psychotic defendants, persons with mental retardation [sic] often do not show obvious signs of poor understanding or reasoning, so that attorneys may be less capable of identifying those who are in need of AC (adjudicative competence) evaluation." Consequently, we have little information on the extent to which these defendants are referred for competency evaluation, and virtually no information on what proportion of defendants found incompetent to stand trial are intellectually disabled.

Adjudicative competence
The ability to participate in a variety of court proceedings.

Competency to stand trial
The legal requirement that a defendant is able to understand the proceedings and to help the attorney in preparing a defense.

Incompetent to stand trial (IST)
A judicial ruling that a criminal defendant, because of mental illness, defect, or other reasons, is unable to understand the nature and objective of the criminal proceedings or is unable to assist his or her defense lawyer. May apply to a variety of judicial stages including plea bargaining, trial, and sentencing.

In summary, the competency issue does not relate only to the actual trial. In fact, some scholars now prefer to use the term **adjudicative competence** rather than **competence to stand trial** (e.g., Bonnie & Grisso, 2000; Mumley et al., 2003; Viljoen & Wingrove, 2007). The former term relates to the ability to participate in a wide variety of court proceedings and court-related activities, including plea bargaining, preliminary hearings, and other pretrial hearings related to one's case. It also encompasses two distinct concepts: (1) the competence to proceed (which implies understanding the purpose of the proceedings and being able to help one's attorney); and (2) decisional competence (which implies the ability to comprehend the significance of various decisions to be made) (Mumley et al., 2003). If criminal defendants are found **incompetent to stand trial**, the court has essentially determined that they cannot understand the process that is occurring or effectively participate in it. Interestingly, the issue of competence also extends to whether a mentally disordered defendant who is competent to stand trial is also competent to represent himself. In a 2008

case (*Indiana v. Edwards*), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a unitary standard for deciding these two issues was inappropriate. Although many questions were left unanswered in that case, for our purposes it must be emphasized that just because defendants are competent to stand trial, this does not mean that they are competent to serve as their own attorney or to plead guilty.

The competency issue can be raised at any time during the actual proceedings. For example, a defendant may be competent up to and into the beginning phases of the trial; during a long and protracted trial, the defendant may become incompetent. A defendant also may be competent before and during trial, but incompetent at the time of sentencing. In these cases, defense lawyers would presumably (but not necessarily) move to interrupt the trial or postpone the sentencing. A judge's failure to do either would be grounds for appeal if the defendant is convicted or given a lengthy sentence.

Evaluations for competency to stand trial represent the most common referral for criminally related forensic assessments (Cruise & Rogers, 1998; Melton et al., 2018), and the number of defendants evaluated for competency has risen steadily (Gowensmith et al., 2016). Today, national yearly estimates range from 25,634 to 51,500, and interestingly most evaluations are conducted in jail settings (Gowensmith, 2019). A former state mental health forensic director who has testified in court proceedings, Gowensmith (2019) writes about the current crisis in competency services created by increasing demand, delays in evaluation, and lack of sufficient and effective restoration to competency. He provides illustrations of cases from many different states in which individuals found incompetent languished in jails while waiting to be transferred to hospitals for treatment, while their mental conditions deteriorated.

Typically, defendants referred for competency evaluation have a history of psychiatric care or institutionalization or have exhibited signs of mental disorder at arrest or while detained in jail. Nationwide, about four out of every five of these evaluated defendants—or roughly 80% depending upon the study—are found competent (Grisso, 1986; Nicholson & Kugler, 1991; Pirelli, Gottdiener, & Zapf, 2011; Roesch, Zapf, Golding, & Skeem, 1999). In some cases, multiple competency hearings are held before a defendant is ultimately determined to be competent. As Gowenstein (2019) emphasizes, however, there are numerous concerns about both the evaluation and the restoration process. We discuss each of these below.

Competency Evaluation

Although competency evaluations now typically occur in jail settings, for many years the typical procedure required that defendants be confined within a maximum security institution for a lengthy evaluation (usually 60–90 days). It should be noted that standards today highly recommend that evaluations be conducted within 15 and 30 days, and some courts have required that time period to be even less. Although mental health professionals generally agree that extensive evaluations are undesirable, they also emphasize that evaluations should not be rushed. Evaluations that call for more than a screening test should allow professionals no fewer than 15 days (Gowensmith, 2019).

Forensic psychologists and psychiatrists have made substantial progress in methods used to evaluate competency to stand trial, but states vary widely in the extent to which they require certain procedures, training, or certification. Other mental health professions (e.g., social workers, psychiatric nurses) sometimes also administer competency evaluations. There are also both screening methods and more extensive, lengthy interviews and measurement tools. Courts and professional organizations also have weighed in on standards to be used (e.g., ABA, 2017; APA, 2016; *Trueblood v. Washington State Department of Social and Health Services*, 2016). The *Trueblood* case was a class action suit brought on behalf of persons who had been held for lengthy periods for evaluation. The court in that case initially ruled that evaluations should be completed within seven days, but that was later

modified because state statutes were changed to mandate a 15–30-day process. Nationwide, the statutory requirement is 30 days, but it is not unusual for evaluations to take longer than that (Gowensmith, 2019).

Restoration to Competency

If found incompetent to stand trial—a decision that must be made by the presiding judge—the defendant who was evaluated in a jail setting is typically sent to a forensic unit in a psychiatric hospital until rendered competent. As noted by Gowensmith (2019), however, delays in such transfers are not unusual, and meanwhile the individual is most likely not receiving sufficient treatment.

For those defendants who are restored to competency, some research suggests that the average time needed for restoration is about 3 months (Hoge et al., 1996). Most recently, some states are providing for more competency restoration in the community through outpatient competency restoration programs (OCRPs). Research on OCRPS is in its infancy but is promising, because these programs are considered humane and cost-effective. In states where OCRPs are in use, inpatient treatment is considered only as a last resort, for persons with serious mental illness or charged with violent crimes. However, only approximately 16 states use outpatient competency restoration (Gowensmith, 2019).

Historically, following evaluation, the defendant was granted a hearing on the matter of competency. If the court found the defendant unable to understand the charges or the judicial proceedings, or to help counsel in preparing a defense, then the defendant would automatically be committed to a secure hospital for an indefinite period of time—until competent. Theoretically, this indefinite time period could extend—and sometimes did—into a lifetime of involuntary commitment.

In 1972, in *Jackson v. Indiana*, the Supreme Court declared that such an indefinite confinement violated the Constitution. While the court allowed the confinement, it specified that if no progress was made toward competence, the individual must be released or must be recommitted under civil, not criminal statutes. Today, individuals found incompetent to stand trial (IST) with little likelihood of being restored to competency often have their cases dismissed if the charges were not very serious. However, in many jurisdictions, the prosecutor still retains the option of reinstituting charges if the person regains competency at some later time.

In recent years, defendants found IST have asserted additional constitutional rights in connection with their status, including the right to the "least restrictive or drastic alternative," specifically the right to be treated in a community setting rather than in an institution, which is one reason why OCRPs are gaining favor. In addition, because treatment is often offered in the form of psychoactive drugs, some defendants ruled IST have argued that they should not be forced to take these drugs. Psychoactive drugs are "those drugs that exert their primary effect on the brain, thus altering mood or behavior, or that are used in the treatment of mental disorders" (Julien, 1992, p. xii). As noted above, although these drugs have been improved considerably over the past few decades, many have side effects—debilitating in some cases—and are resisted by many patients.

In a Supreme Court decision on this matter (*Sell v. United States*, 2003), the court ruled that, in a case that did not involve violence, courts must be wary of ordering such medication against a defendant's will. Sell, a former dentist charged with insurance fraud, had been found incompetent and was hospitalized for treatment. He had a history of mental disorder and had prior hospitalizations during which he had received psychoactive drugs. Psychiatrists again prescribed psychoactive drugs in an effort to render him competent to stand trial, but Sell refused to take them. Both a trial judge and a federal court of appeals ruled against him, but the U.S. Supreme Court did not agree. The Court noted that the

trial court had not adequately weighed the advantages and disadvantages of the drugs, and it sent the case back to the lower court to do just that.

For serious, violent crimes, where the government has a strong interest in bringing a defendant to trial, the situation is a bit different. For example, the Court refused to hear an appeal of an order for involuntary medication (*United States v. Weston*, cert. denied). Russell Eugene Weston, Jr. is the individual charged with the lethal shooting of two Capitol police officers—Jacob Chestnut and John Gibson—on July 24, 1998 and the nonlethal shooting of two other individuals. In light of the nature of the crimes, Weston's long history of serious mental illness (he was a diagnosed paranoid schizophrenic with previous hospitalizations), and the government's strong interest in bringing him to trial, courts ruled in favor of the involuntary medication, saying he could be forced to take the medication. It should be noted, though, that the lower court in Weston's case had given careful consideration to the advantages and disadvantages of ordering the medication. Interestingly, over 20 years after the incident, Weston apparently remains hospitalized in a federal psychiatric facility and has yet to be brought to trial.

Several studies, including a meta-analysis covering 68 studies conducted between 1967 and 2008 (Pirelli et al., 2011), have compared defendants found competent to stand trial to those found incompetent. Competent and incompetent defendants do not differ significantly on demographic variables such as race, gender, or marital status (Nicholson & Kugler 1991; Riley, 1998; Rosenfeld & Ritchie, 1998). They do differ, not surprisingly, on clinical (psychological or psychiatric) variables. Thus, persons found incompetent are more likely to be diagnosed with a psychotic disorder or organic mental disorder (Warren, Rosenfeld, Fitch, & Hawk, 1997) or schizophrenia and affective disorders (Hoge et al., 1997). An organic mental disorder refers to decreased mental or cognitive functioning due to a medial or physical disease of the brain. Pirelli et al. (2011) found that those defendants with psychotic disorders were about eight times more likely to be found incompetent than those without such disorders. Pirelli et al. (2011) also established that defendants who were unemployed or had previous psychiatric hospitalizations were about twice as likely to be found incompetent as those who were employed or without previous psychiatric histories. Finally, there have been increasing concerns about competency evaluation and restoration in older defendants (Demakis, 2018).

In summarizing the concerns about the current crisis in competency services, Gowensmith (2019) focuses on many policy-related and practice issues that should be addressed (see Table 8–1). Although his recommendations are laudable, it is not clear that all would meet with judicial approval. For example, he recommends that some laws might be amended to restrict competency restoration to particular populations of offenders. He also suggests allowing correctional officers to be involved in restoration services in jail settings. Some defense lawyers and forensic practitioners might object to this as well.

Nevertheless, Gowensmith's 2019 article is thought provoking and hopeful. He notes that forensic practitioners have made great strides in assessing competency, following legal guidelines, and restoring defendants to competency when possible. He also emphasizes that nationwide and systemwide changes are needed to avoid continuing problems for defendants with serious mental illnesses and offers reasonable suggestions to mental health and judicial practitioners alike.

Criminal Responsibility

It is important to emphasize the distinction between incompetence to stand trial (IST), discussed above, and insanity. Although they may be related, the two concepts are distinct and should be assessed by clinicians separately—but this is not always done. In fact, research suggests that at least one-third of competency and sanity evaluations in the United

TABLE 8–1 Policy Recommendations for Addressing the Competency Crisis in U.S. Courts*

- Evaluations that are shorter than 15 days from court order should be avoided.
- Court-based clinicians or clinics should be available to help courts decide whether defendant should be evaluated.
- A triage system should be used to prioritize defendants most in need of screening or evaluation and restoration.
- Certification of competency evaluators recommended; expand pool beyond psychiatrists and psychologists, but certification standards and training should be high for all examiners.
- Outpatient competency restoration programs show promise, especially when enhanced psychosocial services are offered. All states should allow OCRPs.
- Jail-based restoration can be effective, but should be provided to specific offenders and only by carefully trained individuals, monitored by outside entities.
- Professional organizations should create task forces to conduct research and recommend policy changes to improve competency evaluation and restoration.
- Clinicians should monitor those found incompetent immediately after the finding and seek restoration methods that can be employed quickly and effectively when possible. Previously untreated defendants may restore very quickly with appropriate medication.
- Evaluators and restorers both should keep extensive databases in order to contribute to ongoing research on competency-related issues.
- Clinicians should consider advocating for overall policy changes, but this advocacy must be independent of their work on specific cases and the reports they communicate to judges and lawyers.

*Gowensmith, W. N. (2019). Resoultion or resignation: The role of forensic mental health profes-sionals amidst the competency services crisis. Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, 25, 1–14.

States are done simultaneously with each other—that is, both competency and sanity are evaluated at the same time (Chauhan et al., 2015), a fact not mentioned in the above-referenced article by Gowensmith (2019). In high-profile cases, competency and sanity are more likely to be kept distinct. For example, in ordering competency evaluations of notorious defendants, judges now often make it clear that the evaluations are to be limited to the issue of competency, not sanity.

Criminal responsibility, which is at the core of the insanity defense, and competency to stand trial refer to a defendant's mental state/capacity at *two different points in time*. If a defendant pleads not guilty by reason of insanity, the law asks, "What was the defendant's state of mind at the time the offense was committed?" In competency considerations, the question becomes, "What is the defendant's state of mind at the present time, or at the time of the pretrial proceedings or trial?" An individual who had a serious mental disorder at the time of an offense and whose criminal responsibility is questionable may have enough mental stability by the time of the trial to be competent to stand trial. On the other hand, a person may be of sound mind during the unlawful act, but may later become disordered or disoriented and be determined incompetent to stand trial. It is obvious that the two concepts are often, perhaps even usually, interrelated; nonetheless they refer to different time periods and different capacities.

Insanity defense
A criminal defendant's argument that his or her mental illness relieves him or her from responsibility for a crime. Legal tests of insanity vary widely, with the most common being the ability to know right from wrong.

Not guilty by reason of insanity (NGRI)
A legal determination that a defendant was so mentally disordered at the time of the crime that he or she cannot be held criminally responsible.

Given the widespread publicity associated with the **insanity defense**, most people are probably far more aware of defendants raising the insanity defense or found **not guilty by reason of insanity (NGRI)** than those raising the question of competency or found incompetent to stand trial. As we saw in the previous section, competency questions are raised extensively, and both evaluation and restoration have in recent years clogged both criminal courts and the practices of mental health professionals who specialize in court-related services.

Insanity is a legal term, not a psychiatric or psychological one. It refers to a person's *state of mind at the time an offense was committed*. When an individual is found not guilty by reason of insanity, a judge or jury have determined that the person was very mentally disordered at the time of the crime and should not be held responsible. This was the case for John Hinckley, the man who in 1981 shot President Ronald Reagan, wounding him along with three others, including press secretary James Brady, and for Andrea Yates, in her

second trial. By contrast, the jury rejected that verdict in the case of Eddie Ray Routh, the defendant in the American sniper case, after less than 3 hours of deliberation. A second jury in 2017 also rejected a not-guilty by reason of insanity verdict in the case of Pedro Hernandez, whose first trial in 2014 had ended in a mistrial because one lone juror would not convict him. Hernandez had been charged after some 35 years in the death of 6-year-old Etan Patz, one of the first missing children to appear on a milk carton. In general, jurors are not sympathetic to insanity defenses. Interestingly, as we see below, mental health practitioners are not either.

Conducting Criminal Responsibility Evaluations

As noted previously, criminal responsibility (or insanity) evaluations should be conducted separately from competency evaluations, but this is not typically required under the law. Even scholars and clinicians who strongly recommend this separation acknowledge that they are often conducted simultaneously. Furthermore, examiners are typically pressed to offer an opinion on the ultimate issue of whether the defendant is indeed competent or was indeed insane, although scholars and professional organizations advise against providing such an opinion, particularly as it relates to insanity (American Psychological Association, 2013; Melton et al., 2018). Nevertheless, a recent study by Gardner, Murrie, and Torres (2018) found that 76% of the insanity reports they reviewed used ultimate issue language.

It is also well understood that criminal responsibility evaluations can dissuade defense lawyers from pursuing an insanity defense for their clients. It must be stressed that mental illness itself does not absolve a person of criminal responsibility. Thus, an evaluator may find that a defendant has a background of many mental problems—even hospitalizations—but that person is still capable of forming the intent to conform his or her conduct to the requirements of the law. A recent example involves the defendant charged with murder and multiple other offenses that arose out of his ramming his car into crowds of people in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017. (See Box 11–1 in Chapter 11 for further discussion of this case.) Psychologist Daniel Murrie conducted an extensive evaluation of the defendant and found considerable evidence of mental disorder, yet the defendant did not satisfy the insanity statute in that state. Therefore, he did not use insanity as a defense.

Another issue that has arisen in recent years has been the question of bias in mental health forensic reports (Murrie, Boccaccini, & Neal, 2018; Neal, 2018; Siegel & Kinscherff, 2018). Bias in this sense should not be interpreted as something illegal or corrupt. It is simply to acknowledge that clinicians, like all other humans, may be influenced to lean in one or another direction depending upon their training, their backgrounds, or their beliefs that making certain recommendations is in the best interest of the individual they are evaluating. Some research also indicates that clinicians in criminal cases lean toward the side that hired them—a concept referred to as adversarial allegiance. Thus, in the insanity context, a clinician hired by the defense could conclude that an insanity defense could be supported, while one hired by the prosecutor could conclude the opposite. An independent clinician appointed by the court, on the other hand, would be less likely to conclude in either direction.

Although there is currently much interest in the issue of bias in forensic reports, it is difficult to ferret out (Neal, 2018). Many clinicians who conduct evaluations and testify in court proceedings are well attuned to their potential biases, and many make serious efforts to keep them in check. In an informative preliminary article, Neal (2018) examined 122 insanity reports submitted to courts by 14 evaluators in capital cases. She hypothesized that the following variables might be significant and related to each other, but she was careful about linking them directly to bias. The variables were: (1) language in reports that was emotionally laden; (2) short reports; (3) an absence of alternative hypothesis testing;

(4) a base rate that was lower or higher than average; and (5) using few outside sources of information. Continual research in this direction is warranted and should be helpful to both forensic examiners and the legal profession.

The law assumes that mental disorder *can* rob an individual of free will or the ability to make appropriate choices. As repeatedly noted above, insanity should not be *equated* with mental disorder, even serious mental disorder. That is, a person with a mental disorder can still be found responsible for committing a criminal offense. Likewise, an individual who is intellectually disabled can still be held criminally responsible. Finally, even with evidence of a client's mental disorder, defense lawyers may decide that the insanity defense is not in their client's best interest.

Insanity defenses, especially if they are successful—and they rarely are—receive extensive media coverage and commentary when the crime was a serious one. When Hinckley was found NGRI by a federal jury, there was widespread public indignation accompanied by numerous demands for repeal of the insanity defense in both federal and state laws. Following the Hinckley acquittal in June 1982, at least 34 states made some kind of alteration to their insanity statutes (Steadman et al., 1993). Moreover, in response to the public outcry at the Hinckley acquittal, the U.S. Congress passed the *Insanity Defense Act of 1984*, which is discussed below. Virtually all these legal changes made it more difficult for defendants who wished to plead not guilty by reason of insanity. Hinckley, who was released in 2017 after years of institutionalization, had been gradually allowed outpatient visits to his mother's home for incrementally longer periods. Mental health professionals testified in 2015 that his mental illness was in remission and he was not a danger to society.

The number of insanity defenses raised in the United States is believed to be very small compared with the total number of criminal cases. However, there are no *systematic, nationwide* data on how often the insanity defense is actually used (McGinley & Paswark, 1989). County, state, and federal levels of government rarely share information about these issues (Steadman et al., 1993). Steadman and his colleagues write, "County level information on insanity pleas, for example, is rarely, if ever, aggregated to the state level, meaning almost nothing is known about the earliest stages of the insanity defense process" (1993, p. 3). However, there are some good estimates based on studies conducted by independent and governmental researchers. These researchers estimate that insanity defenses are used in only 1% of all U.S. felony criminal cases (Callahan, Steadman, McGreevy, & Robbins, 1991; Golding, Skeem, Roesch, & Zapf, 1999; Melton et al., 2018).

The insanity defense rarely succeeds in serious cases. When it is successful, the defendant has virtually always been found to have a serious mental illness that rendered him or her incapable of rational thought at the time of the crime (Goldstein, Morse, & Packer, 2013).

In an eight-state study of 9,000 defendants who pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity, Callahan et al. (1991) found a 22–25% success rate, but this included serious and nonserious cases. In other words, defendants charged with misdemeanor offenses (e.g., trespassing or simple assault) also may raise this defense, and they may be more likely to be successful. A recent meta-analysis (Kois & Chauhan, 2018) found a similar 25% rate of acquittal; interestingly, evaluators recommended only 10% of defendants as being insane. Researchers also have found that jurors are favorably disposed toward defendants who provide neurological evidence, particularly evidence of traumatic brain injury (Gurley & Marcus, 2008). Such injury to the brain may be accompanied by increases in aggression, personality changes, and impaired ability to control one's emotions, among other consequences (Gurley & Marcus, 2008).

By contrast, some elements work against a defendant pleading not guilty by reason of insanity. For example, recall that many states specifically exclude antisocial personality disorder (APD) as a mental disorder to support an insanity defense. As we learned in Chapter 7, this is often the diagnosis placed on individuals who are believed to be psychopaths, but it is also

placed on chronic offenders. Warren et al. (1997) found that defendants charged with violent crimes against others had the highest acquittal rates, while sex offenders significantly are more likely to be *convicted*. Nevertheless, the research literature strongly indicates that the clinical diagnosis, more than the offense, seems to be the critical factor. This also may explain the low acquittal of sex offenders, because these offenders are often not considered by clinicians to be mentally disordered.

In a recent meta-analysis that encompassed 19,500 cases, Kois and Chauhan (2018) found a significant relationship between an insanity finding and the defendant's age, gender (female), education level, treatment history, diagnosis of psychosis, and an earlier finding of incompetence to stand trial. There was no relationship with race, marital status, and the nature of the crime. Interestingly, they also found a negative relationship between insanity and criminal history and employment.

Consequences of a Successful Defense

Defense attorneys generally do not recommend that their clients plead not guilty by reason of insanity unless they are charged with a serious offense and the evidence against them is overwhelming. A good case in point is that of James Holmes, who in 2012 shot 12 people and wounded so many others in a theater in Aurora, Colorado. There is no question that Holmes was the perpetrator. He was in fact willing to plead guilty in exchange for being spared the death penalty. However, prosecutors refused to accept the guilty plea, apparently hoping for a death sentence. As noted above, Holmes was convicted but not sentenced to death. Had they lived, other mass shooters with histories of mental disorder, such as those who opened fire at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut in 2012 and Umpqua Community College in 2015, may well have pleaded NGRI as well. Other mass killers, however, did not have signs of mental disorder in their background (e.g., Las Vegas).

Nevertheless, it is a mistake to think that defendants charged with misdemeanor offenses do not raise this defense; it is sometimes used to obtain treatment for persons with mental disorders who might not otherwise be eligible for institutionalization. In many jurisdictions, insanity acquittees are immediately confined to a psychiatric hospital setting, where they are kept for as long as needed to produce substantial improvement in their condition and assure that they are not a danger to themselves or others. In fact, until recently, research indicated that persons found NGRI on average spent at least as much time in such treatment facilities as they would have spent in prison if convicted (Golding et al., 1999).

More and more, though, persons found NGRI are being institutionalized for shorter periods of time and then released, typically on a conditional basis, into the community where they can receive specialized treatment services (Vitacco et al., 2008). This is most likely to be the case if the crime was not a serious violent one, though there are exceptions.

Release allows mental health authorities to monitor their progress and assure that they are taking the medication that presumably keeps them stabilized and their mental disorder in remission. Vitacco et al. (2008) found considerable success offering quality services to insanity acquittees in the community. Quality services often included alcohol and drug abuse treatment as well as close monitoring of both mental health symptoms and compliance with medication orders. In other words, someone should assure that those acquitted are "taking their meds" if these have been prescribed. Vitacco et al. found that most individuals who were returned to the institution were more likely to be sent back for rules violations than for criminal charges.

Community treatment orders are partially in response to a 1992 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Foucha v. Louisiana*, which placed some limits on the hospital confinement of persons found not guilty by reason of insanity. In the *Foucha* case, the Court ruled that insanity acquittees may not be held in psychiatric facilities once they are no longer mentally disordered, even

if it could be argued that they are dangerous. Foucha had been hospitalized for 4 years. While a committee of mental health practitioners found his mental illness to be in remission, they could not certify that he was no longer dangerous. Nevertheless, a divided Supreme Court (5 to 4) ruled that, if no longer mentally ill, he should be discharged. Critics of the *Foucha* decision maintain that the Court did not sufficiently recognize the recurring quality of serious mental disorders. They note that, while mental disorders may go into remission, persons suffering from them are not necessarily cured (Golding et al., 1999). On the other hand, it is difficult to justify holding an individual who is not disordered on the premise that at some point in the future, the disorder is likely to reappear and the person will commit a violent crime.

Thus far, we have discussed the consequences of a finding of not guilty by reason of insanity. In the following section, we cover a variety of standards that courts use to decide whether a person was insane.

Insanity Standards

The insanity defense has been recognized in English courts for over 700 years (Simon, 1983). Since the American legal system is derived from British law, American courts have generally recognized it as well. It is now accepted in federal courts and in all but four states (Idaho, Kansas, Montana, and Utah).

Standards or tests to determine insanity vary widely among the states, but they usually center around one of three broad models: the M'Naghten Rule, the Brawner Rule, or the Durham Rule. Moreover, all the insanity standards are fundamentally based on two criteria: irrationality and compulsion (Morse, 1986). If it can be established that a person was not in control of his or her mental processes (was thinking irrationally) and/or was not in control of his or her behavior (was driven by compulsion) at the time of the offense, then there are grounds for absolving that person of some or all responsibility for the offense. Jurisdictions, however, differ in the extent they accept both these criteria. That is, some jurisdictions accept both criteria, while others will accept only the irrationality component. It is important to note, as well, that in a recent insanity-related decision (*Clark v. Arizona*, 2006), the U.S. Supreme Court made it clear that states could determine their own insanity standards and that the Court would not establish a universal Constitutional standard that would apply to all (DeMatteo, 2007). The Court also refused to say that the insanity defense was a Constitutional right, as it was asked to do in a case that challenged Idaho's rejection of that defense (*Delling v. Idaho*, 2012).

Most recently, however, in 2019 the Court announced that it would hear another case, *Kahler v. Kansas*, challenging a state's abolition of the insanity defense. Kansas essentially did this in 1996 by stating that a defendant could be absolved only if he or she was so mentally impaired as to be unable to form the "mental state" of intending to kill. If a defendant could intend to kill, the defendant could be convicted of a crime. Mental health experts have asserted people with mental disability, even most people with mental disability, can form the intent to commit their criminal acts (Slobogin, 2018). However, if the intent was distorted due to their mental illness, and therefore was not true intent, should they be held accountable? In Kansas, the answer was yes.

James Kahler was charged with killing his ex-wife, her grandmother, and the couple's two daughters. His lawyers at trial offered evidence that he was suffering from major depressive and obsessive-compulsive disorders, and a defense expert testified that he was compelled to kill and was completely out of control. Under traditional insanity statutes, a jury *might* have found him not guilty if they accepted that he had no control over his actions. However, under Kansas's law one could be out of control but still intend to kill, and a Kansas jury so found. Kahler was sentenced to death. His case was argued before the Court the first day of the 2019–2020 term, and a decision is expected sometime in Spring 2020.

The M'Naghten Rule

The **M'Naghten Rule** has been around in some form since at least the 19th century. The current rule was formulated in 1843, after Daniel M'Naghten, a Scottish woodcutter, was acquitted of killing a man he believed to be the prime minister. M'Naghten thought he was being persecuted by the Tories and their leader, Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel. He fired a shot into a carriage transporting Peel's secretary, Edward Drumond, thinking Peel himself was in the carriage. There was no question that M'Naghten had committed the act, but the court believed he was so mentally deranged that it would be inhumane to convict him. Applying a "wild beast" test in use at the time, the court concluded it was clear he was not in control of his faculties. He was committed to the Broadmoor Mental Institution, where he remained until his death 22 years later. It was widely believed that M'Naghten "knew" his actions were wrong and that he should have been convicted. Therefore, the law was changed to prevent a similar "miscarriage of justice" in the future. Thus, the rule that bears M'Naghten's name is not the rule under which he was tried.

M'Naghten Rule
An insanity standard based on the conclusion that if a defendant has a defect of reason, or a disease of the mind, so as not to know the nature and quality of his or her actions, then he or she cannot be held criminally responsible. Also called **the right and wrong test.**

In 1851, the M'Naghten Rule was adopted in the federal and most state courts in the United States. It is deceptively simple, and therein lies its popularity. It states that a person is not responsible for a criminal act if, "at the time of committing the act, the party accused was laboring under such a defect of reason, from disease of the mind, as not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing; or if he did know it … he did not know he was doing what was wrong" (*M'Naghten,* 1843, p. 718). Essentially, the rule states that if a person, because of some mental disease, did not know right from wrong at the time of an unlawful act, or did not know that what he or she was doing was wrong, that person cannot be held responsible for his or her actions.

Thus, the M'Naghten Rule, sometimes referred to as the **right and wrong test**, emphasizes the *cognitive elements* of (1) being aware and knowing what one was doing at the time of the illegal act, or (2) knowing or realizing right from wrong in the moral sense. The rule recognizes no degree of incapacity. You are either responsible for the action or you are not. There are no in-betweens.

Some states supplement M'Naghten with an irresistible impulse test, which has similarities to the "wild beast" test applied in the original M'Naghten case. The irresistible impulse test recognizes or assumes that people may realize the wrongfulness of their conduct, be aware of what is right or wrong in a particular set of circumstances, but still be powerless to do right in the face of overwhelming pressures from uncontrollable impulses. In other words, there are conditions under which people presumably cannot help themselves. The M'Naghten Rule alone would not cover those circumstances, since it requires that the person did not know right from wrong.

The Brawner Rule and the American Law Institute Rule

The **Brawner Rule**, which is largely based on an insanity rule suggested by the Model Penal Code (MPC), is another rule for determining insanity. The MPC was proposed in 1962 by a group of legal scholars associated with the American Law Institute (ALI). The Code was drafted to serve as a model for legislatures seeking to modernize and rationalize their criminal statutes. According to the Brawner Rule, "A person is not responsible for criminal conduct if at the time of such conduct as a result of mental disease or *defect* [italics added], he lacks substantial capacity either to appreciate the criminality [wrongfulness] of his conduct or to conform his conduct to the requirements of the law" (*United States v. Brawner*, 1972, p. 973). It must be demonstrated that the disease or mental defect *substantially* and directly (1) influenced the defendant's mental or emotional processes, or (2) impaired his or her ability to control behavior. The Brawner Rule, unlike M'Naghten, recognizes *partial* responsibility for criminal conduct, as well as the possibility of an irresistible impulse beyond one's control. It also excludes from the definition of mental disease or defect any repeated

Brawner Rule
A standard for evaluating the insanity defense that recognizes that the defendant suffers from a condition that substantially (1) affects mental or emotional processes, or (2) impairs behavior controls. Also called the ALI/Brawner Rule.

Caveat paragraph
A section of the ALI/Brawner Rule that excludes abnormality manifested only by repeated criminal or antisocial conduct. It was specifically designed to disallow the insanity defense for psychopaths.

criminal or otherwise antisocial conduct, an exclusion we referred to earlier in the chapter. This provision (called the **caveat paragraph**) was intended to disallow the insanity defense for criminal psychopaths who persistently violate social mores and the law. Thus, psychopaths and persons with antisocial personality disorder (APD) cannot claim that their abnormal condition is a mental disorder, disease, or defect, even if they have been diagnosed with APD.

Durham Rule
A rarely used legal standard of insanity that criminal defendants are not criminally responsible if their unlawful act was the product of mental disease or defect. Also known as the Product Rule.

The Durham Rule

The product test. The **Durham Rule** was created in 1954 in *Durham v. United States* by the same court that later rejected it in favor of the Brawner Rule. Monte Durham, a 26-year-old resident of the District of Columbia, had a long history of mental disorder and petty theft. His crime of the moment was burglary, but he was acquitted because his unlawful act was considered to be "the product of a mental disease or mental defect" (*Durham v. United States*, 1954, p. 874). While the M'Naghten Rule focuses on knowing right from wrong (the mental element in a crime), Durham assumes that one cannot be held responsible if an unlawful action is the product of mental disease or defect.

There is nothing in the Durham Rule that relates directly to the person's mental judgment. If the person has a disease or defect, lack of culpability is easily assumed. The rule was later clarified in *Carter v. United States* (1957), which held that mental illness must not merely have entered into the production of the act, it must have played a necessary role.

Many states were attracted to the apparent simplicity of the Durham Rule, since it seemed more straightforward and comprehensible to juries. However, it soon became apparent that definitions of "mental illness" are vague and subjective, a situation that fostered the widespread discretionary power of psychiatry and considerable misuse of mental health experts during trial. Moreover, virtually any defendant could be excused once mental disease or defect had been established. The Durham Rule rapidly lost its popularity.

Until the 1980s, most jurisdictions adopted one of the above rules, with varying degrees of satisfaction. However, the well-publicized Hinckley acquittal sparked a public outcry for the elimination of the insanity defense and prompted legislative bodies and many professional organizations to reexamine it. The American Bar Association and the American Psychiatric Association, for example, proposed new, more restrictive standards (Steadman et al., 1993). Nearly 100 different reforms in 34 jurisdictions occurred soon after Hinckley's acquittal, the most active insanity reform period in American history. In most instances, these reforms reflected a return to the M'Naghten Rule in a modified, more restrictive form (Steadman et al., 1993). As noted above, four have abolished the insanity defense altogether. (A fifth state, Nevada, attempted to abolish it, but its highest court ruled that abolition violated both the federal and state constitutions (*Finger v. State*, 2001)).

Other changes in insanity law made by states included (1) placing on defendants the burden of proving they were insane (where in the past prosecutors had been required to prove they were not insane); (2) restricting the role of clinical testimony; and (3) requiring persons found NGRI to prove they were no longer mentally ill before being released from a mental institution. Many of these changes were modeled after the federal law discussed below. Recall, though, as mentioned above, the U.S. Supreme Court has given wide latitude to the states in defining insanity and crafting their laws relating to it (DeMatteo, 2007). It remains to be seen, while we await a decision in *Kahler v. Kansas*, whether the Court will continue to allow states to disallow the insanity defense.

Insanity Defense Reform Act of 1984
A law designed to make it more difficult for defendants using the insanity defense in the federal courts to be acquitted.

The Insanity Defense Reform Act (IDRA)

Amid public clamors to abolish the insanity defense completely after the Hinckley acquittal, Congress passed the **Insanity Defense Reform Act of 1984 (IDRA)**, which kept the defense in the federal law but modified it in important ways. According to Simon and Aaronson (1988, p. 47), "The Hinckley verdict was unquestionably the decisive influence on congressional modifications

to the insanity defense." Essentially, Congress made it more difficult for persons using the insanity defense in federal courts to be acquitted. The Insanity Reform Act changed the Brawner/ALI Rule—the rule that has been most consistently adhered to in almost all federal circuits since its adoption during the early 1970s—to one patterned more along the lines of the M'Naghten Rule. Specifically, a defendant cannot be held responsible if "at the time of the commission of the acts constituting the offense, the defendant, as a result of a severe mental disease or defect, was unable to appreciate the nature and quality or the wrongfulness of his acts. Mental disease or defect does not otherwise constitute a defense" (18 U.S.C., sec 20[a] [1984]).

In addition, the new federal standard changed the Brawner/ALI Rule in three principal ways (Simon & Aaronson, 1988). First, the act abolished the irresistible impulse test (commonly called the **volitional prong**) of the Brawner/ALI Rule. The inability to control one's actions because of mental defect was no longer acceptable as an excusing condition. Recall that in the Kansas case discussed above (*Kahler v. Kansas*), the petitioner provided evidence at trial that he was not in control of his actions; this would not help him under federal law, but it would under insanity statutes in some states. Second, the act modified the "cognitive" requirement by replacing the phrase "lacks substantial capacity … to appreciate" with "unable to appreciate." The intention was to tighten the requirement to a total lack of ability to appreciate that what they did was wrong (Simon & Aaronson, 1988). Third, under the new law, the mental disease or defect must be severe, to emphasize that certain behavioral disorders (especially personality disorders) do not qualify as a defense. It should be noted that the federal law also bars mental health clinicians from expressing an opinion as to whether the defendant was insane. Clinicians may testify, report on the findings of their evaluations, and provide a diagnosis, but they may not express an ultimate opinion. This is to emphasize that insanity is a legal determination that must be made by the court. Table 8–2 summarizes common standards for determining criminal responsibility in mentally disordered defendants.

Volitional prong
The part of the insanity defense that requires acceptance of the possibility that a defendant could not control his or her behavior to conform to the requirements of the law. The volitional prong is not recognized in federal law or the law of many states.

Guilty but Mentally Ill

Also, in response to disenchantment with the insanity defense, some states introduced a new verdict alternative, **Guilty But Mentally Ill (GBMI)**. Defendants also may enter this as a plea in some states.

Michigan was the first to adopt the GBMI alternative in 1975, and by 1992, 11 other states had followed Michigan's lead. The GBMI option is intended as an alternative to, not

Guilty but Mentally Ill (GBMI)
A verdict alternative in some states that allows defendants with mental disorders to be found guilty even if they might meet standards for insanity. The verdict is said to afford them treatment in prison settings, but such treatment is not guaranteed.

TABLE 8–2 Standards for Criminal Responsibility

Standard	Year First Used	Description
M'Naghten Rule	1843	It must be clearly proved that at the time of committing the act, the party accused was laboring under such a defect of reason, from disease of the mind, as not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing, or if he did know it, that he did not know he was doing what was wrong.
Durham Rule	1954	An accused is not criminally responsible if the unlawful act was the product of mental disease or mental defect.
Brawner/ALI Rule	1972	A person is not responsible for criminal conduct if at the time of such conduct, as a result of mental disease or defect, he lacks substantial capacity to either appreciate the criminality [wrongfulness] of his conduct or to conform his conduct to the requirements of the law.
Insanity Defense Reform Act	1984	A person charged with a criminal offense should be found not guilty by reason of insanity if it is shown that, as a result of mental disease or mental retardation, he was unable to appreciate the wrongfulness of his conduct at the time of his offense.

a substitute for, the NGRI verdict. States differ in the standards and procedures associated with GBMI, and some use slightly different terminology, such as guilty except insane. In all, though, the major intention of the option is to reduce the number of insanity acquittals, hold the defendant blameworthy, but still recognize the presence of a mental disorder. Thus, GBMI allows the court to render a "middle-ground" verdict in the case of criminal defendants who are allegedly mentally disordered. The verdict allows juries, for example, to reconcile their belief that a defendant who commits a crime should be held responsible with the belief that he or she also needs help.

Research on the GBMI laws indicates that the intended purposes may not have been accomplished (Melton et al., 2018). Goldstein et al. (2013) noted that the verdict is unrelated to criminal responsibility and does not require any specific type of psychiatric treatment. Likely due to the fact that no specific treatment is required, research indicates that those individuals found GBMI are no more likely to receive psychotherapy or rehabilitative services than other inmates who are mentally ill (Borum & Fulero, 1999; Melton et al., 2018; Morse, 1985; Slobogin, 1985; Zapf, Golding, & Roesch, 2006). Thus, the promise of treatment that is implicit in the GBMI statutes remains unfulfilled. However, depending upon the wording of the statute, it may be read as creating a *right* to treatment for those found GBMI (Cohen, 2008), although this is not the common approach. Interestingly, there is also evidence that defendants charged with a serious violent crime often elect the GBMI alternative as part of the plea-bargaining process. Defense attorneys may be more willing to accept this option than go to trial and risk their client's life (Steadman et al., 1993). Considering the research strongly suggesting that GBMI statutes do not accomplish what was intended, virtually all of the scholarly writing on this issue has questioned the wisdom and efficacy of these laws (Cohen, 2008; Goldstein et al., 2013; Melton et al., 2018). Melton et al. (2018) summarize it well when they conclude as follows: "In short, the GBMI verdict is conceptually flawed, has significant potential for misleading the fact finder, and does not appear to achieve its goals of reducing insanity acquittals or prolonging confinement of offenders who are mentally ill and dangerous. The one goal it may achieve is relieving the anxiety of jurors and judges who otherwise would have difficulty deciding between a guilty verdict and a verdict of NGRI" (p. 226).

Unique Defenses and Conditions

Earlier in the chapter, we discussed some of the psychiatric diagnoses that are most likely to accompany a decision that a defendant is incompetent to stand trial or used to bolster an insanity defense. In this section, we discuss additional disorders or diagnoses that are less common but still cited by defense lawyers, either to absolve defendants completely or to support a claim of diminished capacity or responsibility. At times these conditions are used, not as a separate defense, but to support an insanity defense. In addition, they are often not complete defenses but rather absolve individuals of some degree of responsibility, if they are successful. In addition, these unique conditions may help defendants obtain a more favorable plea bargain or more lenient sentencing. In the following sections we cover conditions and defenses that have received the most coverage in the research literature.

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)

In the "American sniper" case mentioned early in the chapter, it was widely believed that the defendant's attorneys would use PTSD either to diminish the defendant's responsibility or to support an insanity defense. The assailant, a military veteran, had been diagnosed with PTSD, along with psychosis, paranoia, and suicidal tendencies months before the killings.

Interestingly, however, the lawyers did not focus on PTSD. Psychological and psychiatric experts testifying at his trial for both sides did not believe he had that disorder. Rather, the expert for the defense gave the opinion that he killed during a psychotic episode. As noted earlier in the chapter, the jury convicted the defendant after a short period of deliberation.

PTSD was formally recognized as a distinct disorder in the 1980 edition of the DSM-III following efforts by veterans' groups to have mental health professionals recognize a "post-Vietnam syndrome" that led to a variety of disabling symptoms (Appelbaum et al., 1993). Since being formally recognized, PTSD has been broadly applied not only to war veterans, but also to survivors of the Holocaust, survivors of major disasters—such as the events of September 11, 2001, the Boston Marathon bombing of 2013, mass shootings—and victims and survivors of rape, child abuse, spousal abuse, and sexual harassment. Victims of human rights abuses around the globe are also susceptible to the symptoms associated with PTSD as are first responders confronted with a horrific traffic accident or people who survive an environmental disaster, such as a massive hurricane and its aftereffects

According to the DSM-5, the essential feature of **posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD)** is "the development of characteristic symptoms following exposure to one or more traumatic events" (p. 274). Interestingly, the criteria for PTSD in this latest edition differ significantly from those in the 4th edition, a fact that led to extensive criticism from some mental health professionals during the time the DSM was being revised (Friedman et al., 2011). In previous editions, criteria included very negative emotions such as intense fear, terror, or helplessness. According to the 5th edition, while these may indeed occur, they are not necessary. The person suffering from PTSD may display it through different mood states, negative cognitions, or dissociative symptoms.

Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD)
A cluster of behavioral patterns that result from a psychologically distressing event outside the usual range of human experience.

Studies have estimated that between 1% and 7% of all Americans suffer from PTSD (Elhai, Grubaugh, Kashdan, & Frueh, 2008, 6.8%; National Institute of Mental Health (NIHM), 3.6%; Sutker, Uddo-Crane, & Allain, 1991, 1–2%). According to NIMH (2017), of those adults with PTSD, an estimated 36.6% had serious impairment, 33.1% had moderate impairment, and 30.2% had mild impairment. The prevalence of PTSD among military veterans is believed to be considerably higher than the prevalence in the general population, however. Kulka et al. (1991), estimated that PTSD affected 31% of all male and 27% of all female Vietnam veterans. More recently, it has been estimated that 16.6% of soldiers returning from Iraq and Afghanistan met criteria for PTSD within a year of their return (Hoge, Terhakopian, Castro, Messer, & Engel, 2007). Finley et al. (2015) report that PTSD was diagnosed in nearly one-fifth of veterans of recent wars.

The symptoms of PTSD include "flashbacks," recurrent dreams or nightmares, or painful, intrusive memories of the traumatic event. A diminished responsiveness, a don't-care attitude, or psychological "numbing" to the external world is common, particularly during the weeks following the event. Although researchers (e.g., Hoge et al., 2007) note that the symptoms of PTSD may not emerge until considerable time has elapsed, 6 months to a year or more, the DSM-5 indicates that symptoms usually begin within 3 months of the trauma. However, there is the possibility of delayed expression (formerly called delayed onset) occurring months or years after the event. Feelings of alienation or detachment from the social environment also are characteristic, a pattern that leads to difficulty in developing close, meaningful relationships with others. Other symptoms include sleep problems, being easily startled, considerable difficulty concentrating or remembering, and extreme avoidance of anything that reminds a person of the traumatic event or events he or she has experienced.

Considering the many symptoms covered in the literature, PTSD appears to be an umbrella term applied to many people of all ages. Individuals with a diagnosis of PTSD tend to be moody, depressed, and difficult to be around or work with. If adults, they are described as moving from job to job and relationship to relationship. If children, they may have frightening dreams and reconstruct the traumatic event in their play behavior.

Most pertinent to our topic in this chapter, PTSD has been used to support a defense of NGRI in both violent and nonviolent cases (Monahan & Walker, 1990, 1994). For example, PTSD has been used as an excusing condition for drug trafficking (e.g., *United States v. Krutschewski*, 1981). Evidence to date, however, shows that—while courts are willing to admit evidence of PTSD—using it to support an insanity defense is not likely to be successful (Appelbaum et al., 1993; Friel et al., 2008; Sparr, 1996). When the PTSD defense has been successful, it usually results in a finding of *diminished responsibility* rather than complete absolution of responsibility (NGRI) for the defendant. PTSD has also been cited in plea bargaining and in presentence reports (Monahan & Walker, 1990). That is, prosecutors may be more willing to accept a guilty plea to a reduced charge, and judges more willing to impose a lighter sentence, if evidence of PTSD exists. In a U.S. Supreme Court case (*Cone v. Bell*, 2009), the Court vacated the death sentence of a Vietnam veteran because the sentencing jury had not considered the fact that he suffered from PTSD as a mitigating factor in his crime. In cases involving veterans, PTSD may also be used as evidence for diminished responsibility in assigning cases to pretrial diversion, in plea bargaining, and in sentencing (Appelbaum et al., 1993; Christy, Clark, Frei, & Rynearson-Moody, 2012). Indeed, in a study of the attitudes of prosecutors toward veterans with PTSD, Wilson, Brodsky, Neal, and Cramer (2011) found that the prosecutors perceived them as less criminally culpable and were more willing to be lenient, such as by referring these defendants to diversion programs, compared with defendants without PTSD.

Dissociation

One of the most fascinating concepts in contemporary psychology is that of dissociation, which is thought to exist on a continuum from the normal to the pathological (Moskowitz, 2004). Most of us probably daydream, which is a "normal" form; in its most severe or pathological form, dissociation can refer to extreme amnesia for past events or even dissociative identity disorder (DID), which was formerly called multiple personality disorder (MPD).

The DSM-5 identifies five different dissociative disorders, including DID and dissociative amnesia, both of which will be discussed in more detail below. As a group, dissociative disorders are characterized by "a disruption of and/or discontinuity in the normal integration of consciousness, memory, identity, perception, body representation, motor control, and behavior" (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, p. 291). The more extreme or pathological forms of dissociation may be claimed when defendants are charged with violent offenses.

Dissociative Identity Disorder

Dissociative identity disorder
A psychiatric syndrome characterized by the existence within an individual of two or more distinct personalities, any of which may be dominant at any given moment. Formerly called multiple personality disorder (MPD).

Dissociative identity disorder (DID) is a highly unusual diagnosis that captures interest, perhaps because of its bizarre symptoms. According to the DSM-5, it "is characterized by a) the presence of two or more distinct personality states or an experience of possession and b) recurrent episodes of amnesia" (p. 291) The amnesia, or gaps in recall, may occur for everyday events, not just traumatic events, which is a change from DSM-IV criteria. The symptoms of DID may be reported by the individual or observed by others. The change or transition from one personality state to another is often very sudden (seconds to minutes), and is generally triggered by stress or some relevant environmental stimuli. Often, hypnosis can also bring about this shift into another personality state.

Persons who experience DID are highly suggestible and impressionable, and can be readily hypnotized either by themselves or others. Reported cases of what was then called MPD have historically been extremely rare. However, between 1980 and 1989, the number of cases diagnosed in the United States rose dramatically, from 200 to 6,000 (Slovenko, 1989).

Part of this increase is due to the American Psychiatric Association officially recognizing the disorder in the DSM-III. In a review of the literature on dissociation and violence, Moskowitz (2004) reported that several prominent studies during that time period found violent "alters" in a significant number of persons who had been diagnosed with DID. Interestingly, however, Moskowitz maintains that varieties of dissociative disorders, not just DID, are often overlooked in criminal justice populations, particularly males.

On occasion, what was then called MPD was used successfully as an excusing condition for criminal responsibility (e.g., *State v. Rodrigues*, 1984; *State v. Milligan*, 1978). In general, however, MPD was not a successful defense (Slovenko, 1989). One of the more well-known cases in which the MPD defense was tried and failed involved serial killer Kenneth Bianchi, known as the Hillside Strangler (*State v. Bianchi*, 1979). The Hillside Strangler was given wide publicity because of the brutality and sadistic quality of his murders. The victims were young women who were raped and strangled and left on hillsides in the Los Angeles area.

Despite considerable evidence against him, Bianchi insisted that he was innocent, arguing that an alter personality, "Steve," had done the killings. He pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity. A team of experts appointed by the court found no basis for Bianchi's claim of MPD. Although Bianchi knew the "textbook version" of MPD (probably knowledge gained during a period of his life in which he had impersonated a psychologist), he was less than convincing on the more subtle aspects of the disorder recognized by the experts. The team concluded that Bianchi was a psychopath. Bianchi then quickly changed his plea to guilty in order to avoid the death penalty.

To this day, there is debate among practitioners and scholars as to whether MPD/DID actually exists. Indeed, the criteria for DID in the DSM-5 are markedly different from criteria for MPD in early editions. MPD in particular was referred to as the "UFO of psychiatry" (Ondrovik & Hamilton, 1991). In some instances, DID may be **iatrogenic**—that is, unintentionally caused by clinicians or practitioners themselves. This means that practitioners who firmly believe in and are perceptually sensitive to DID look for and interpret a variety of behaviors as symptoms of the disorder. In effect, the practitioner may develop the syndrome in the patient, and the patient, in turn, learns to believe that he or she is afflicted with it. It has also been argued that implicit and explicit suggestions during hypnosis can shape segments of self into the appearance of MPD (Orne, Dinges, & Orne, 1984). Regardless of whether the syndrome is iatrogenic or whether it is possible for several personality states to "possess" a physical body, an important point must be made. The syndrome is *often subjectively real* to the patient, and the person who allegedly experiences it often plays each of the roles well and convincingly. Martin Orne and his colleagues (Orne et al., 1984, p. 120) observed, "So striking are the behavioral differences between personalities that the assertion is often made that one would need to have the dramatic skills of Sarah Bernhardt or Sir Laurence Olivier, along with a detailed knowledge of psychiatry, to effectively simulate such radically different persons."

Iatrogenic
A process whereby mental or physical disorders are unintentionally induced or developed in patients by physicians, clinicians, or psychotherapists.

In summary, the validity of DID as a viable entity is very much open to debate by both the mental health and legal professions. Supporters of the concept maintain that diagnostic procedures among clinicians are more accurate today than in the past, and clinicians have at their disposal specific diagnostic tests to detect the disorder (Comer, 2004). It is not unusual to be in a roomful of clinicians who seem firmly convinced that DID is a significant problem encountered in their practices and one that mental health practitioners still fail to diagnose.

Dissociative Amnesia

Amnesia refers to complete or partial memory loss of an event, series of events, or some segment of life's experiences, either due to physical trauma, neurophysiological disturbance, or psychological factors. Note that amnesia is one of the criteria for diagnosing DID. It

Amnesia
Complete or partial memory loss of an incident, series of incidents, or some aspects of life's experiences.

is sometimes classified into retrograde and anterograde amnesia—loss of memory for past events in the first case, inability to form new memories after an event that caused the amnesia in the second case.

Persons with dissociative amnesia are unable to recall previously learned information or past events. The amnesia may be localized or generalized, with the latter being the rarest form. Localized amnesia is a failure to recall events during a circumscribed period of time, whereas generalized amnesia is a complete loss of memory (DSM-5). Localized amnesia, also referred to as limited amnesia, is "a pathological inability to remember a specific episode, or small number of episodes, from the recent past" (Schacter, 1986, p. 48). It may be caused by emotional shock, alcohol or drug intoxication, or a blow to the head. Therefore, limited amnesia is not ongoing, nor does it involve extensive memory loss. Rather, the loss is temporary and restricted to a specific event or incident. As an example of limited amnesia, the engineer on an Amtrak trail that derailed in Pennsylvania in 2015, killing eight passengers and injuring many others, claimed inability to recall the events leading to and following the derailment.

In general, the courts have not been receptive to amnesia as a valid condition in either the insanity defense, or as a condition that promotes incompetence to stand trial (Rubinsky & Brandt, 1986). The exception is in cases of brain injury, when a connection can be established between the injury and the memory loss. Finally, with increasing recognition of the reality of traumatic brain injuries in veterans, athletes, or individuals who have suffered blows to the head, criminal courts may become more sympathetic to defendants who claim that they cannot remember an incident or a chain of incidents because of amnesia related to their physiological conditions.

Some time ago, Paull (1993) noted that there had been cases in at least 20 states and five federal circuit courts where the court has held that amnesia per se did not render a defendant incompetent. One reason for this judicial "hard line" approach to amnesia was the suspicion that the defendant may be faking the memory loss. It is easy for people to simply say they cannot remember committing the crime, and it was difficult for psychologists to determine whether a person could or could not remember. In recent years, though, psychologists have been able to fine-tune a number of instruments designed to measure malingering—or faking—of various symptoms, including symptoms of amnesia (Rogers, 1997, 2012). Interestingly, according to the DSM-5, "There is no test, battery of tests, or set of procedures that invariably distinguishes dissociative amnesia from feigned amnesia. Individuals with factitious disorder or malingering have been noted to continue their deception even during hypnotic or barbiturate-facilitated interviews" (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, p. 301). Nevertheless, some psychologists believe that amnesia can be evaluated with recognition tests that are tailored to the information that the client claims not to know (Frederick, 2000). Amnesia associated with alcoholic intoxication presents a favorite excuse for reprehensible behavior and is the most commonly invoked excusing condition in criminal cases. "When I drink I go blank about some things" is the usual line. It is intriguing to note that 30–65% of persons convicted of criminal homicide claim they cannot remember the crime, usually because of alcoholic intoxication at the time of the offense (Schacter, 1986). A similar pattern exists for other violent crimes (e.g., rape) as well.

However, the courts have not been sympathetic to defendants who rely on excuses based on alcohol or other drug intoxication. This is because the courts hold the person blameworthy since he or she should have known, at the outset, the risks involved in drinking alcohol or taking drugs. Thus, attempts to use amnesia in this way have met with strong judicial resistance. For example, one court held that "insanity is the incapacity to discriminate between right and wrong while amnesia is simply the inability to remember" (Rubinsky & Brandt, 1986, p. 30). Therefore, amnesia per se fails to qualify as a mental disorder that robs a person of the ability to distinguish between right and wrong.

Mental Disorder and Violence

In an editorial in the well-known medical journal *The Lancet* (2013), writers responded to a front-page headline and story in a popular UK newspaper. *The Lancet* began: "Last week, the UK's best-selling newspaper, the Sun, chose to put '1,200 killed by mental patients' on its front page, with the number outlined in blood red" (p. 1309). The editorial asserted that the headline was not only highly misleading and inaccurate but also encouraged stigma and discrimination against those with mental health problems.

In the United states, in a national poll, 60% of those surveyed believed that people with schizophrenia were likely to act violently toward others, and 32% also thought that individuals with major depression were likely to be violent toward other (Moran, 2012; Pescosolido, Martin, Long, Medina, Phelan, & Link, 2010). And, after the massacre of school children in Newton, Connecticut in 2012, a public opinion poll reported that "a majority of Americans across the political spectrum favored 'increasing government spending to improve mental health screening and treatment as a strategy to prevent gun violence'" (Swanson et al., 2015, p. 367). The public perception of a significant connection between mental illness and violence is often encouraged by news and media coverage of mass and active shooter incidents (Swanson et al., 2015). As recently as 2019, the U.S. President suggested opening more mental institutions in response to still another mass shooting.

It is important to stress that, as a group, individuals who are mentally ill are no more likely to commit crimes than those who are not. Moreover, as documented in recent research and illustrated in Box 8–1, serious mental disorder is not a direct cause of crime (Peterson et al., 2014) and risk factors for committing crime are similar for both mentally disordered and non–mentally disordered offenders (Skeem et al., 2014). As Swanson et al. (2015) write, "Evidence is clear that the large majority of people with mental disorders do not engage in violence against others, and that most violent behavior is due to factors other than mental illness" (p. 375). Nevertheless, as we have seen throughout this chapter, individuals with mental disorders do appear with some regularity in arrest records, in jails, in prisons, and on probation and parole caseloads, and they present special challenges to those who supervise them. Recent research and policy proposals indicate that community alternatives, including pretrial diversion into a specialized treatment program, may be a good approach for persons with severe mental illness who have been charged with crimes (Colwell, Villarreal, & Espinosa, 2012; Gowensmith, 2019; Heilbrun et al., 2012). Colwell et al. found that assignment to such a program significantly reduced the likelihood of future adjudication.

The prevalence of mental disorders is more than three times higher in the criminal justice population than in the general population (Skeem, Emke-Francis, & Louden, 2006). In recent years, researchers have searched for groups or classifications of seriously mentally ill offenders who may be particularly prone to involvement in the criminal justice system. Constantine et al. (2010), for example, found three arrest trajectories patterns for those with serious mental disorder: low chronic, high chronic, and sporadic. Their study of close to 4,000 participants with diagnoses of serious mental disorders did not separate violent from nonviolent offenses, although it did separate felonies from misdemeanors.

Research on the Violence of Persons Who Are Mentally Disordered

Early research literature consistently supported the position that mentally disordered individuals—even those who are severely mentally disordered—are no more likely to commit serious crimes against others than the general population (Brodsky, 1973, 1977; Henn, Herjanic, & Vanderpearl, 1976a; Monahan, 1981; Rabkin, 1979). Later research

(Brennan, Mednick, & Hodgins, 2000; Klassen & O'Connor, 1988, 1990; Monahan, 1992; Silver, 2006) found that a certain subset of the mentally disordered population may be at risk of committing violent crime, leading Heilbrun, Douglas, and Yasuhara (2009, p. 348) to write, "Despite the presence of literally hundreds of studies that address this question, it remains unclear whether mental illness is related to violence." Note that the emphasis is on violence, and the population referred to is a subset of the general population of serious mentally disordered individuals.

Some research indicates that individuals with schizophrenia are at increased risk of violent offending and even at higher risk to commit murder (Naudts & Hodgins, 2005). In addition, when offenders with schizophrenia do commit murder, they most often kill relatives, and many are exhibiting hallucinations and delusions at the time of the offense (Häkkänen & Laajasalo, 2006). The study by Peterson et al. did not include individuals who had committed murder, a rare crime to begin. In a meta-analysis of 204 studies, psychosis also was found to increase the odds of violence by as much as 50–70% (Douglas, Guy, & Hart, 2009).

We cannot emphasize enough that a majority of people with mental disorders—including serious mental disorders—do *not* commit serious or violent offenses, however. For example, only 11.3% of the men and 2.3% of the women who developed schizophrenia committed violent offenses (Tengström, Hodgins, Grann, Långström, & Kullgren, 2004). In addition, those individuals with schizophrenia who commit violent crime constitute a very heterogeneous group. "Some display a history of antisocial behavior from a very early age; others begin engaging in antisocial behavior around the time of schizophrenia onsets; others commit only 1 violent attack in their lives, while others behave aggressively only when acutely psychotic" (Naudts & Hodgins, 2005, p. 1).

In addition, there is further evidence that men who have both schizophrenia and a substance abuse problem are at an increased risk of violent offending (Swanton et al., 2015). For instance, Räsänen et al. (1998) report evidence that male schizophrenics with alcohol abuse problems are 25 times more likely to commit violent crimes than males with no mental disorders and no alcohol problems. Follow-up studies of patients with schizophrenia and substance abuse problems have frequently found them to be at risk of committing violent offenses (Appelbaum, Robbins, & Monahan, 2000; Tengström et al., 2004).

Monahan (1992) stresses two things about the research showing a connection between mental disorders and violence. First, the relationship refers only to people *currently* experiencing a *serious* mental disorder. People who have experienced a serious mental disorder in the past and are not showing symptoms currently are unlikely to engage in violent behavior. Second, it is still a fact that a great majority (over 90%) of the currently mentally disordered are not violent. Media portrayals of common psychotic killers driven berserk by bloodthirsty delusions are sensational, frightening, and perhaps entertaining, but in reality the phenomenon is rare. Finally, it must be emphasized not only that the mental disorder–violence link relates to the seriously mentally disordered but also that the relationship is also stronger for individuals who have a history of violent behavior. Recall that Laajasalo and Häkkänen (2006) found that the strongest predictors of excessive violence among their sample of schizophrenics convicted of homicide were a past history of violent behavior and the presence of a co-offender.

Van Dorn, Volavka, and Johnson (2012), based on a national survey of 32,653 persons in the United States, discovered that 2.9% of persons with serious mental illness (with no history of substance abuse) committed violent acts during the year, compared with 0.8% of persons with no mental disorders or substance abuse. While the results were statistically significant, the difference between the two groups are small and do not provide much value in prediction of violence. In addition, the slightly higher percentage for serious mentally ill patients is probably due to the fact that they stopped or refused to take their medications.

This last issue is a major reason for violence by the serious mentally ill. Referring to incidents known to the Secret Service and Capitol Police, for example, Scalora and Zimmerman (2015), who are both associated with the Capitol Police, emphasize that they recognize the caveat that persons who are seriously mentally ill are no more dangerous than the rest of the population. However, these agencies state: "Our statistics show that we have a lot more contact with seriously mentally ill persons of concern and most times it is because they either stopped taking or refused to take medications" (Scalora & Zimmerman, 2015, p. 271).

One important point needs to be emphasized before we leave this section. A substantial proportion of suicides are committed by individuals who have identified mental health problems (Swanson et al., 2015). These suicides are mostly committed by persons with a diagnosis of bipolar disorder, depression, or schizophrenia. In fact, suicides account for more than 60% of all firearms fatalities in the United States (Swanson et al., 2015).

The MacArthur Research Network

Some of the best-known research on the potential violence of the mentally disordered has been conducted by the MacArthur Research Network (Monahan et al., 2001; Steadman et al., 1998). Researchers followed over 1,000 patients discharged from civil psychiatric hospitals in an effort to determine the extent to which they demonstrated aggressive behavior over a one-year period. The patients also had been measured on a wide range of "risk factors"—134 in all—while they were hospitalized. These included such factors as violent fantasies, history of abuse as a child, frequency of parents fighting with each other, and number of negative and positive persons in the social network, to name but a few. The data allowed the MacArthur researchers to develop a risk-assessment instrument, The Multiple Iterative Classification Tree (ICT), which they believe can help clinicians identify low-, average-, and high-risk individuals. They emphasize, however, that the instrument was developed on psychiatric inpatients in acute facilities who would soon be discharged, and should not be generalized to other contexts until validated on additional populations. It is worth noting that about half of the discharged patients in this study were in the low-risk group, while the remaining patients were about evenly divided between average and high-risk groups. However, no single risk factor was a significant predictor of violence. As Monahan et al. (2001, p. 142) stated, "The propensity for violence is the result of the accumulation of risk factors, no one of which is either necessary or sufficient for a person to behave aggressively toward others."

In later research, Monahan et al. (2005) used a new sample of patients discharged from psychiatric hospitals who had been classified as being at low risk (less than 9% likelihood of violence) or high risk (greater than 37% likelihood of violence). The patients were first assessed and interviewed during their hospitalization for follow-up; all high-risk patients and a random sample of low-risk patients and those who knew them were interviewed in the community at 10 and 20 weeks after the date of discharge. Arrest and re-hospitalization records were also reviewed. The expected rates of violence were 1% for the low-risk group and 64% for the much smaller high-risk group; the observed rates of violence were 9% for the low-risk group and 49% for the high-risk group.

In sum, then, the research on the mentally disordered and violence allows us to conclude the following:

- Past mental disorder alone, even serious mental disorder, is not necessarily a good predictor of violence.
- The serious mental disorder most closely associated with violent and serious offenses is schizophrenia.
- Persons with schizophrenia who commit violent crimes—and most do not—consist of a very heterogeneous group.

- Males who develop schizophrenia *and* exhibit antisocial behavior at an *early* age often demonstrate persistent and versatile patterns of criminal offending, including violent offending.
- Violence is associated with *current* serious mental disorder, particularly when a history of violent behavior is also present.
- Risk factors for committing crime (e.g., misuse of alcohol and illicit drugs, being unemployed, economically impoverished, early onset of offending) are similar for mentally disordered and non–mentally disordered individuals.
- Crimes committed by persons who are seriously mentally ill are generally not a direct result of their illness.
- At least in civilly committed institutionalized patients, the classification system devised by the MacArthur Research Network is an efficient predictor of future violence in the community.
- While researchers have developed some instruments to assess the likelihood that a person will engage in violence, no one factor serves as strong predictor; violent behavior seems to be a result of an accumulation of risk factors, unique to each individual.

Inmates with Mental Disorders

Throughout the chapter, we have referred to many criminal defendants who faced criminal courts with mental disorders in their backgrounds. Some of these defendants were evaluated for competency or criminal responsibility. As we emphasized, most defendants evaluated for competency are found competent, and an insanity defense rarely succeeds. It is safe to say, then, that a large number of criminal defendants, if they plead guilty or are convicted, are sent to jails and prisons, carrying their mental disorder with them. Furthermore, it is important to stress that the very conditions within many prisons and jails both initiate and exacerbate mental disorders. It is obvious that jail and prison conditions, as well as conditions in juvenile facilities, can have deleterious effects on mental states.

In an oft-cited study, it was estimated that half of all prison and jail inmates in the United States had a mental health problem that might benefit from psychological treatment (James & Glaze, 2006). Contemporary research indicates that the percentage of inmates with mental illness in the nation's jails and prisons is increasing (Althouse, 2010; Morgan, Flora, et al., 2012; Morgan, Gendreau, et al., 2016). Female inmates are often reported to have higher rates of mental health problems than male inmates (Magaletta et al., 2009), but this may be confounded by the fact that they may be more likely to self-disclose these problems (see Table 8–3). The most common problem reported for all inmates is major depression, followed by psychotic disorders.

Some researchers have reported that 10–15% of persons in jails and federal and state prisons have *severe* mental disorders (Lamb, Weinberger, & Gross, 2004). It is difficult to determine to what extent these data include antisocial personality disorder (APD); it is estimated that 40–80% of inmates carry that diagnosis (Steffan & Morgan, 2005). Nevertheless, both researchers and mental health professionals working with jail and prison inmates report significant increases in *serious* mental health problems in both state and federal facilities (Ashford, Sales, & Reid, 2001; Faust & Magaletta, 2010; Magaletta, Dietz, & Diamond, 2005).

In the 21st century, conditions in many federal and state prisons, and in detention centers, are considered deplorable. As but one illustration, in 2019, the U.S. Department of Justice announced a federal suit against the Alabama state prison system after internal investigations found overcrowded conditions, violence, and staff shortages. Numerous inmates had makeshift weapons that they possessed for their own protection, and

TABLE 8–3 Inmates Identified as Mentally Disordered, by Gender, Race/Hispanic Origin, and Age

	Percent Identified as Mentally Disordered		
Offender Characteristics	**State Inmates**	**Federal Inmates**	**Jail Inmates**
All inmates	56.2	44.8	64.2
Gender			
Male	55.0	43.60	62.8
Female	73.1	61.2	75.4
Race/Hispanic Origin			
White	62.2	49.6	71.2
Black	54.7	45.9	63.4
Hispanic	46.3	36.8	50.7
Other	61.9	50.3	69.5

Source: Adapted from James, D. J., & Glaze, L. E. (2006, September). Mental health problems of prison and jail in-mates. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

noncorrectional staff (including teachers and mental health professionals) were sometimes deployed to help in custodial duties. In New York, Rikers Island—a large detention facility housing thousands of inmates and riddled with civil rights suits and administrative scandals over the years—is scheduled to close by the year 2025. It is to be replaced by regional jails sited in various boroughs of New York City. Anecdotal accounts from other states suggest that prisons and jails across the nation are deteriorating, a fact that has supported efforts to reduce lengths of sentences for nonviolent offenses or revisit disproportionately long sentences given to offenders in the past, such as sentences involving crack cocaine compared with the same drug in powdered form. Another approach is to seek alternatives to incarceration, such as probation and community service for nondangerous offenders. Persons with mental disorders charged with minor offenses are now diverted to mental health courts in some states in order to avoid labeling them as criminals and offer them effective treatment.

In summary, it is very clear that prisons and jails today are facing increasing numbers of inmates whose psychological problems will likely escalate if not sufficiently treated. This may be especially problematic in high-security, supermax facilities where inmates are kept in solitary confinement, sometimes for many years (see, generally, Toch, 2008). Supermax prisons, which exist in every state as well as the federal prison system, are notorious for producing psychological breakdown among inmates who are often confined in individual cells for 23 hours a day. These are not necessarily stand-alone prisons at a geographical distance or physically isolated from other security level prisons. The "supermax," for example, could be a separate wing on the same physical grounds. Even in the general population of prisons and jails, however, the prevalence of individuals in need of mental health services is sobering.

Dangerousness and the Assessment of Risk

Up to this point in the chapter, we have covered a range of situations involving mentally disordered individuals, criminal courts, and prisons and jails. In many—but not all—of those situations, the courts and other agents of the criminal justice system were concerned about whether the individual was also a danger to society.

The concept of dangerousness pervades much of the criminal law and appears in civil law as well. Defining dangerous behavior is a challenge faced by legislatures, courts, and clinicians. All states and all courts recognize that behavior that is likely to result in *physical harm* is dangerous.

It is fair to say, though, that dangerousness is used primarily in conjunction with violent behavior. Defendants charged with violent crimes are sometimes denied bail because they are judged dangerous, violent offenders are sentenced to long prison terms to prevent them from committing more crime, and some are sentenced to death because it is feared they will commit more violence. Decisions on whether to parole prisoners convicted of violent crimes are largely based on whether they are dangerous.

Implicit in the above decisions is the belief that it is possible to predict an individual's violent behavior. Although some clinicians believe they can do so with a high degree of confidence, most are far more modest about this ability. Since the 1990s, the research and professional literature have increasingly preferred the term *risk assessment* rather than prediction of dangerousness. Risk assessment suggests that clinicians and researchers are more proficient at *assessing the probability* that a given individual—or group of individuals—will engage in harmful behavior than they are at outrightly predicting that someone is dangerous or will be violent. We will return to this change in terminology shortly.

Controversy over the ability to predict, particularly predict violence, has been longstanding. Not surprisingly, it has often been fueled by highly publicized incidents. The April 2008 shootings at Virginia Tech were perpetrated by a man who had a history of psychiatric treatment and periodic episodes of violence. A year later, 12 people were killed by a man who entered an immigration center in Binghamton, New York, dedicated to helping immigrants adjust to life in the United States. Individuals who knew him said they were "not surprised" because he was isolated and had continuously voiced his disenchantment with his station in life. Similar statements are often made after highly publicized murders. Nevertheless, psychiatric treatment, isolation, and disenchantment with society characterize numerous individuals who do not go out and kill others.

Do people who commit violent crimes issue warnings that they are going to do so? This question often arises in the context of mass murders, which will be covered in Chapter 10. However, it is also relevant to less highly publicized crimes, like the single murder of one or two victims. Psychologists and other mental and behavioral health practitioners are increasingly looking at **threat assessment**, to ask whether individuals who make threats that will kill or otherwise harm others are posing a realistic threat. We discuss this in more detail below.

Threat assessment
Process of determining the likelihood and seriousness of harm carried out by a person who displayed warning signs, such as making veiled oral or written threats.

The Tarasoff Case

A crime that occurred over 30 years ago in California continues to have reverberations among clinicians today. A young woman, Tatiana Tarasoff, was stabbed and killed by Prosenjit Poddar. An outpatient at a University of California, Berkeley, clinic, Poddar had revealed to his psychiatrist his fantasies about harming, or perhaps even killing, a woman whom he had met at a dance. The psychologist, who learned from one of his patient's friends that he planned to purchase a gun, became increasingly concerned. When the patient discontinued therapy, clinic officials wrote to the police requesting their help in getting the individual committed to a mental institution. Police investigated the case, interviewed Poddar, warned him to stay away from the woman, but did not pursue the commitment, apparently because California's new civil commitment law was difficult to interpret. After the murder, the victim's family sued the university clinic, claiming the psychologist had been negligent in not warning the young woman or the family of the danger.

The *Tarasoff* case, undoubtedly familiar to all clinicians, addressed directly the question of what duty therapists owe to third parties in warning them of possible harmful behavior from their clients. The California Supreme Court first ruled that when a therapist determines that a patient is a serious danger to another person, the therapist has a **duty to warn** that individual (*Tarasoff v. Regents*, 1974). Two years later (*Tarasoff v. Regents*, 1976),

Duty to warn
Requirement from the *Tarasoff* case that clinicians must actively warn potential victims of threats of serious bodily harm made by their clients.

the Court redefined the role as a **duty to protect**. That is, the therapist need not directly warn the individual, but he or she should take some steps to protect the individual from harm. Following the California court's decisions, many other states—either through court decisions or by statute—adopted rules similar to those announced in the *Tarasoff* case. By the early 21st century, half the states had done so (Quattrocchi & Schopp, 2005), and two states had explicitly rejected the doctrine (DeMatteo, 2005). Whether or not there exists a statutory duty to warn/protect, many practitioners have interpreted the "spirit" of *Tarasoff* as a standard of practice, believing that the clinician has a professional obligation to take some steps to protect an identifiable potential victim (e.g., Litwack & Schlesinger, 1999). In some states the laws are broad, such as by requiring clinicians to protect even if information is derived from someone who is a relative of the patient, while in other states the clinician's obligations are no greater than meeting a standard of ordinary care and competence and/or are limited to cases where there is a clearly identifiable potential victim (Quattrocchi & Schopp, 2005).

Duty to protect
Requirement from the *Tarasoff* case that clinicians must take steps to protect possible victims from serious bodily harm as a result of threats made by the clinicians' clients. The duty to protect does not require that the clinician contact the potential victim.

In July 2012, 24-year-old James Holmes entered a theater in Aurora, Colorado, during a midnight premiere of the Batman film *The Dark Knight Rises*. Holmes allegedly threw smoke bombs then began to fire weapons, killing 12 theatergoers. Approximately 70 other individuals were wounded or were hurt as they tried to escape. Police soon after learned that Holmes' apartment was wired with explosive devices that, if not detonated, would likely have killed someone going through his door. Holmes, a graduate student at the University of Colorado-Denver, had seen a mental health professional on campus prior to the incident, and the professional had apparently been concerned enough about his behavior that she called in a threat assessment team to consider how to handle the situation. However, Holmes withdrew from the university before the team took any action. As noted earlier, Holmes was willing to plead guilty to avoid the death sentence, but prosecutors wanted to take him to trial in the hope that jurors would recommend the death penalty. Holmes pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity, but was convicted and given 12 life sentences without the possibility of parole. The case is relevant here because it raises the question, can mental health professionals predict dangerous behavior? Furthermore, what is the difference between risk assessment and threat assessment, and how and when should they be used?

Courts and legislatures that have adopted duty to warn/protect rules apparently believe that mental health professionals can predict with considerable accuracy who is or will be dangerous and who will not. The law has been relying on predictions of dangerousness for a long time, dating at least as far back as the 16th century (Morris & Miller, 1985). Yet, researchers and clinicians have long struggled both to define dangerousness and to predict its occurrence. After the *Tarasoff* case, dangerousness generated more controversy than even the insanity defense (Knapp, Younggren, VanderCreek, Harris, & Martin, 2013; Simon & Cockerham, 1977), and the standard that emerged from that case continues to be criticized in the legal and psychological literature (e.g., Quattrocchi & Schopp, 2005).

Today, as noted above, the psychological literature avoids the term *prediction of dangerousness* and has replaced it with *risk assessment*. If the person has actually threatened to harm one or more persons, risk assessment rises to the level of a threat assessment.

A risk assessment is usually conducted on individuals being released from prisons or mental institutions who have not made a threat to anyone but who have a history of violence. A threat assessment is conducted on a person who has made a threat to a person or a group of people. The origins of contemporary threat assessment were developed by the U.S. Secret Service (Ennis, Hargreaves, & Gulayets, 2015). In describing threat assessment, Meloy (2015) writes, "Threat assessment is dynamic—it may change day to day, or hour to hour, in each particular case because the person of concern is doing something different, or the situation has changed, or the target is responding to the threat in a certain manner" (p. 233). Both risk assessments and threat assessments serve the same purpose: to manage the risk of

violence. One manages the risk by examining and evaluating past history, the other manages the risk by examining and evaluating the threat and ongoing behavior. Threat assessment involves three stages: identify, assess, and manage.

Threat assessment and the management of that threat by professionals are dynamically related (Meloy, 2015). Threat management involves identifying the person or persons making the threat and the target person(s), and then taking steps to reduce the possibility of violence. Threat management involves intervention where possible, such as interviewing the problem person, and increasing the safety of the specific and other potential targets.

Violence Risk Factors and Measures

For over 50 years, scholars have debated the respective merits of statistically based assessment of risk versus the more subjective, clinically based methods, sometimes referred to as unstructured clinical judgment (Douglas & Ogoff, 2003; McGowan, Horn, & Mellott, 2011; Meehl, 1954; Melton et al., 2007). The debate is also referred to as the actuarial versus clinical debate, and when put in these terms, clinical usually loses. For example, as Vitacco et al. (2012) noted, some studies have demonstrated that clinicians relying on unstructured clinical judgment were incorrect in their predictions of violence two out of three times.

Structured professional judgment (SPJ)
An approach to risk assessment that combines the strength of actuarial predictions with the experiences of the practitioners. SPJ offers guidelines for providing the risk assessment.

Since the late 1990s, however, scholars and clinicians have been discussing **structured professional judgement (SPJ)**, sometimes referred to as structured clinical judgment. The SPJ approach recommends that clinicians abide by established guidelines for conducting a careful assessment of whether an individual is likely to be violent (Douglas et al., 2014). Critical background information is gathered, including the presence of risk and protective factors for the individual being assessed. The clinician weighs the importance of these factors, considers the extent to which the person might be violent and under what circumstances, and also makes recommendations for preventing such violence. SPJ clearly is somewhat subjective in nature, but its proponents argue it is far superior to clinical judgment that is totally unstructured, and it may be a better alternative than actuarial assessment (Douglas et al., 2014).

Actuarial measures offer a compilation of risk or needs factors on which the individual is evaluated (e.g., past violence, age, criminal record, early onset of antisocial behavior). Although they are used extensively for assessing risk, they have shortcomings and may be overused. In addition, they should be administered by clinicians who are schooled in psychometric theory (Heilbrun, Marczyk, & De Matteo, 2002). A major advantage of actuarial measures is reduction in subjectivity, or clinical judgment based on hunches or past experience, because the risk factors addressed in the most validated actuarial instruments are objectively assessed. Table 8–4 outlines weaknesses of unstructured, structured, and actuarial assessment.

Risk measures have gone through four generations of development (Campbell, French, & Gendreau, 2009). *First generation measures* were based on unstructured clinical judgment, with little or no statistical basis. *Second generation measures* offered a more standardized method of assessing risk, using primarily static (nonchanging) variables, such as age, gender, and criminal history. In the *third generation*, developers of risk assessment instruments introduced criminogenic needs into the equation; that is, a way of identifying factors that could respond to treatment and thus change. Put another way, they identified needs that could be targeted in order to reduce risk of offending. Examples of criminogenic needs are antisocial attitudes or substance use. *Fourth generation instruments* are more attuned to the treatment or rehabilitation process; like third generation tools, they identify both static and dynamic risks and needs, but they also are integrated into the whole process of managing risk and choosing treatment interventions (see Campbell et al., 2009).

Research on the reliability and validity of these various instruments, particularly those of the latest generations, is ongoing. Whether they are equally effective with men and

TABLE 8–4 Chief Weaknesses of Three Approaches to Risk Assessment

Unstructured Clinical
• Highly subjective
• Based only on clinical experience; clinician may have little experience with type of offender
• Unknown which factors are taken into account
• Little support in empirical literature
Structured Professional Judgment
• Newer approach, not heavily researched compared with actuarial
• Clinician encouraged to speculate on what conditions might lead to violence
• Subjectivity remains a factor
Actuarial approach
• Focuses on small number of risk factors, may ignore others
• Measures developed on specific populations (e.g., males) may not generalize to others (e.g., females)
• Restrictive definition of violence risk, cannot address duration, severity, or frequency
• Clinician unable to apply professional judgment, such as by weighing importance of risk factors

women is a question often posed in the literature. In general, however, as noted above, actuarial instruments have consistently outperformed clinical judgments. In another meta-analysis (Ægisdóttir et al., 2006), the researchers found that actuarial risk prediction was 17% better than its clinical counterpart. Nevertheless, for many reasons, many mental health practitioners have been and are reluctant to yield their professional judgments to actuarial models. Therefore, the measures that are based on SPJ have been welcomed by many clinicians "as a potentially reasonable, empirically defensible approach to risk assessment that did not have some of the perceived weaknesses of extant actuarial instruments or of unstructured clinical prediction" (Heilbrun et al., 2009, p. 336).

It must be stressed that—although we discuss risk assessment in this chapter—assessment of violence risk is not limited to persons with mental disorders. In fact, most assessment instruments were developed to assess possible violence in general criminal and delinquent populations, such as youth, domestic abusers, and sex offenders. Furthermore, threat assessment—an important undertaking—tries to assess violence in people who have not necessarily been flagged as having mental health problems. For example, threat assessments are conducted in schools and in places of work, as will be mentioned in Chapter 10. And it must be stressed, again, that persons with mental disorders, as a group, are not dangerous. Overall, the best predictor of future behavior is *past behavior*, but even past behavior will not necessarily be repeated. The best predictor of criminal behavior is a history of criminal behavior, and past violence will suggest a probability of future violence. A history of criminal behavior is the best predictor of criminal recidivism regardless of whether or not the individual has a mental disorder (Bonta, Law, & Hanson, 1998). But again, people change. Furthermore, the more frequently the behavior has occurred in a variety of situations, the more accurate will be the predictions. Someone who frequently manifests violence across many different situations will be far easier to predict than a person who is only occasionally violent in some situations.

Since the 1990s, researchers have made considerable strides in the ability to identify more factors that are associated with violence. In addition to criminal history, research strongly indicates that other predictors of criminal recidivism (not limited to violence) include some combination of age, juvenile delinquency, and substance abuse (Andrews & Bonta, 1994; Bonta et al., 1998; Gendreau, Little, & Goggin, 1996; Guy, Douglas, & Hart, 2015; Heilbrun & LaDuke, 2015). However, researchers have also warned that risk factors are unique for each individual, and that no one factor will necessarily predict violence or serious antisocial behavior in any one individual.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we focused on the relationship between mental illness and crime. In order to understand this relationship, we must go beyond labels, which do not explain why someone behaves in a certain way.

Mental illness (or mental disorder) is a disorder or disease of the mind that interferes substantially with a person's ability to cope with life on a daily basis. Although it deprives someone of freedom of choice, this deprivation is rarely total. As noted in the chapter, even people with severe mental disorders can have some decision-making ability. Mental illness should be distinguished from intellectual disability. The former can be treated, cured, or held in remission; the latter cannot, but people with intellectual disability can be taught to perform many tasks and supported in their desires to be self-sufficient.

We reviewed diagnostic categories that are most often associated with criminal behavior. For example, persons accused of crime may introduce these diagnoses to support an insanity defense. The main categories discussed were schizophrenic and other psychotic disorders, bipolar disorders, major depression, and antisocial personality disorder. Schizophrenic and other psychotic disorders and bipolar disorders represent the most concern with respect to serious crime, but even these disorders do not cause criminal behavior. Put another way, the great majority of individuals with these disorders do not commit crime. Likewise, major depression does not generally lead to criminal activity, though it has been demonstrated in exceptional, high-profile cases like mass murders, workplace violence, or the killing of one's own children. Antisocial personality disorder is a catch-all diagnosis often placed on chronic offenders. Most courts today do not accept APD to support an insanity defense.

The chapter also reviewed the legal constructs of competency and insanity. Criminal defendants are found incompetent if they are so disordered that they cannot understand the proceedings or help their attorneys in their own defense. Adjudicative competence is relevant to a wide range of proceedings, including a variety of pretrial hearings and the trial itself as well as the sentencing stage and beyond. The law says that an incompetent defendant is not present; therefore, before proceeding with prosecution, he or she must be rendered competent. As we noted, the common approach for doing this has been hospitalization. However, scholars today are highlighting a competency crisis as a result of large numbers of competency evaluations and fewer resources for treatment. Consequently, some jurisdictions are turning to outpatient competency restoration programs. Another issue relates to the extent to which defendants found incompetent to stand trial can be medicated against their will. Courts have generally ruled that when the government has a strong interest in bringing the defendant to trial—such as in a serious crime—medication will be allowed.

Although it is the competency issue that affects the greatest number of defendants, it is the insanity issue that most intrigues the public. The truly insane individual is not responsible for his or her crime. Successful insanity defenses are rare, but even when they occur, they are no bargain. Persons found not guilty by reason of insanity are typically hospitalized, often for longer periods of time than they would have served in prison. We reviewed the various standards for establishing insanity, including the M'Naghten (right/wrong) Rule, the ALI/Brawner Rule, the Durham Rule (product test), and the Insanity Defense Reform Act (IDRA) standard, which is applied in federal courts. Since the 1980s, largely as a result of the acquittal of John Hinckley, many states and the federal government have passed more restrictive insanity statutes, making it even more difficult for defendants to be absolved of criminal responsibility. Some states also have adopted a "guilty but mentally ill" verdict form, which allows a judge or jury to find a defendant guilty but also acknowledge that he or she needs treatment. Research indicates, though, that the treatment implied in GBMI statutes is rarely provided in correctional facilities.

We also briefly discussed special defenses that are sometimes raised in criminal cases, either to absolve a defendant completely or to support a defense of diminished capacity. PTSD has been diagnosed in many individuals who have suffered highly traumatic experiences, but persons with PTSD who are accused of crime rarely use this as a successful defense. Dissociative identity disorder (DID; formerly called multiple personality disorder) and dissociative amnesia are rarer diagnoses, but they are no more likely to be successful if used as insanity defenses.

The chapter also covered mental illness in jail and prison populations, a topic of growing concern. Conditions in many facilities, such as violence and overcrowding, and lack of effective treatment programs for inmates have contributed to documented increases in mental disorders. Some inmates enter a jail or prison with mental illness; others acquire a mental disorder as a result of their incarceration experience.

The visibility of persons with a mental disorder, as well as publicity given to the occasional sensational case in which someone with a severe mental disorder kills a stranger, has led to questions about dangerousness and our ability to predict it. When the criminal justice system deals with a defendant charged with a violent crime or an offender convicted of one, the system wants to know if he or she is dangerous. For many years, mental health practitioners tried to answer this question with little success. Traditionally, clinicians overestimated the potential violence of this population, engendering debate about the proper criteria for assessing dangerousness. Gradually, the enterprise shifted to assessing risk rather than predicting dangerousness. Rather than trying to predict whether someone is dangerous and will commit a violent act, the clinician is now more likely to identify risk factors that may make it *more likely* that he or she will do so.

In the 21st century, clinicians now also conduct more threat assessments. These occur when a person has either made a direct threat against another or a group, or when the person shows behavioral signs of posing such a threat. Threat assessments are primarily carried out in educational realms or in the workplace. When mental health professionals are involved, risk and threat assessments are typically made through unstructured clinical judgement, structured professional judgment, or actuarial measures. The strengths and weaknesses of each of these three methods were discussed.

KEY CONCEPTS

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M'Naghten Rule (right and wrong test), 269

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Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), 273

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Structured professional judgment (SPJ), 284

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Volitional prong, 271

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Thoroughly explain the difference between incompetence to stand trial and insanity. Include in your answer what researchers have learned about the individuals who receive those legal designations.
2. What is meant by a "duty to warn" and a "duty to protect"? And to whom does it pertain?
3. What are the conditions under which mentally disordered people may become violent or seriously criminal?
4. Briefly describe four legal standards for insanity and their requirements.
5. Identify and include symptoms of the four diagnostic categories most relevant to criminal behavior.
6. What are guilty but mentally ill statutes? Why do many legal scholars oppose them?
7. Describe fully and evaluate any one of the unique defenses discussed in the chapter.

9

Homicide, Assault, and Intimate Partner and Family Violence

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Emphasize that criminal homicide is rare compared with other violent offenses.
- Define criminal homicide, negligent manslaughter, and aggravated assault.
- Review the demographics of homicide victims and offenders.
- Introduce a typology of homicide.
- Review what we know about juvenile murderers and their victims.
- Discuss the dynamics of intimate partner violence (IPV).
- Present the research on family violence, its dynamics, and its causes.
- Summarize stereotypical child abduction data.

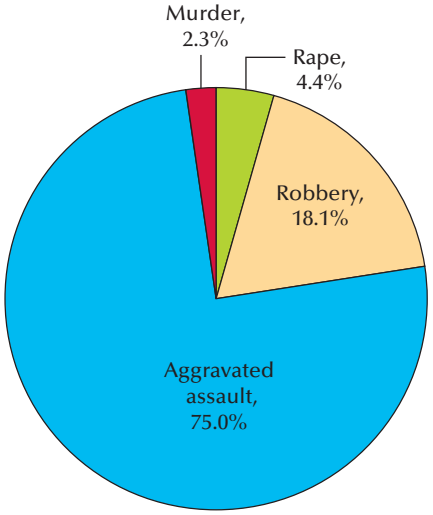
If the news and entertainment media are reasonably decent barometers of human interest, homicidal violence must be one of Western civilization's most fascinating subjects and, along with sex, the most marketable. Usually, the more bizarre, senseless, or heinous the murder, the more extensive news coverage it receives, followed shortly thereafter by books, television specials, and movies. Unusual mass murders, serial murders, and so-called motiveless killings receive the most attention. In the past 20 years, since the Columbine deaths of 1999, school shootings have been added to the above. These are all continuing social problems that must be addressed. Yet on a national level, criminal homicide consistently accounts for less than 5% of all violent crimes reported in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR).

As noted at the beginning of this text, homicide is the killing of a human being by another human being. It is not *criminal* homicide if it is justified or excused. Medical examiners often rule a death a homicide, but not all homicides are crimes. In this chapter, however, including the title, we often use the word without the adjective, as do many researchers and statisticians. Thus, when we learn from crime statistics that the number of homicides reached an all-time high of 24,503 in 1991 and then fell quickly to 15,522 in 1999 (Cooper & Smith, 2011), we are referring to criminal homicides. Over the past two decades, the number of criminal homicides (murder and nonnegligent manslaughter) in the United States has remained quite steady, with occasional

FIGURE 9–1

Violent Crime Distribution in the United States, 2017

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2018a). Crime in the United States, 2017. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.



increases and decreases. In 2017, 15,129 were murdered, which represents 5.3 victims per 100,000 population (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). If we consider its percentage distribution among all violent crimes in 2017, then, murder represents a minute percentage of the total (see Figure 9–1).

The majority of criminal homicides are cleared by the arrest of one or more individuals, and the majority involve friends, spouses, or acquaintances killing friends, spouses, or acquaintances. During 2017, for example, the relationship between the victims and the perpetrators was known in 50% of all of the homicides. Within those known relationships, 24.7% of the victims were killed by family members and 56.3% of the victims were killed by someone else they knew (e.g., neighbors, boyfriends, friends) (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). This figure is a reminder that homicidal attacks by strangers—a topic discussed in more detail in the following chapter—are not common. Only 19% of murder victims in 2017 were killed by strangers.

From a psychological perspective, the disproportionate amount of attention paid to criminal homicides compared to other violent crimes may be explained in a variety of ways. Obviously, this is a highly serious crime, with death being the ultimate victimization.

One major reason for the strong interest in violence is that our reactions to it—experienced vicariously—may be regarded as adaptive or functional. Extensive exposure to violence also has a dysfunctional side, however. Specifically, it may immunize us from the horror of violence. Many social commentators have advanced cogent arguments that Western civilization has become conditioned or jaded to cruelty and inhumane behavior and that people are desensitized to human suffering. In addition, the constant attention that the news media and politicians give to violence also makes it seem more widespread and frequent than it really is. This phenomenon is called the **availability heuristic** by social psychologists. Heuristics refer to cognitive shortcuts that people use to make quick inferences about their world. We do not suggest that the news media *not* depict violence; it is their role to report facts and keep us informed. They are not the enemy of the people. However, people are likely to incorporate vivid details into cognitive shorthand and have them readily *available* for future reference. When they think of violence at a later time, they remember the most frequently seen and horrific accounts, increasing their fear of violent crime and exaggerating its incidence in their minds.

Availability heuristic
The cognitive shortcuts that people use to make quick inferences about their world. It is the information that is most readily available to us mentally and is usually based extensively on the most recent material we gain from the news or entertainment media.

To speculate about why we are attracted to accounts of murder and violence, or to wonder about the effects of repeated exposure, may not seem to address the main focus of this chapter, which is the violent offender. Speculation becomes relevant, however, when we shift the focus to the individual who is part of a society that seems to have an inordinate need to seek out stimulation or to know details of crimes. When that person is insensitive to suffering and begins to create his or her own excitement by torturing and murdering, we have a social problem. Psychology, as we will see in this chapter, can offer some suggestions for understanding and solving this problem.

After defining the relevant terms, we examine situational and dispositional factors that occur consistently in homicide and aggravated assault, beginning with statistical data on their incidence and prevalence and their demographic correlates. Thus far in the text, theoretical issues and potential causes of crime have been introduced with minimum application to specific offenses. Beginning here and throughout the remainder of the book, we interweave the research and concepts previously outlined with specific categories of criminal behavior. Thus, in this chapter we focus on criminal homicide and intimate partner and family violence.

Definitions

In gathering statistics, criminologists separate aggravated assault and homicide, but in explaining these crimes or looking for causes, they often study them together, primarily because they view many aggravated assaults as failed homicide attempts (Doerner, 1988; Doerner & Speir, 1986). Dunn (1976) challenged this practice, noting that the aggravated assault rate was at least 20 times that of homicide. "Given this disparity in rates, it is difficult to imagine that even one-quarter of all aggravated assaults were attempted homicides or would have been homicides except for the intervention of medical care" (Dunn, 1976, p. 10). Therefore, it may be unwarranted to consider aggravated assault as being in the same league as homicide; the two may differ in important variables, including the motives of the perpetrator. A purist, therefore, would try to maintain an aggravated assault–homicide distinction. And, of course, the distinctions are maintained in crime statistics as well as in criminal law.

Nevertheless, from a psychological perspective it is often difficult to separate aggravated assault from criminal homicide. First, much of the relevant research on offender *characteristics* collapses the categories into one under the rationale that people who kill usually (but not invariably) have a history of assaultive behavior. Second, the two types of behavior are comparable in many ways because at their core they represent human aggression, the main focus of Chapter 5. On the other hand, certain kinds of homicide offenders—such as juvenile murderers and serial and mass murderers—have distinctive characteristics. Often, though, in the more typical violent crime situation, the weapon used or the quality of medical care available determines the final outcome. The high-powered bullet, as an obvious example, is in most cases far more lethal than the knife, and rapid response to an assault can save a life. A stabbing or even a beating may represent behavior similar to that displayed in homicide with a small firearm. In law, the distinctions between murder and aggravated assault are crucial; in psychology, with exceptions like those mentioned above, they are less so. The individual is displaying highly aggressive behavior in either situation.

Criminal Homicide

Criminal homicide is causing the death of another person without legal justification or excuse. Legally, it is usually divided into two categories: **murder** and **nonnegligent manslaughter**. The term *murder* is reserved for the "unlawful killing of one human being by another with malice aforethought, either expressed or implied" (Black, 1990, p. 1019). "Malice aforethought" refers to premeditation, or the mental state of a person who thinks ahead, plans, and voluntarily causes the death of another, without legal excuse or justification. However, "premeditation" can occur in a very short period of time (even a minute); it does not require weeks of planning.

Criminal homicide
A term that encompasses both murder and nonnegligent homicide.

Murder
The felonious killing of one human being by another with malice aforethought.

Nonnegligent manslaughter
The killing of a human being without premeditation but with the intention to kill in the "heat of the moment," such as under high emotional states of anger or passion.

Homicide laws in most states have additional gradations or degrees. In many jurisdictions, murder is divided into two degrees, a statutory provision that allows courts to impose a more severe penalty for some murders than others. The degree system was once a useful and meaningful method of distinguishing between murder that was punishable by death and that which was not (Gardner, 1985). In more recent times, the distinctions between the degrees have been more blurred. Broadly, state statutes generally posit that murder of the first degree is a homicide that was committed with particularly vicious, willful, deliberate, and premeditated intent. Craig Hicks, who killed three Muslim students in North Carolina in early 2015, was charged with three counts of first-degree murder. He pleaded guilty in June 2019 and was sentenced to life without parole. Murder of the second degree is characterized by the intentional and unlawful killing of another but without the type of malice and premeditation required for first-degree murder. In 2019, Chicago police

officer Jason Van Dyke was sentenced to about 7 years for the death of 17-year-old Laquan McDonald, whom he had shot 16 times in 2014. McDonald had a knife but was not charging the officer. The jury found Van Dyke guilty of second-degree murder. Other examples of second-degree murder include "crimes of passion," such as an enraged father who strangles the drunken driver who just killed his son. Although there was no premeditation, the angry father still had the intent to kill, as did Van Dyke in the eyes of the jurors.

The *Uniform Crime Reports* include both murder and nonnegligent manslaughter under the rubric of criminal homicide for reporting purposes. Deaths of others that occur as a result of negligence (negligent manslaughter) are not included. The essential difference between murder and nonnegligent manslaughter is that malice aforethought must be present for murder, whereas it must be absent for nonnegligent manslaughter. However, intent to kill is still needed.

Negligent manslaughter
The unlawful killing of another through reckless or negligent behavior, without intention to kill.

Negligent manslaughter—also referred to as involuntary manslaughter—is killing another as a result of recklessness or culpable negligence. Although there is no intent to kill, the law says you should have known that your actions could result in the death of another person. That is why—in careless and negligent driving that results in the death of a person—the driver is responsible for the person's death. As another example, in 2018 a man was cleaning his gun in his home when the weapon discharged and the man's wife was killed. And, in 2015, a man who punched a soccer referee in the neck during an adult league game pleaded guilty to involuntary manslaughter—the referee died two days after the incident. Although these men did not intend to kill the victims, prosecutors asserted that their reckless behavior still caused the deaths. The person charged with murder (first or second degree) or with nonnegligent manslaughter intended that his victim die. In the case of negligent manslaughter, the original intent was not to kill the victim. In some situations, however, people become so agitated and emotionally upset in a particular situation that they lose partial control of their self-regulatory system. In other situations, what occurred was the result of an unfortunate accident, such as the gun-cleaning example above. In some states, nonnegligent manslaughter would be similar to second-degree murder. Indeed, in the referee example above, the individual responsible for the death was first charged with second-degree murder, but as noted he eventually pleaded guilty to involuntary manslaughter.

As apparent from the above examples, homicide law is complex. In line with UCR classifications, we combine both murder and nonnegligent manslaughter under the general term *homicide* in this chapter, and as noted above we often refer simply to homicide. We are not concerned with suicides, accidental deaths, negligent manslaughter, or homicides that are justified or excused (e.g., in defense of one's life). In other words, from a psychological point of view, these are not illustrative of the aggressive behavior we are concerned about in this chapter.

Aggravated Assault

Assault
The intentional inflicting of bodily injury on another person, or the attempt to inflict such injury.

In most jurisdictions, **assault** is the intentional inflicting of bodily injury on another person, or the attempt to inflict such injury. Simple assaults happen every day—in the schoolyard, in homes, on the street, in bars and hotels—and they are typically not reported to law enforcement.

Aggravated assault
Inflicting, or attempting to inflict, bodily injury on another person, with the intent to inflict serious injury.

An assault or attack becomes **aggravated assault** when the purpose is to inflict serious bodily injury. Aggravated assault is often accompanied by the use of a deadly or dangerous weapon, such as a gun, knife, ax, or other sharp or blunt instrument. However, the use of one's fists can also be aggravated assault. In domestic violence situations, for example, including child abuse, fists or hands are often the weapon of choice, and they result in serious bodily injury. In UCR statistics, even if no actual injury occurs, the crime is counted as an

aggravated assault (attempted assault) if a weapon is displayed or threatened. Simple assault is the unlawful, intentional inflicting of less than serious bodily injury without a deadly or dangerous weapon, or the attempt to inflict such bodily injury, again without a deadly or dangerous weapon.

Aggravated assault will be illustrated in the sections of the chapter that focus on intimate partner violence (IPV) and family violence. When aggravated assault is reported to police, domestic situations are often where it occurs. The beginning sections of this chapter will focus on homicide, particularly homicide dealing with a single offender killing one person. Multiple murders (e.g., mass and serial killings) will be covered in Chapter 10. We begin with briefly covering the demographics of homicide offenders and then proceed to the psychological characteristics of people who kill. The demographic characteristics most commonly studied in homicide research are race or ethnic origin, gender, socioeconomic status, and the victim–offender relationship.

Demographic and Other Factors of Homicide

Researchers have found that a variety of demographic factors are strongly associated, or correlated, with criminal homicide. These factors may be characteristics of the offenders or the victims. We must emphasize, though, that the factors reported in the literature often refer to *arrests* for murder or nonnegligent manslaughter. Although the minimum standard for an arrest is probable cause that the individual committed a crime or is about to commit a crime, arrests do not necessarily result in conviction or a finding of guilt. This is an important caveat whenever we consider the official police data that are cited in numerous research studies. As we discuss the demographics of homicide, readers should keep in mind the distinctions between arrests, convictions, and victimizations. In addition to demographic factors, information is often obtained on circumstances of homicide (e.g., during the commission of a felony), relationship between offenders and victims, and the use of weapons, as will be described below.

Race/Ethnicity

One of the most consistent findings reported in the criminology literature is that, with respect to violent crime, race and ethnicity differences are stark. This includes criminal homicide as well as other violent crimes. Researchers have found that blacks, American Indians, and Alaskan Natives seem disproportionately affected (Rennison & Rand, 2003; Morgan & Truman, 2018) both in arrest records and victimization surveys. Although African Americans make up about 13% of the U.S. population, they accounted for approximately 54% of all arrests for homicide in 2017 in those cases where the offender's race was known (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a).

The disproportionate representation of minority groups in the arrest and conviction data for homicide as well as other violent crimes probably reflects a variety of social inequities and biases, such as lack of employment or educational opportunities and racial oppression in its many forms, including processing within the criminal justice system. There is no evidence to suggest that a racial biological, genetic, or neuropsychological predisposition plays a role in the consistently reported racial differences in violence rates over the years.

Furthermore, much more research needs to be done on the relationship between racial/ethnic minorities and crime. As noted in Chapter 1, the UCR has only recently begun to distinguish among racial and ethnic groups, and police are discouraged from assuming a particular race or ethnicity. Furthermore, using rigid categories such as black, Latino/Hispanic, Asian, Native Americans, and white represents an oversimplification of the multiethnic

and multicultural mixtures across the nation. Cultures and subcultures are highly complex and multidimensional, and meaningful research on the ethnic/minority differences in violence requires a knowledgeable awareness of and sensitivity to this complexity.

Gender

The relationship between homicide and gender is also robust, but once again caution is urged. The gender or sex binary (male–female; man–woman) can no longer be applied to all individuals because there is increasing evidence of a gender continuum, and groups that have been thus far ignored in crime or victimization statistics (e.g., transgender and transitioning individuals) are asking for more recognition. Official data, and the vast majority of research studies, report male/female statistics, but an unknown number of individuals would not list themselves as either, or would list themselves the opposite of what they are assumed to be. On some college campuses today, for example, students are asked which pronoun should apply to them; it is rare, however, for police to ask persons arrested if they are male or female. We might assume that a low prevalence of individuals who are other than male or female would mean little significant difference in national statistics, but we might also be wrong in this assumption. Furthermore, we also do not know, *from official data*, the number of transgender individuals who were victims or perpetrators of aggravated assault or other violent offenses. The Human Rights Campaign reported that at least 22 transgender people were killed in the United States in 2016 alone, and by October 2019 the number for that year was 24. It was not until 2017 that a man was convicted of killing a transgender women under federal law. In 2019, a transgender woman who had been assaulted in the months before was found murdered. With more media attention being directed at such crimes, it is hoped that gathering of statistics will follow.

UCR data consistently reveal that the annual arrest rates for murder run about 80–90% male, about 10% female (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). In 2017, males represented 78.4% of homicide victims, and females represented 21.3% (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). Although most murders are intraracial (whites kill whites, blacks kill blacks), stranger homicides are more likely to cross racial lines (about 27%). Again, however, given the rich racial and ethnic makeup of contemporary society, these data might not be that significant.

Age

With monotonous regularity, national statistics from all sources continue to underscore the fact that about half of all those arrested for violent crime are between the ages of 20 and 29. Although this statistic refers to all violent crimes, it applies specifically to criminal homicide as well. Approximately one-third of murder victims and almost half of the offenders are under age 25 (Cooper & Smith, 2011; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a).

Socioeconomic Status

Research has consistently shown that children born into an adverse neighborhood and disadvantaged family context are at higher risk for violence, either as offenders or victims, than are children raised in a more propitious environment. As discussed in Chapter 3, poverty places children at risk for violence because of lack of resources, social support, and opportunity, a reality that highlights the crucial importance of social programs. Some researchers have observed that conditions of poverty make it difficult for parents or caregivers to avoid harsh and inconsistent discipline for their young children (Dodge, Greenberg,

et al., 2008). Nonetheless, as a general principle, it is important to remember that warm, supportive parenting exists across all socioeconomic groups as does harsh and inconsistent discipline. In addition, as we learned in earlier chapters, parenting or caregiving itself is not the only factor to take into account in trying to explain violence. It takes an accumulation of risk factors to fully explain violence. Simplistic explanations usually fall far short of the true picture.

Circumstances

Through its expanded homicide reports, the FBI provides a wealth of information about circumstances accompanying criminal homicide. We learn, for example, how many were associated with specific felonies (e.g., rape or motor vehicle theft), or were attributable to brawls, arguments, or romantic triangles. Interpersonal arguments (including those preceding family violence) are the most frequently cited circumstances for murder (Cooper & Smith, 2011; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2014, 2018a). Second are murders that occur in the process of committing felonies such as rape, robbery, burglary, arson, or drug trafficking (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2008, 2014, 2018a).

Weapons

Nationwide data over the past 5 years indicate that firearms far exceeded other weapons used in criminal homicides, and the total numbers have increased (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). In 2013, for example, 8,454 deaths were attributed to firearms, and the number had risen to 10,982 in 2017. Although handguns were the predominant firearms used (7,032 in 2017, for example), "type not stated" accounted for 3,096 deaths (again in 2017). Knives, blunt objects, hands and feet, poisons, and so forth accounted for minuscule deaths compared to firearms. Gun violence has a long history, but it has taken on a new urgency in recent years as victims, researchers, politicians, courts, gun-control activists, and gun-rights advocates have weighed in on the issue. Mass shootings—to be discussed in Chapter 10—highlight the problem, but everyday gun violence that does not involve multiple victims is beginning to get more attention. Furthermore, as noted in previous chapters, accessibility to guns by juveniles and persons with serious mental disorders is of great concern. As mentioned in Chapter 8, some jurisdictions are beginning to pass "red flag" laws, which allow courts to order law enforcement to remove a gun from the possession of someone who is considered dangerous to self or others on the basis of behavior, including behavior associated with a mental disorder. Also as emphasized in Chapter 8, persons with mental disorders are by far not the most dangerous. Increasingly more jurisdictions are prohibiting gun purchases and possessions from an ex-spouse or former intimate partner convicted of assault or other violent act. (See Box 9–1 for related discussion.)

About every 14 minutes, someone in America dies from a gunshot wound, including suicides. Not all are criminal homicides. Some of the deaths are the result of tragic unintentional shootings, as when two children—too young to be charged—are playing with a loaded weapon. Some intentional shootings may be justified, as when a law enforcement officer uses lethal force to kill an armed suspect who refuses to drop the weapon, or they may be excused, as when a person kills another in self-defense. These are anecdotes, but they are repeated in many communities across the nation.

Guns do not *cause* violent crime, but accessibility of guns facilitates it. Hepburn and Hemenway (2004) found that where there are higher levels of gun ownership, homicides are substantially higher. Of course, where homicides are higher, individuals may be more likely to own guns for protection, and it may be understandable that they wish to do this.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 9–1 VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT THROUGH THE YEARS

In 1990, a bill was proposed in Congress that was said by its sponsors to make streets and homes safer and protect women's civil rights. Four years later, in 1994, the bill was passed with wide bipartisan support and then signed into law. It became the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) and was lauded as landmark legislation by numerous advocacy groups including those representing women, families, and civil rights causes. The law established the Office on Violence Against Women and a domestic violence hotline within the Department of Justice.

As is not uncommon in Congressional legislation, the VAWA required reauthorization, in this case approximately every 5 years. Although reauthorization met a few glitches along the way, the VAWA was reauthorized, generally on schedule, with some changes. Beginning in 1994 and in the years since, the law added new offenses and penalties, enhanced sentences for repeat federal offenders, and strengthened investigations and prosecution of sexual offenses. Overall, the VAWA as it stands today also funds shelters, community programs, and studies tracking violence. It provides federal grants to programs that prevent domestic violence, dating violence, and sexual assault.

The 2005 reauthorization added a new focus on prevention, housing protections for victims, funding for rape crisis centers and culturally sensitive services. Cyberstalking was added to the federal stalking definition, and expanded services were offered to communities of color and immigrants.

Authorization expired in 2011, and in 2012 the VAWA faced problems. Conservative groups and legislators opposed such modifications as visas for abused undocumented immigrants; funds for victims in same-sex relationships; and provisions for strengthening American Indian courts. However, the VAWA was again signed into law in 2013.

Then came 2019, a year in which the VAWA was up for renewal for a fourth time. In April it passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 263-158, with bipartisan support. Thirty-three Republicans joined Democrats. The House reauthorization bill provided increasing protection for immigrant women who were victims of crime as well as for transgender individuals in prisons. It also included provisions to remove guns from stalkers and former boyfriends who were under restraining orders. Those convicted of abusing, assaulting, or stalking a dating partner or those subject to a restraining order would be barred from buying or owning a firearm. As of early 2020, the Senate had not reauthorized the VAWA.

Questions for Discussion

1. The above is a brief summary of crucial legislation. Access the 2019 VAWA Reauthorization as it was passed by the House of Representatives. Would you expand the law in any way? Do you oppose any of its provisions?
2. Notice in the above summary that no prominent political figures (e.g., presidents, members of Congress, activists) or professional groups are named. Do you believe psychologists, law enforcement officers, social workers, nurses, etc. should have weighed in on provisions of the VAWA, either individually or in organized groups? Many did. Explain why this is relevant to the study of criminal behavior.
3. As you are reading this, has the VAWA been reauthorized? ■

Furthermore, many people—particularly in more rural areas—own guns for sport, and they clearly have a right to these weapons. It cannot be denied, however, that the availability of firearms is a major reason that homicides occur. In addition, a number of jurisdictions now have "open carry" laws—which allow individuals with registered guns and proper permits to carry their weapons in public places; this is even allowed on some college campuses.

Recall the **weapons effect** discussed in Chapter 5, where the mere sight of an aggressive stimulus can influence behavior. Because weapons are associated with violence, the visible presence of a handgun, a club, or a knife automatically brings violence-related thoughts (cognitions) to mind. The classic study of Berkowitz and LePage (1967) was among the first experiments to provide evidence of a strong link between aggressive thoughts engendered by the presence of a weapon and subsequent aggressive behavior. Hepburn and Hemenway's discovery that a high number of available weapons within a neighborhood promotes more aggression in a vicious circle of violence may be partially due to the widespread presence of aggressive stimuli.

Psychological Aspects of Criminal Homicide

The psychology of criminal homicide is a very complex subject. There is no universal set of offenders who present developmental risk factors or personality characteristics that predict they are particularly prone to commit murder or nonnegligent manslaughter. These crimes are multidetermined and are associated with many risk factors, as are other crimes. As we learned in earlier chapters, the risk factors may be social, psychosocial, or even neuropsychological in nature. They include early onset of antisocial behavior, peer delinquency, peer rejection or victimization, early indications of conduct disorder, growing up in violent families and neighborhoods, and even birth complications, to name but a few. To a large extent, criminal homicide—hereafter referred to simply as homicide or murder—is also situation specific. That is, it depends on a number of things, including the availability of a weapon, the amount of alcohol consumption, the nature of the provocation (if provocation is involved), the circumstances, the motivation, and the emotional and mental state of the offender at the time.

Often, a typology is developed to organize and simplify complex phenomenon. The term **typology** refers to a particular system for classifying personality, motivations, or other behavioral patterns. Usually the typology is used to organize a wide assortment of factors or variables into a more manageable set of brief descriptions. A typology is not perfect and does not always reflect reality exactly, but it does help in understanding an enormously complex phenomenon such as homicide. Although there have been a number of other homicide typologies developed in an effort to reduce the complexity of homicide, most have focused on the more sensational, "high class" of murderers known as serial or mass killers, who will be discussed in the next chapter. Very few typologies or classification systems have been developed on the "underclass" of homicide offenders—the more unremarkable, single-homicide offender, which is the focus of this chapter. One meaningful exception has been the four distinct categories generated by Roberts, Zgoba, and Shahidullah (2007), who analyzed the patterns and motivations of 336 homicide offenders known to the New Jersey Department of Corrections. The four classifications are as follows:

Typology
A classification system that identifies commonalities among members of groups (e.g., serial murderers, terrorists, sex offenders) to aid in investigation of crime and offering treatment services.

1. Offenders who committed a homicide that was precipitated by a general altercation or argument, such as an argument over money or property, or verbal disputes that escalate into a fight. Escalation of aggression refers to progressive increases of hostile or destructive behavior, often to the point of violence. It may stem from the perceived need to reciprocate after being provoked by aggressive behavior from another person, but the person committing the homicide also may have made the first move. Roberts et al. (2007) discovered that the altercation or argument was sometimes over an exceedingly small amount of money or property of insignificant value. This category represented the largest group, accounting for 45% of the total homicide offenders.
2. Offenders who committed a homicide during the commission of a felony. In this situation, homicides are committed in the process of committing other crimes, such as robbery, burglary, grand theft, carjacking, rape, or kidnapping. Roberts et al. (2007) noted that a majority of these offenders had records of past criminal histories.

3. Offenders who committed a domestic violence-related homicide. The perpetrators in these instances were current or ex-spouses, cohabitating intimate partners, or girlfriends or boyfriends. The researchers found that these homicides were precipitated by "the complexities and fragilities in relations involving sex, love, and emotion" (Roberts et al., 2007, p. 499). This group represented the second-largest group, accounting for 25% of the homicide offenders.
4. Offenders who were charged with a degree of homicide after an accident, usually involving automobiles. In most cases, the fatality was a result of driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

We begin with the first two classifications: (1) offenders who committed a homicide precipitated by a general altercation or argument, and (2) offenders who committed a homicide during the commission of a felony. The third classification, offenders who committed a domestic violence-related homicide, will be covered later in the chapter under family violence. They are also relevant to material under intimate partner violence. The fourth category, offenders who were charged with a degree of homicide after an accident, will not be considered in this chapter. They are distinct from the other groups in that they did not intend to perpetrate harm against their ultimate victims though they were still legally responsible for their deaths.

General Altercation Homicide

General altercation homicide
Death resulting from hostile aggression.

General altercation homicide is a result of reactive-impulsive aggression. As we learned in Chapter 5, this type of aggression is often called hostile aggression, and it occurs in response to anger-inducing conditions, such as real or perceived insults, threats, physical attacks, or one's own failures. The ultimate goal is to make a victim or victims suffer. This violence "is hot blooded, emotionally charged, and enacted quickly for the purpose of harming a perceived provocateur or defending oneself" (Fontaine, 2008, p. 243). It usually involves little instrumental motivation (Fontaine & Dodge, 2006) and consequently is distinct from instrumental-controlled aggression or violence. Reactive-impulsive violence is essentially identical to Roberts et al.'s (2007) first category, which delineates the offender who impulsively and fatally retaliates to a perceived egregious provocation or threat.

Hostile attribution bias
The tendency to perceive hostile intent in others even when it is lacking.

Many general altercation offenders probably possess a strong **hostile attribution bias**, which promotes violence whenever they perceive provocations and threats, no matter how benign or minor. In other words, they see a threat even when a threat is not intended; they do not walk away. Fontaine (2008) describes these individuals as possessing dysfunctional thinking processes in the interpretation of ambiguous social stimuli. They seem to have a "hair trigger" toward others where the slightest and most benign comment or action sets them off. Common descriptions of this behavior include impulsiveness and out-of-control behavior. We must be careful to distinguish between people who fly off the handle verbally and sometimes physically (such as by throwing a book across the room) and people who respond in a way that harms others physically or terrifies them psychologically. Many bosses berate their staff and many parents lose their temper and yell at their children. Although these are not model behaviors, they do not rise to the level of reactive-impulsive aggression.

Impulsivity is a key concept in understanding violence. In most cases, impulsive violence is a result of faulty or inadequate self-regulation (also known as self-control) compounded by a hostile attribution bias and a simplistic belief of how to deal with perceived hostility or threats. As described in Chapter 2, **Self-regulation** is defined as the capacity to control and alter one's behavior and emotions. Note that the definition includes *both* behavioral and emotional control. One of the most important protective factors against developing violent behavior is success in developing self-regulation of emotions, impulses, and behavioral reactions at an early age (Alvord & Grados, 2005). It is highly likely, then, that many

Self-regulation
The ability to control one's behavior in accordance with internal cognitive standards.

general altercation offenders demonstrated inadequate self-regulation skills early in their developmental years (Krueger, Caspi, Moffitt, White, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1996). Clear signs of self-regulation and self-control begin to emerge during the second year of life, as does the concern for others. During the third year, children are expected to become reasonably compliant with parental requests and to internalize the family standards and values for behavior. Girls, on average, tend to show earlier self-regulated compliance during childhood than boys (Feldman & Klein, 2003). Fortunately, most people are able to restrain their aggressive impulses so as to stop violence or severe aggressive behavior. However, alcohol has the property of impairing self-regulation and self-control, even in persons who have a reasonably developed self-regulatory system. Consequently, considerable violence is especially prevalent among persons who are intoxicated (with alcohol or other substances) and have marginally developed self-regulation skills.

The above said, it is important to emphasize that clinicians have reported success with treatment programs aimed at managing anger in both adolescent and adult offenders. Therefore, while it is ideal to develop protective factors early on, all is not lost if reactive-impulsive violence is addressed effectively later in a person's development.

Another key concept in explaining reactive violence is emotional arousal. Emotional arousal is best defined as a state of excitement and readiness for action. Cognitive or thinking processes are greatly impaired at extreme levels of emotional arousal (Zillman, 1979, 1983). Under high excitement, such as anger, behavior normally controlled by reasonable thought becomes controlled by biases and habitual responses. If the person has the well-learned habit of exploding, lashing out, or otherwise acting in a violent manner, that person is especially likely to do this under highly emotional circumstances. High arousal inhibits cognitive processing to the point where one may not think before acting. Therefore, at very high levels of emotional upset, violence is apt to become impulsive, a term Zillman associated with habit strength. The violent behaviors have been so well learned that they appear quickly and without thought on the part of the individual. They seem to be "mindless" actions.

Felony Commission Homicides

Felony commission homicides are motivated by instrumental-controlled aggression. This—as we learned in Chapter 5—is aggression for the sake of obtaining some object, rewards, or status possessed by another person—jewelry, electronic equipment, cash, territory, influence. It may also reflect a desire to diminish the status of another person by exerting power over them—such as would occur in sex crimes against both adults and children. This type of aggression, especially when severe, may also be called **proactive violence**. Proactive violence is characterized by cold-blooded, nonemotional, and premeditated aggression for the purpose of personal gain. This description falls within the category of some offenders who kill during the commission of a felony such as a robbery. However, the term fits only those who anticipated and were accepting of the death or very serious harm to a victim. It does not fit the individual who holds up a liquor store with no intention of killing, but the robbery goes horribly wrong and the robber kills in a state of panic. In that case, the violence is better classified as reactive-impulsive than instrumental-controlled.

Proactive violence
Similar to **controlled-instrumental aggression,** actions undertaken to obtain a specific goal.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the division separating general altercation homicide offenders from felony commission homicide offenders is used here primarily to present some types of homicide into a manageable set of explanations. There is certainly overlap between the two classifications, as some felony commission offenders during a mugging or armed robbery, for example, lose self-control quickly if the victims do not cooperate fully. In addition, we all tend to lose self-regulatory function under certain conditions when we become angry. High levels of emotional arousal take our attention away from our usual

internal mechanisms of control. When we become extremely angry, for instance, we often say and do things we later regret. We feel upset, remorseful, and guilty, and we wish we could take back our words or actions. If we had carefully considered and evaluated the consequences of our behavior, we would probably have acted differently. But under the heat of emotion, our self-regulatory system, with all its standards, morality, and values, was held in abeyance. As we get older, however, we generally learn from experience to pay closer attention to our internal control mechanisms, and we engage in fewer impulsive outbursts. This "mellowing" feature may partly account for the lower rates of impulsive violence as age increases. On the other hand, older persons sometimes revert to earlier patterns of behavior because of a variety of factors, such as cognitive deterioration or changes in life circumstances, so it is unwise to make broad generalizations simply on the basis of age.

Nevertheless, we should not overestimate the importance of psychological factors in persons who commit homicide or underestimate other risk factors. In an interesting study, Farrington, Loeber, and Berg (2012) used data from the Pittsburgh Youth Study (PYS) to look back at the life histories of homicide offenders. Farrington et al. identified 37 PYS males who, up to May 2009, were convicted of homicide as young men, ages 15 to 29. Then they sought to find risk factors in their backgrounds that would explain their later crimes. Most salient were environmental and socioeconomic rather than individual. For example, individual features like callous-unemotional traits, psychopathic characteristics, cruelty, and lack of guilt were not salient, but prior criminal offenses up to age 14, prior violence, even property offending were prominent. Significant behavioral risk factors in the backgrounds of these convicted offenders were suspension from school, disruptive behavior disorder, and attitudes favoring delinquency. "All combined, the results support the notion that homicide offending is an outcome that is preceded by a history of disruptive, nondelinquent behavior and delinquent acts" (p. 119). (See Box 9–2 for more information about the PYS and its findings on violence.)

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 9–2 PITTSBURGH YOUTH STUDY—AT RISK BOYS, VIOLENT MEN

One of the most heavily cited longitudinal studies in delinquency was begun in 1987, when researchers began to focus on about 1,500 boys in grades 1, 4, and 7 in public schools in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (Loeber, Farrington, Stouthamer-Loeber, Moffitt, & Caspi, 1998). The boys, considered at high risk for antisocial behavior and future offending, were selected based on screening information provided by boys, parents, and teachers. Extensive follow-up data were gathered for more than two decades, resulting in numerous peer-reviewed publications (e.g., Lynam et al., 2007; Pardini, Raine, Erickson, & Loeber, 2014; Raine et al., 2006).

The PYS researchers initially did yearly face-to-face assessments, and these dwindled somewhat as the boys grew older. The middle group, boys who were 10 when the project began, were followed for just 2 years but contacted again when they were 24. The youngest and oldest groups were followed more consistently for over two decades. The researchers noted that participation rates for these two cohorts never dropped below 82% and 83%, respectively. (For more details on participation, see Loeber, Ahonen, Stallings, & Farrington, 2017.)

Follow-up data included self-reports and official records (e.g., juvenile and adult arrests, convictions). Almost all the boys reported being involved in at least one delinquent act during adolescence, though high offending was reported by only about one-third. At times there were significant discrepancies between the self-report and official sources. For example, the boys—particularly young

adolescents—reported a higher frequency and prevalence of violence and thefts than official records indicated (Woolard & Fountain, 2016).

Loeber et al. (2017) summarized findings of the PYS with respect to violence, noting that "the prevalence of violence was much higher and more serious than we had expected at the beginning of the study, independently of which data sources used" (p. 307). One in five of the PYS participants had either been wounded by a gun shot or killed by the time he reached early adulthood. Over 5% of the participants became either a homicide offender or a victim, with most qualifying as "street homicides" rather than domestic altercations, and most of the homicides were committed with a gun. As noted in the chapter, Farrington et al. (2012) also studied risk factors in the lives of 37 of the homicide offenders.

Other research using PYS data has explored intelligence, cognitive impulsivity, substance use, heavy alcohol use, gang membership, and drug dealing in these cohorts, among many other factors. Like other longitudinal studies (e.g., Mulvey et al., Pittsburgh Girls Study), the carefully conducted PYS presents a rich source of data mining for both new and established researchers.

Questions for Discussion

1. Is it surprising to you that the participants in this study remained cooperative with the researchers over so many years? What might account for that?
2. Commenting that their findings regarding victimization and gun carrying were "truly shocking" (p. 307), Loeber et al. (2017) refer to gun-related violence as a public health hazard. Do you agree? Why or why not?
3. What are the challenges and rewards of conducting a longitudinal study such as the PYS? ■

Juvenile Homicide Offenders

In January 2001, two juveniles, aged 16 and 17, arrived at the home of two Dartmouth College professors under the guise of conducting an environmental survey. The husband led them to his study and proceeded to answer some of their questions, even offering them help in wording them. At some point the "survey" stopped and the professor was stabbed repeatedly. When his wife came running to his aid, she too was stabbed to death. With the rural New Hampshire community in shock, police began to search for a random killer or possibly even a disgruntled student. Clues at the scene eventually led them to suspect the two juveniles, James Parker and Robert Tulloch, and a warrant was issued for their arrest. They were located in Michigan after police were contacted by a truck driver who had offered them a ride.

The Dartmouth murders—as they have come to be known—were atypical with respect to juvenile murders, most of which are believed to be the result of drive-by shootings or gang-related turf wars. Other juvenile murders are accompanied by severe family dysfunction, such as physical or sexual abuse. In this case, the two boys came from "average" families in their small community and were involved in school activities. The murders were planned—but it is not clear that the professors were the first targets. Neither did robbery appear to be a motive; the boys left the house without taking cash, jewelry, or valuable objects (Powers, 2002). The boys apparently wanted to see if they could successfully carry out a murder; one writer commented that they were going through the "apocalypse of adolescence" (Powers, 2002).

Both boys were charged as adults. Parker, the 16-year-old, pleaded guilty to murder and was given a 25-year-to-life sentence. In 2018 he petitioned to have his sentence reduced, arguing among other things that he had been a cooperative inmate and had earned a master's degree while incarcerated. He later withdrew this request after learning that the victims' daughters and others opposed early release. He will be eligible for parole in 2024. Tulloch, the 17-year-old, received a mandatory sentence of life without parole. However, after the U.S. Supreme Court declared such sentences unconstitutional when applied to juveniles (*Miller v. Alabama*, 2012), Tulloch's life sentence was vacated and he was resentenced to at least 45 years, with the possibility of parole.

The above incident is atypical, just as are many other cases that receive extensive media attention. The Dartmouth murders do not correspond well with what is known about juvenile homicide offenders (commonly abbreviated JHOs). For example, studies (Cornell, 1989; Heide, 2003, 2014; Myers, Scott, Burgess, & Burgess, 1995; Shumaker & Prinz, 2000) reveal that a majority of homicide acts by juveniles took place either during general altercation episodes—including gang warfare—or the commission of a felony. These categories, of course, are basically the same as the first two categories outlined by Roberts and his associates. The 2017 UCR data (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a) reveal that 7.5% of offenders arrested for homicide were under 18 (0.7% were under 15).

There appear to be significant gender differences when it comes to juvenile murder. Studies reveal that girls, compared to boys, are significantly more likely to kill family members, younger victims, female victims, intimate partners, and their offspring (Heide, Roe-Sepowitz, Solomon, & Chan, 2012). More specifically, "Female JHOs were 9 times more likely than male JHOs to kill intimate partners, 4 times more likely to kill children under age 5, and twice as likely to kill family members and female victims" (Heide et al., 2012, p. 373). Boys are more likely to kill strangers and to be involved in gang-related killings. Female JHOs are more likely to use knives or other weapons, whereas male JHOs prefer guns (Heide et al., 2012: Heide, Solomon, Sellers, & Chan, 2011). When girls kill, they often do so to resolve a conflict; boys are more likely to be involved in crime-related homicides (Heide et al., 2011). (See Box 9–3 for additional information on research from the SHR.)

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 9–3 BOYS, GIRLS, AND HOMICIDE: WHY AND HOW DO THEY DO IT?

As noted in the text, Heide and her colleagues have conducted research comparing homicide committed by girls and boys, including very young offenders. In a rare study focused exclusively on female juveniles, Heide and Sellers (2014), using the data from the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR), studied 3,556 girls arrested for murder or nonnegligent homicide over a 32-year period. The researchers compared girls aged 12 and under to those ages 13–17 on a number of variables, including race, region and location arrested, and situation (e.g., single victim and single offender, single victim and multiple offender). In total, 137 girls were between the ages of 6 and 12, and 3,339 between 13 and 17.

Heide and Sellers' report (2014) is rich with data, only some of which is repeated here:

- Girls in both age groups were most likely to be charged as single offenders with one victim, though for approximately 20.0% of the younger group and 40% of the older group at least one other offender was charged—put another way, they committed the alleged crime with at least one accessory.
- When victims were under 1 year old, older girls were charged with killing their own offspring, followed by other family members or acquaintances. In the younger group, nearly all had killed family members or acquaintances.
- Older girls were most likely to use guns, while younger girls were more likely to use personal weapons (e.g., fists or hands), fire, or other methods.

In earlier research using the same database—the FBI's SHR—Sellers and Heide (2012) examined gender differences among 226 very young murderers, ages 6–10. Some of these findings were as follows:

- The great majority (88%) of the child offenders were males.
- Boys were more likely to use guns, girls more likely to use personal weapons.
- The victims of boys tended to be older (5–13 years old), while half of the victims of girls were between 1 and 4.
- A small percentage of boys (about 7%) killed infants under one year, while nearly one-quarter of girls had killed infants of that age.
- A small number of boys killed strangers, but no girls did.

- The homicides committed by boys were more likely to be associated with another crime, such as a robbery, while the homicides of girls were more likely to be conflict-related, such as in their child-caring capacities.

Questions for Discussion

1. What might be an explanation for younger girls (between 6 and 12) killing infants who were family members or acquaintances?
2. Children below 10 are rarely prosecuted for such serious crimes; rather, in most jurisdictions they are supervised in clinical settings. Discuss the advantages of this approach both for the child and for society. Are there disadvantages?
3. Compare the gender differences found in this research and discuss its importance with respect to preventing these rare crimes and treating these young offenders. ■

Psychological Characteristics of Juvenile Murderers

To obtain more detailed information both about the crimes and about the backgrounds of the offenders, some researchers have conducted studies with small samples of juvenile offenders, typically children and adolescents who are in treatment settings. In general, these offenders have committed the "typical" homicides, not those of the apparent callousness exhibited in the Dartmouth case discussed above. For example, Myers and Scott (1998) examined 18 male juvenile murderers between the ages of 14 and 17 who met the criteria for conduct disorder at the time of their crimes. The results revealed that 16 of the 18 (89%) juvenile murderers had histories of one or more psychotic episodes (especially paranoid ideation), and other forms of mental disorders. These results were remarkably similar to the prevalence rate in earlier studies examining the psychological characteristics of juvenile murderers (e.g., Lewis et al., 1985, 1988). Interestingly, available literature thus far does not support evidence of psychosis or other serious mental disorder in very young child murderers (ages 6–10), although the question remains whether some neurological dysfunction may be at issue for this group (Sellers & Heide, 2012).

Research has also revealed that juvenile murderers—and those juveniles who commit violent crimes in general—tend to have a history of severe educational difficulties compared with nonviolent juveniles (Heckel & Shumaker, 2001; Woolard & Fountain, 2016). Children who begin school with deficits in social and cognitive skills are at high risk to engage in antisocial and violent behavior (Dodge et al., 2008). Myers, Scott, Burgess, and Burgess (1995) report that within their sample of 25 juvenile murderers, 76% demonstrated a learning disability and 86% had failed at least one grade. Verbal abilities evaluated by intelligence tests have also been found to be associated with antisocial behavior (Moffitt & Caspi, 2001). Significant language handicaps appear to be the most prominent learning problems among juvenile murderers (Heckel & Shumaker, 2001; Myers & Mutch, 1992). Again, though, most research focuses on adolescent and occasionally preadolescent perpetrators, and we cannot assume the same of very young child murderers.

Another prominent factor in the backgrounds of juvenile homicide offenders is lack of parental monitoring. As mentioned in Chapter 2, parental monitoring refers to such things as knowing the child's whereabouts, being involved in the child's school activities and homework, and supervising time allocations for outside activities. Knowing the whereabouts and setting time limits for activities outside the home are especially important during the preteen and teenage years. Roe-Sepowitz (2007) reports that limited parental involvement and lack of supervision were present in many of the adolescent female murderers she followed. Hill, Castellino, et al. (2004) report that lack of parental involvement in school during the middle school years also appears to be critical. Other studies have reported that juvenile homicide offenders often have high rates of family abuse (Darby, Allan, Kashani, Hartke, & Reid, 1998; Lansford, Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 2004), substance use and alcohol abuse (DiCataldo & Everett, 2008; Roe-Sepowitz, 2007),

prior delinquency (Farrington, Loeber, & Berg, 2012; Loeber et al., 2005; Roe-Sepowitz, 2007), and peer delinquency (Loeber et al., 2005; Raine, 2013). Many juvenile murderers also appear to have a variety of neurological abnormalities (Heckel & Shumaker, 2001), similar to what has been reported in the medical histories of life-course-persistent offenders. Myers and his colleagues (e.g., Myers, 1994; Myers & Mutch, 1992; Myers, Scott, Burgess, & Burgess, 1995) have continually noted the high incidence of conduct disorders in his samples of juvenile murderers, ranging from 84 to 88%. ADHD has also been identified with juvenile murderers with some regularity (Heckel & Shumaker, 2001). You may recall that lack of ADHD symptoms was viewed as a protective factor against violence in the Pittsburgh Youth Study research (Loeber et al., 2017).

In summary, although researchers have made headway in identifying factors that might explain murder committed by juveniles, some cases defy neat explanations. The complexity of crime is illustrated in the bizarre case introduced at the beginning of this section. Nothing seems to fit, with the possible exception of "juvenile psychopathy," a construct we addressed in Chapter 7, but there is no evidence to indicate that. In some cases, a serious mental disorder may explain the actions of the juvenile murderer; in other cases, it may be a history of abuse. Recall from our discussion of cumulative risk and the dynamic cascade model that the list of risk factors influencing antisocial behavior may be extensive and different for each individual. With reference to homicide, Loeber and his colleagues suggest that the probability of individuals committing it is enhanced by their exposure to an *accumulation* of different risk factors during early development (Loeber et al. 2005). Loeber and his colleagues also contend that violence-producing processes do not suddenly emerge; they accumulate over many years in systematic fashion (Loeber et al., 2017). In addition, the higher the number of risk factors a child experiences, the greater the tendency to engage in violent acts during the life course.

Taking a similar approach, Kenneth Dodge and his colleagues (2008) provide a coherent developmental story of how violent behavior grows across childhood and adolescence in a dynamic cascade, perhaps as one might picture a mud slide or a snowball rolling down a hill accumulating mud or snow with each roll. The model, discussed in Chapter 2, hypothesizes that each risk-factor group operates on antisocial and violent outcomes by directly influencing the next factor group in a developmental sequence.

Dodge et al.'s model emphasizes that there are many preventive and therapeutic ways to steer a child away from a developmental trajectory of violence, serious delinquency, and crime. Thus, psychological treatment of juveniles who kill may be more realistic than treatment of most adults who commit these crimes. The dynamic cascade model provides specific targets for prevention at specific periods in development. In addition, because new risks arise with each developmental period, prevention and intervention cannot be deemed completed until the child passes through adolescence.

Treatment of Juveniles Who Kill

Juvenile homicide is a complex if rare phenomenon, and it often defies categorization. Contrast, for example, school shooting cases, the boys who invade a home and stab its residents to death, the boy who kills his abusive father, the 13-year-old girl who kills her newborn infant, the gang member in a drive-by shooting, and the 14-year-old who smothers his younger cousin to death in the process of trying to rape her. Some juveniles who kill have mental disorders or intellectual disability, and some may have psychopathic traits, but clearly not all do. Very little research is available by which to document the percentages, however. Most of the treatment information of juvenile murderers is from clinical case reports of a few cases referred for treatment (Heide, 2003; Heide et al., 2012). Juveniles who commit homicide—if not transferred to criminal courts—generally are placed in a juvenile

facility where they do not always receive treatment tailored to the needs of the offender. In addition, the likelihood of juvenile murderers receiving intensive psychological treatment and intervention decreases as they enter adolescence (Heide, 2003; Myers, 1992). Older adolescent murderers are often placed in adult prisons, where they may be held in protective custody until old enough to be transferred to the general population. Mental health care in juvenile facilities is typically minimal because of financial constraints and limited awareness of the psychological needs of this population (Heide, 2003).

Being placed in facilities (both juvenile and adult) that provide minimal treatment opportunities may explain, in part, the very high recidivism rates of juvenile murderers that are reported by recent research (Caudill & Trulson, 2016; Khachatryan, Heide, & Hummel, 2018; Khachatryan, Heide, Hummel, Ingraham, & Rad, 2016). For example, Khachatryan et al. (2016) reported that nearly 90% of these released juvenile offenders were rearrested during a 30-year follow-up period. Over 60% were rearrested for violent offenses.

In a review of interventions for juveniles in institutional settings, Cruise, Morin, and Affleck (2016) noted that mental disorders were a major barrier to effective treatment. Cruise et al. suggest, however, that this is due less to awareness of the psychological needs than to the degree of mental disorder. Research consistently indicates that the further the youths penetrate into the juvenile system—with secure residential treatment being the farthest point—the more severe the psychological needs.

Overall, and perhaps surprisingly, young killers appear to make a satisfactory adjustment in a correctional facility and in the community after release from custody if adequate treatment is available, however (Heide, 2003). This is especially true for those youths who have killed family members as an isolated act of violence (Hillbrand, Alexandre, Young, & Spitz, 1999). Additionally, as the research by Heide and Sellers (2014) on girls arrested for murder suggests, providing children and adolescents with strategies to cope with stressful events and focusing on building psychological resilience is likely a good approach. On the other hand, hard-core, persistent, violent delinquents who killed in the course of committing other crimes have traditionally not made good adjustment and often continued offending on release, as the current research cited above indicates. Nonetheless, contemporary juvenile rehabilitation programs have found some evidence for successful treatment of those juveniles who committed homicide during an altercation, particularly when barriers to effective treatment are identified and overcome (Cruise, Morin, & Affleck, 2016).

Intimate Partner Violence

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is the contemporary term used by researchers to characterize the physical, psychological, and sexual violence perpetrated by individuals in a present or past intimate relationship. This form of abuse has usually been included in studies of family violence or domestic violence, and we might have placed it within that section later in the chapter. However, focusing specifically on the intimate partnership has allowed the research microscope to examine same-sex relationships, dating relationships, and past relationships that may not have been considered in other studies. Since the turn of the 21st century, research on IPV has expanded dramatically, perhaps even more than research in other areas of family or domestic violence. For example, in recent years researchers have looked at IPV among older adults (e.g., Dinnen & Cook, 2013; Roberto, McPherson, & Brossoie, 2014), veterans (Maskin et al., 2019), college students (Raijar et al., 2019), and different cultural groups (e.g., Ammar, Couture-Carron, Alvi, & San Antonio, 2014). Some have focused on resilience in women exposed to IPV (Howell et al., 2018). We will address these and other studies below.

Intimate partner violence (IPV)
Crimes committed against persons by their current or former spouses, boyfriends, or girlfriends.

Violence against women is also highlighted in the news media. Though we focus on academic research in this textbook, it is worthwhile to mention this source of information.

As but one example, the *Washington Post* (12/11/18) analyzed 4,484 killings of women in 47 major cities across the United States during the years 2007–2017 and found almost half (46%) were killed by intimate partners. The intimate partner murders were usually brutal in the sense that they were more likely to be stabbings, strangulations, and beatings with a blunt object rather than committed with guns. The *Post* studied five of the cities more closely. One-third of perpetrators were known threats to the victim, such as by having previously assaulted her or having restraining orders placed against them. Similar themes are found in the academic research, as we see below.

Many criminologists and researchers continue to include IPV as a form of domestic violence, or even more broadly, of family violence. Furthermore, most studies focus on women as victims and men as perpetrators, although female-against-male violence (Bates, 2020; Bates, Graham-Kevan, & Archer, 2014) and same-sex violence (Quirk, Newcomb, & Mustanski, 2018) are receiving more attention. There is justification for the focus on female victims because women tend to be suffering the most—and the most serious—abuse. For example, in the years 1994–2010, four out of five victims of IPV were women (Catalano, 2012). According to a national survey on partner abuse and sexual violence, more than one in three women and 1 in 10 men experience IPV every year (Black et al., 2011). Some research has uncovered multiple victimizations, including on a daily or weekly basis, perpetrated by multiple offenders (Howell et al., 2018).

Extensive research on IPV makes it clear that it is a complicated topic. The prevalence of IPV is extremely difficult to estimate, though surveys and research studies suggest it is extensive, as indicated above. Some research notes a prevalence of one in seven relationships for physical and sexual violence and close to two-thirds of all partnerships for emotional or psychological abuse. Many studies do not include psychological or emotional abuse in IPV, however. In addition, studies vary according to how questions are asked. For example, some may ask, have you *ever* been physically hurt by an intimate partner? Others ask, have you been hurt within the last two years (or five years, etc.)? Still others ask both. In one study on teen dating (Mumford & Taylor, 2014), 667 adolescents ages 12–18 were asked whether they had been victims of physical, sexual, or psychological abuse. Nearly 20% of both boys and girls reported themselves to be victims of physical and sexual abuse, and a startling 60% said they were both victims and perpetrators of psychological abuse (e.g., insults, accusations). Although psychological abuse may not be considered serious, the researchers noted that these behaviors are not healthy and could lead to serious forms of violence by the perpetrator.

Noting that not all IPV is the same, Tinney and Gerlock (2014) observe that it has been studied in four different contexts and that it is important to recognize the context of any given situation in order to make informed decisions about the victim's safety and how to deal with the offender. They emphasize, though, "It is important to be clear that violence embedded within any of these contexts can be dangerous and lethal. Determining context is not an attempt to minimize the level of risk and danger of IPV. It is not meant to excuse criminal behavior" (p. 402). (See Table 9–2 for a summary of these contexts.)

In a special report on IPV based on findings from the NCVS, Catalano (2013) examined nonfatal victimization over the years 1993–2011 and found a substantial decrease in both serious and non-serious IPV perpetrated against females (down 72%) and males (down 64%). Serious violence included rape or sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault. Simple assault, such as an assault that did not incur great physical damage or threats of violence, was not included in the serious category, although the report does not indicate that these are of no concern. To the contrary, it emphasizes that repeated nonserious threats or assaults may expose the partner to more severe victimization in the future. Throughout the time period examined, both female and male victims reported more attacks by intimate partners than by nonintimates, the latter including relatives, friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and

TABLE 9–1 Four Contexts of IPV and Associated Features*

Context	Features
IPV with coercive control (battering)	• Ongoing pattern of coercive control • Monitoring of victim's behavior outside the home • Social isolation • Pattern of abuse to wear down victim • Physical and psychological injuries
Reactive violence	• Victim has been abused over time • Victim may use self-defense • Victim may strike first to get violence over with • Perpetrator may be in a rage and retaliation mode
IPV without coercive control	• Atypical violence in retaliation • Follows conflict, such as finances, infidelity
Pathological violence	• May be influenced by psychological problems • May be influenced by brain injury or substance abuse

Source: Adapted from Tinney & Gerlock (2014).

*Features of contexts may co-occur. For instance, substance abuse may be present in all contexts.

strangers. Likewise, both women and men reported greater injury in IPV victimizations as well as greater need for medical treatment. Women were more likely to seek treatment for a serious injury from an intimate partner than were men (13.0% compared with 5.4%).

Early research on IPV began to examine this form of violence among populations based on race or ethnicity. This was done under the general assumption that prevention strategies and public policy approaches to address IPV should be aware of both risk and protective factors that may or may not be unique to subgroups of IPV victims and perpetrators. We discuss some of findings while also noting that IPV research today, when it focuses on subgroups, tends to move away from ethnic and racial disparities. When racial or ethnic disparities are observed, researchers are careful to advance explanations for these differences, ranging from cultural expectancies to lack of resources available to victims. Contemporary research is more likely to focus on subgroups such as the military, veterans, law enforcement personnel, older adults, same-sex couples, or adolescents, to give a few examples. We discuss these shortly.

Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the early studies. As Howell et al. (2018) have stated, repeating findings from Black et al. (2011), "Racial/ethnic disparities in IPV victimization have been documented, with 54% of multiracial women, 44% of Black women, and 37% of Hispanic women [reporting] lifetime IPV exposure compared with 35% of White women" (p. 438). In considering these statistics, we must always keep in mind evolving approaches to ethnic and racial identification, however. Today, for example, many individuals prefer not to self-identify with one racial or ethnic group, and multiracial identity is not uncommon.

In a national study of cohabiting couples, Caetano et al. (2005) found a higher incidence of IPV among Hispanic couples in comparison to non-Hispanic white couples (14% vs. 6%), even after controlling for socioeconomic status. Female Hispanic victims of IPV have also been found to have poor mental health outcomes compared with female non-Hispanic victims (Bonomi et al., 2009), and female Hispanic victims in one state were found to be at higher risk of being killed than non-Hispanic victims (Azziz-Baumgartner et al., 2011). In a review of the rapidly growing research in this area, Cummings, Gonzalez-Guarda, and Sandoval (2013) identified 29 published studies that identified risk factors and, to a lesser extent, protective factors relative to IPV among this population.

The risk factors that were consistently found applied to both victims and perpetrators of abuse and included individual, community, and relationship factors. For example, individual factors included history of physical or sexual abuse, unemployment, young age, poor

education, and belief in traditional gender roles, to name but a few. Examples of community risk factors were neighborhoods with high rates of violence and poor work conditions (e.g., low wages, long hours). Relationship risk factors included lack of social support and infidelity (for a complete list, see Cummings et al., 2013). Although the researchers did not identify societal risk factors, they emphasized that the 29 studies they reviewed did not analyze them. An example of a societal risk factor would be an immigration policy that places increasing stress on undocumented immigrants, such as denying them access to social services.

It is important to note that the risk factors identified by Cummings et al. are well documented for IPV in general, regardless of the ethnicity or race of the victim and perpetrator. Furthermore, IPV occurs even when risk factors may not be apparent. There is no question, for example, that IPV can and does occur where there is wealth, power, high social status, and political influence. Such IPV rarely comes to the attention of law enforcement or is self-reported to researchers. In addition, IPV within the law enforcement community itself has been highlighted both in the research and in the media (Aviv, 2019).

Howell et al. (2018) focused on examining protective factors that promote resilience in women exposed to IPV. Resilience, the ability to bounce back from stress and trauma, was discussed in earlier chapters. As Howell et al. explain, it stems from a social-ecological model proposed by Ungar (2013), though we know from earlier in the text that other scholars also discussed the concept. Howell et al., crediting Ungar, define resilience concisely as "the capacity of individuals facing adverse circumstances to navigate their way to the psychological, social cultural and physical resources that sustain their well-being" (p. 438). In the context of surviving IPV, this definition is very relevant. Howell et al. studied a sample of 112 women exposed to severe IPV over a 6-month period, with severe defined as 1–7 instances per week. Howell et al. learned that social support, community cohesion, ethnic identity, and spirituality were all protective factors that contributed to resilience in the face of adversity. Black women, who comprised about 70% of their participants, were more likely than multiethnic, white, or other participants to rely on their own spirituality rather than organized religion. They were also more likely to get social support from family and friends rather than community support or formal counseling. In addition, high levels of education and lower number of violent partners were associated with greater resilience.

Continuing research on resilience, advocated by Howell, is clearly needed, and it should be expanded to other subgroups, such as those to be discussed below. Identifying those factors that develop resilience in victims of intimate partner violence is a highly worthwhile goal. However, it should never replace preventing the initial violence itself,

Same Sex or Nonheterosexual IPV

In recent years, the nature and extent of same-sex partnerships has received increased attention in social and behavioral science research. As in other studies of IPV, some researchers have used "domestic violence" or DV to report their findings (Hellemans et al., 2015; Messinger, 2011; Murray & Mobley, 2009; Potoczniak, Mourot, Crosbie-Burnett, & Potoczniak, 2003; Turrell, 2000). With just a few exceptions, most studies have reported similar prevalence of IPV among heterosexual and nonheterosexual populations (Hellemans et al., 2015). Furthermore, much research documents similarity in characteristics of aggressors and victims, in background features (e.g., history of abuse), and in correlates of the violence. For example, Potoczniak et al. (2003) discovered strong similarities in the research literature comparing the violence cycles and stages of abuse between same-sex domestic violence (SSDV) and opposite-sex domestic violence (OSDV). Like OSDV perpetrators, they found SSDV perpetrators to be extremely controlling, threatened by outside influences, highly selfish, and blamed their partners for the abuse. In addition, the SSDV victims show many of the same behavioral and thought characteristics of OSDV victims.

On the other hand, differences in heterosexual and nonheterosexual IPV have been discovered as well. Messinger (2011), using data from the National Violence Against Women survey, reported that women in same-sex relationships were twice as likely to report verbal aggression, controlling behaviors, physical aggression, and sexual aggression in their relationships than were those in heterosexual relationships. In a large study of both heterosexual and nonheterosexual individuals, Hellemans et al. (2015) found that both were equally likely to report physical and psychological IPV, and both men and women reported similar IPV on the whole. However, the female victims of IPV—both heterosexual and nonheterosexual—experienced more frequent psychological IPV. The latter was measured by items asking whether the respondent's partner had engaged in such actions as belittling or humiliating the respondent in front of others, intentionally doing something to scare or intimidate the respondent, or threatening to hurt the respondent or someone he or she loved.

Interestingly, far more research is conducted on female same-sex relationships than on male same-sex relationships, perhaps because victimization of women has received more attention than has victimization of men in the literature as a whole. To date, there is a paucity of research on IPV among bisexuals, transitioning, or transsexual individuals, or persons who do not identify themselves with any gender. As noted earlier, studies typically deal with the sex or gender binary (man-woman or male-female) and have barely begun to address individuals who do not fit neatly into that binary. Nevertheless, there are frequent calls in contemporary literature to expand the research beyond focusing primarily on male and female relationships (Quirk, Newcomb, & Mustanski, 2018).

IPV within Law Enforcement and Military Families

Law enforcement work is almost universally recognized as among the most stressful of occupations, primarily because of the ever-present possibility of encountering life-threatening or dangerous situations. Interestingly, research on police stress reports indicates that—for most law enforcement personnel—the stress from potential dangers of the job is not as great as that from administrative factors, such as shift work or clashes with supervisory personnel or fellow officers. Nonetheless, regardless of the source of the stress, it may have a spillover effect, where it affects relationships off the job, including within the family.

Some researchers have found higher rates of IPV among law enforcement families than among the general population (Johnson, Todd, & Subramanian, 2005). A figure frequently cited on the web—40%—is highly questionable, however, and is based on studies that have significant methodological flaws.

Regardless of the prevalence compared with other groups, however, stress among law enforcement at all levels (metropolitan, suburban, rural) and among various agencies (local, county, state, federal) is associated with outcomes that often include violence within the family (Gershon et al., 2009). These negative outcomes are typically attributed to the authoritarian nature of the work, which spills over into the family context. Johnson et al. (2005) found a significant correlation between authoritarianism and domestic violence perpetrated by both male and female police officers.

Anderson and Lo (2011) studied self-reported IPV in a sample of 1,104 full-time urban (Baltimore, Maryland) police officers. Nine percent of Anderson and Lo's respondents admitted losing control and becoming physically aggressive with an intimate partner. As expected, they found significant positive correlations between the IPV and (a) experiencing stressful events on the job; (b) authoritarian spillover (e.g., feeling they need to take control over people in their lives, wanting the final say in the household) and negative emotions (e.g., feeling moody or impatient over job-related problems, given to feelings of depression about work, less interested in pursuing fun activities because of work).

Research on IPV in military families (current deployment and veterans) is becoming increasingly available. Some studies indicate that military members and veterans experience more IPV than their nonmilitary peers (Dichter, Cerulli, & Bossarte, 2011; Gerber, Iverson, Dichter, Klap, & Latta, 2014). We include this topic along with the law enforcement IPV research because of the overlap in many features of people who engage in the two occupations. Law enforcement is a largely paramilitary occupation, with most candidates trained in many of the authoritarian militaristic ways. Furthermore, it is not unusual for individuals to come out of the military and seek work in law enforcement positions. On the other hand, the military alone has features not found in the law enforcement community, such as an increasing likelihood of combat-related conditions, such as PTSD or traumatic brain injuries. Separation from family, unfamiliarity with the culture where one is serving, and the need to readjust after deployment and reintegrate into civilian life are other features that are unique to military personnel. Studies that have been conducted have found a positive relationship between PTSD and IPV (e.g., Gerlock, 2004; Sayers, Farrow, Ross, & Oslin, 2009; Taft et al., 2011).

In an interesting recent study (Maskin, Iverson, Vogt, & Smith, 2019), researchers analyzed self-reported data from a national sample of male and female veterans who had served after the events of September 11, 2001. The 407 veterans (slightly more women than men) had been deployed approximately 5 years previously. Researchers were interested in the extent to which intimate partner violence occurred and, if it did, how it affected their employment. This is a crucial topic that is rarely examined in the IPV literature. As Maskin et al. (2019) observed, "There are many ways in which IPV may undermine occupational outcomes" (p. 407), citing such factors as limiting the survivor's ability to get to work, function efficiently, and interact with other employees and survivors because of fear or shame. Maskin et al. found that women in their study who reported IPV reported more sexual victimization and men reported more physical victimization. There were no gender differences in psychological IPV, nor were there differences in absenteeism, job performance, or job satisfaction. Problems were encountered by respondents in all of these areas. Maskin et al. recommended a number of strategies that might be adopted in the workplace, including efforts to prevent IPV, intervene, and offer support to employees.

IPV among Older Adults

Although abuse of older adults will be covered below in a separate section, it is worthwhile to focus specifically here on the issue of IPV among this population. Whereas victimization of older adults by family members, acquaintances, caretakers, and strangers is often acknowledged, less attention is given to their victimization by intimate partners. A review of the literature on this topic (Roberto, McPherson, & Brossoie, 2014) makes it clear that IPV among older adults is a significant problem. The review identified 57 empirical studies, mostly published over a 15-year period. Among the common themes were the following:

- In abusive relationships, abusers tended to continue their abusive patterns over long periods, even when they themselves were deteriorating in health;
- The prevalence of physical and sexual violence declines, but nonphysical IPV (e.g., emotional abuse) continues in later life;
- Although physical abuse often was replaced by psychological abuse as the years of the partnership increased, in some cases physical abuse continued even when the abuser's health declined;
- Leaving a relationship in later life is complicated not only by financial and emotional risks, but also by declining health and concerns about losing social ties to neighborhoods and communities;

- Most health care facilities do not screen older adults for indicators of IPV, particularly physical or sexual violence;
- Isolation of older adults from the community, which is not restricted to rural settings, is a risk factor for IPV.

Older adults do not seem to be at great risk of IPV compared with their risk from other abuse, which will be covered later in the chapter. Many older adults, having lost an intimate partner to death, live alone, with family members, or in community residential settings. However, those who continue to live with intimate partners are most at risk if the partnership includes a history of abuse. In other words, there is little evidence that abuse begins suddenly at an advanced age. Nevertheless, there is undoubtedly a good amount of hidden abuse that never comes to the attention of authorities or researchers.

Psychological and Demographic Characteristics of Abusers

Early psychological research on IPV—then usually called domestic violence—almost invariably focused on the characteristics of the person being abused, particularly the woman in heterosexual relationships. It was believed in some quarters that abused women allowed themselves to be battered (Frieze & Browne, 1989) or that victims of spouse abuse were masochistic, consciously and unconsciously precipitating the violence to which they were subjected (Megargee, 1982). Still other early research depicted women who were abused as lacking self-esteem, being highly passive and dependent on their husbands, and willing to place greater value on maintaining the marriage above their safety (Megargee, 1982). Many researchers, theorists, and mental health practitioners embraced the concept of the battered woman syndrome (Walker, 1979), which ascribed a number of characteristics that included low self-esteem and learned helplessness. As research on IPV progressed, recognition of its complexity and social as well as psychological correlates became the norm. In addition, researchers shifted their focus to characteristics of abusers.

The early research almost invariably depicted abusers (primarily men) as intent on maintaining power and control in the relationship. They were depicted as extremely possessive and unreasonably jealous men who treated their partners like property coveted by other men. This depiction led to other assumptions about the inadequacy, incompetence, and low self-esteem of these abusive husbands who saw threats to their masculinity everywhere. Although power and control continues to be a theme in IPV literature (Menard et al., 2009), it cannot be assumed that all IPV can be explained by this one factor (Kelly & Johnson, 2008). Alcohol abuse and a past history of violence are also seen as major risk factors.

However, efforts to come up with a "profile" of the batterer based on personality characteristics have seen mixed results. "Indeed, the overwhelming weight of the evidence finds heterogeneity among intimate partner violence perpetrators" (Jackson, 2014, p. 14).

Nevertheless, some research results look promising for a typology that might help in the prevention of abuse and the treatment of abusers. In an extensive review of the research literature, Holtzworth-Munroe and Stuart (1994) identified three primary types of male spouse batterers: Type 1 batterers who abuse family members only; Type 2 batterers who abuse family members because of their own emotional problems; and Type 3 batterers who are generally violent toward both family members and persons outside the family. Type 1 abusers are the most common, tend to be less aggressive than the other two, and also tend to be more remorseful for their actions. Their violence levels were low compared with the other two groups and their use of alcohol was low to moderate. Type 2 batterers, labeled borderline/dysphoric, tend to be depressed, inadequate individuals who are emotionally

volatile, with high levels of anger, and who display indicators of personality disorders and psychopathology. Type 3 batterers, labeled the generally violent/antisocial group, are individuals who are antisocial, criminally prone, and violent across situations. They are more likely to abuse alcohol and are generally more belligerent toward almost everyone. They are also most likely to be involved in serious violence toward a spouse, which is relevant to this section of the chapter. Later, Holtzworth-Munroe, Stuart, and their colleagues (2003) found a fourth group, which they labeled the low-level antisocial group. This group exhibited higher levels of violence and general antisocial behavior than the family-only group but lower levels than the general violence group.

Other researchers have focused on pathological personality characteristics of batterers compared with nonbatterers. Chief among these is the batterer's insecure attachment, which has been found correlated with domestic violence and IPV in a number of studies (e.g., Buck et al., 2012; Dutton et al., 1994; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2010). Insecure attachment is believed to relate to such personality attributes as jealousy, low self-esteem, and dependency on the approval of others. In an attempt to further examine the relationship between IPV and insecure attachment, Buck and her colleagues studied 72 family-only male batterers who were in a court-mandated group treatment program. Both separation anxiety and distrust of partner emerged as attachment-related characteristics, with distrust of partner significantly increasing the risk of battering, even over attachment alone.

A considerable amount of research also found that traits associated with antisocial personality disorder (APD), previously discussed in Chapter 5, are found in perpetrators of intimate partner violence. For example, disregard for the rights of others, aggressiveness, and irritability are not uncommon. These personality traits are often found in combination with alcohol abuse (Foran & O'Leary, 2008; Maclean & French, 2014) and they are particularly pertinent to physical forms of IPV (Brem et al., 2018).

The abuse of alcohol and drugs seems to play a role as an exacerbator, *but not as a cause*, of the violence. The relationship between IPV and alcohol abuse has been shown repeatedly in the literature (Buck et al., 2012). It is stressed that abusive men with severe alcohol or drug problems are apt to abuse their partners both when drunk and when sober. However, abusive partners who drink heavily are violent more frequently and inflict more serious injuries on their partners than do abusive men who do not have a history of alcohol or drug problems (Frieze & Browne, 1989). Research continually indicates, however, that the association among alcohol use, antisocial personality traits, and intimate partner violence is strong (Brem et al., 2018).

Family Violence

We will begin this section with the good news. As with most other crimes, both crime reports (e.g., UCR reports) and victimization reports (e.g., NCVS) indicate that family violence has gone down in recent years. This can be attributed to numerous factors, and policy makers likely have their own preferred explanations. A decline in crime rates is always welcome, but it does not obscure the fact that a significant portion of the population is still subject to victimization from various criminal actions.

As will be made clear throughout this section, research on this topic is extremely fragmented, due in large part to differences in terminology. The above discussion of IPV is a case in point, because much IPV could also be classified as family or domestic violence, and much research has treated it that way. In addition, family violence is also called domestic violence, and within this broad category, theorists and researchers refer to child abuse,

maltreatment, neglect, sibling violence, and elderly abuse, to name but a few terms. The legal system uses similar but not always identical terminology. Here, we use family violence to refer to any assault, intimidation, battery, sexual assault, sexual battery, or any criminal offense resulting in personal injury or death of one family or household member by another who is or was residing in the same single-dwelling unit (Wallace & Seymour, 2001). The term *battering* is often used in a slightly more specific fashion to describe *physical violence* in intimate or family relationships, either during a dating relationship, marriage or partnership, or separation and divorce or in the care of children.

Criminologists and treatment providers are not concerned only with the "violence" aspect, however. As noted in the section on IPV, many victims experience psychological harm either with or without physical or sexual violence. Stalking—a topic to be discussed in more detail in Chapter 15— is a good illustration; it may involve no physical harm, yet some researchers include it under the term domestic violence (e.g., Perilla, Lippy, Rosales, & Serrata, 2011). There is justification for this, because stalking often does lead to physical harm. Furthermore, there is indication that about half of victims of stalkers were assaulted during previous domestic relationships with the stalker (Baum, Catalano, Rand, & Rose, 2009). Nonetheless, persons who stalk do not always intend to harm or frighten the victim. Rather, their goal is to become close to the victim or reunification, if they were prior partners. Each is a highly unlikely occurrence.

Another example of abuse that is not physical is ongoing verbal abuse, which is rarely studied (Perilla et al., 2011). However, again as noted in the above section on IPV, psychological abuse is rarely ignored in that literature. Thus, some researchers define family violence as "an ongoing, debilitating experience of physical, *psychological*, and/or sexual abuse in the home, associated with increased isolation from the outside world and limited personal freedom and accessibility to resources" [italics added] (Wallace & Seymour, 2001, p. 4). However it is defined or whatever terminology is used, at the heart of family violence is usually the perpetrator's misuse of power, control, and authority (American Psychological Association, 2003).

The conundrum created by using different terms continues to be alluded to in virtually all research on family violence, domestic violence, or violence against women and children (see, generally, White, Koss, & Kazdin, 2011).

For our purposes, we have distinguished IPV as noted above because of the recent explosion of research in this area and the fact that it is not restricted to a family context. In this section, we use the broad term family violence because it has traditionally been most often used in the research literature. Nevertheless, virtually all professionals recognize that its victims are not only *physically* harmed, they are harmed psychologically as well. Moreover, sometimes physical harm does not even occur. For example, some victims—both children and adults—are exposed to continual berating and to cruel but nonphysical punishments, such as being continually ridiculed or being forced to witness the killing of a pet. And, in the case of corporal punishment—which is clearly violent—it is not the type of violence that raises widespread concern. In other words, despite disavowal of spanking by most professionals, the criminal justice system does not intercede unless it is carried to extremes. As Finkelhor (2011) succinctly stated, "it is a crime for a man to hit his wife but not his child" (p. 19). Likewise, in any discussion of family violence, it is important to keep in mind that one form of violence or dysfunction is often accompanied by other forms. For example, child maltreatment and intimate partner violence commonly co-occur, with some estimates indicating that in half of the families in which there is maltreatment of children, IPV also happens (Briggs, Thompson, Ostrowski, & Lekwauwa, 2011).

Prevalence

The ultimate family violence includes the death of one or more individuals, and it is not unusual to see such deaths reported to the public. About one of every five murders and nonnegligent manslaughters in the United States—in which the victim–offender relationship is known—involves a family member killing another family member, with 35% involving spouse killing spouse (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). A neglected area of research in family violence is homicide followed by suicide, in which a family member kills other family members and then commits suicide. One reason for the neglect is that homicide-suicides are relatively rare, accounting for less than 2% of all homicides. Yet they are so sobering that they are almost invariably covered by media. Woman kills 5-year-old daughter, then herself. Man kills his two children, his wife, and himself. Boy kills sister and parents, then turns gun on himself. Research has consistently shown that a high proportion of homicide-suicides (usually well over 50%) involve spouses, especially ex-spouses.

Victims

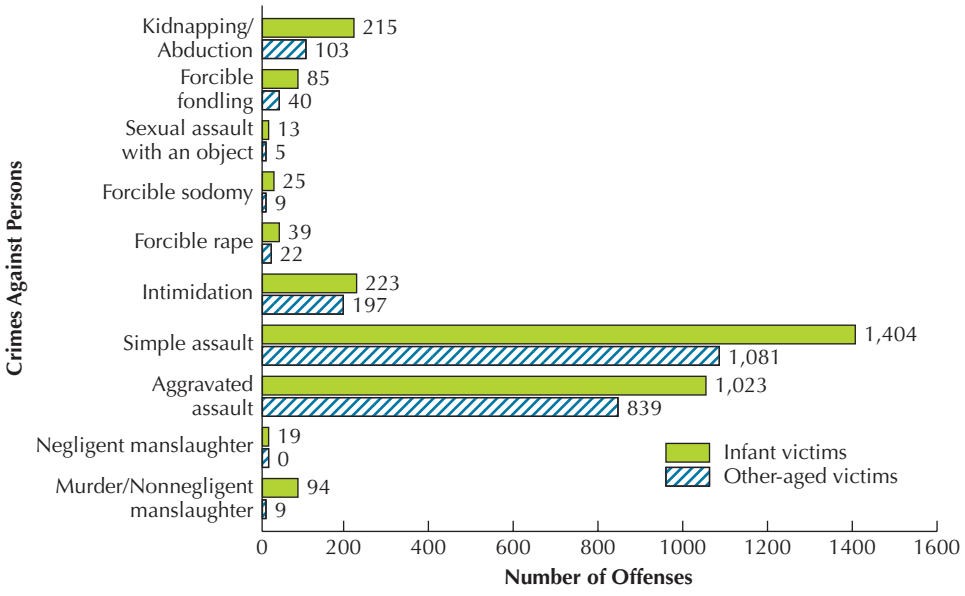
Approximately 20% of all arrests made for aggravated assaults and 60% for simple assault involved family members (Truman & Langton, 2014). Children under 12 comprised 5% of victims of family aggravated assault and 4% of the victims of family simple assault. Infants (under one year old) are the most vulnerable victims of family violence. Figure 9–2 shows the nature of offenses that occurred against infants during the years 2001 to 2003. Most often, the offense committed against infant victims is simple assault, and the second most common is aggravated assault (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005). Figure 9–3 shows the age of persons physically assaulted during a typical year. Although infants make up the majority of victims, sometimes additional victims of other ages are present at the infant's victimization, demonstrating the multiple aspects of family violence. Infants are rarely the solitary victim in family violence.

We cannot review only arrest data, because child abuse is more likely to be reported to child protection agencies rather than to police. In just one year, for example, state and local child protective services in the United States received 3.4 million referrals of children being abused or neglected, and nearly 40% of the children were under the age of 6 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2017). We will refer to these data again shortly.

FIGURE 9–2

Offenses Related to Child Victims

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2005). Crime in the United States, 2004. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.



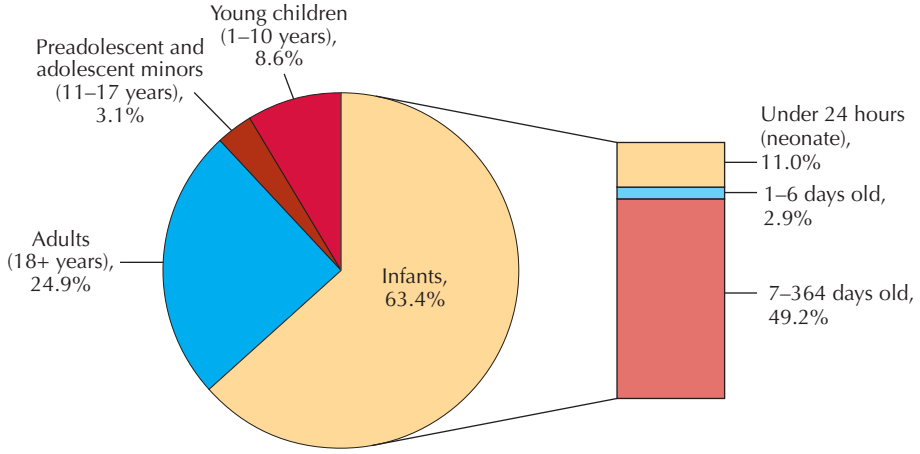


FIGURE 9–3

Ages of Victims at Victimization

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2005). Crime in the United States, 2004. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Self-report victimization studies also suggest that at least 20% of simple or aggravated assaults involve family members (Truman & Langton, 2014). Although these official statistics are woefully incomplete, they still underscore the considerable magnitude of family violence.

Research on family violence will be divided into four major questions: (1) how much family violence is there? (2) What are the common characteristics (or correlates) of the offenders and victims? (3) Is family violence fundamentally different from other kinds of violence (such as street violence)? (4) What are the causes of family violence? We will explore the research in these four areas, keeping in mind the critical problems in definition, sampling, and methodology just described. It should be pointed out that intrafamilial sexual abuse, although mentioned in the following sections, is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 13.

Child Abuse and Neglect

In the United States, about one in seven children (138 per 1,000) is maltreated at some time during childhood (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Hamby, 2005). In 2017, 1,720 children died from such maltreatment (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2019). Still another sobering statistic is the fact that parents and caregivers account for about one-fifth of all violent crimes committed against children. More than half of these violent crimes are against children age 2 or younger (Abrams, 2013). More boys (58%) die of abuse and neglect than girls (42%) (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2019).

In 2017, 72% of all child fatalities due to maltreatment were younger than 3 years old, and nearly one-half were younger than 1 year old. The fatality rate generally decreases with age. Caregiver risk factors that have the potential for leading to maltreatment and death are alcohol abuse, drug abuse, financial problems, and domestic violence. Eighty percent of child fatalities involved parents either acting alone, together, or with other individuals.

Maltreatment refers to all forms of abuse and/or neglect and can be divided into five types: physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, neglect, and family abduction (see Table 9–2). Finkelhor et al. (2005) discovered that emotional abuse (name calling or denigration by an adult) was the most frequent of the five types. Boys and girls experienced similar rates for maltreatment with the exception of sexual abuse. Girls are four times more likely to be sexually abused. Finkelhor and his associates also conducted a national survey of youths and caretakers regarding the experiences of over 4,500 children from 0 to 17 years. Called the **National Survey of Children Exposed to Violence (NatSCEV)** (Finkelhor, Turner, Ormrod, & Hamby, 2009), the survey is considered one of the most comprehensive nationwide surveys that focused on the incidence and prevalence of children's exposure to violence. The survey

TABLE 9–2 Definitions of Child Abuse and Neglect

Type of abuse	Definition
Physical abuse	Occurs when a parent willfully injures, causes injury, or allows a child to be injured, tortured, or maimed out of cruelty or excessive punishment.
Emotional abuse	Chronic pattern of behavior in which the child is belittled, denied love to promote specific behavior, or subjected to extreme and inappropriate punishment.
Emotional neglect	Failure to provide a child with appropriate support, attention, and affection.
Sexual abuse	Exploitation of a child or adolescent for another person's sexual and control gratification
Child neglect	Chronic failure of a parent or caretaker to provide a child with basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter, medical care, educational opportunity, protection, and supervision.
Missing and exploited	Kidnapping a child from a custodial parent, child abduction by strangers, or child sexual exploitation for child pornography, child prostitution.

Source: Adapted from Whitcomb, D. (2001). Child victimization. In G. Coleman, M. Gaboury, M. Murray, & A. Seymour (Eds.), 1999 National Victim Assistance Academy. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

discovered that more than one in nine (11%) of American youth had been exposed to some form of family violence during the past year and one in four (26%) had been exposed to family violence at some point during their childhood (Hamby, Finkelhor, Turner, & Ormrod, 2011).

The project also revealed that almost half of these children had experienced a physical assault in the course of the previous year, often at the hands of their siblings and peers. In fact, research has revealed that sibling aggression and physical assault is the most common form of family violence (Tucker, Finkelhor, Turner, & Shattuck, 2014). Although it has been typically viewed by society as normal and harmless, there is emerging evidence that sibling victimization may have significant psychological effects on many of its victims (Tucker et al., 2013, 2014).

Finkelhor and his colleagues (2014) conducted a second survey called the **Second National Survey of Children Exposed to Violence**. The survey obtained maltreatment data from 4,503 children and youth from interviews with caregivers for the children ages 0–9 and with the youth themselves for ages 10–17. The results of the second survey were somewhat dissimilar from the first survey, largely because the methodology and procedures were different from the original. Overall, though, the survey results did suggest that maltreatment rates appear to be decreasing over the past few years. More importantly, both surveys brought attention to the plight of **polyvictims**, those children who experience multiple victimizations over the course of their development such as parental abuse, sibling victimization, bullying, physical victimization by caregiver, and sexual victimizations. In their national surveys, polyvictims were the youths who had experienced four or more victimizations over the course of a single year. "Analyses have suggested that poly-victimization is the pattern most associated with mental health problems and bad outcomes, and that poly-victims are the kids harboring the greatest amount of distress" (Finkelhor et al., 2011, p. 21). They note that children who experience a single kind of victimization are more able to recover than those who experience multiple kinds from multiple sources. For these latter children, victimization is more a condition than an event (Finkelhor et al., 2011, p. 22).

As mentioned above, child protection agencies receive far more reports of abuse than are reflected in official arrest data. During 2017, child protection agencies received an estimated 4.1 million maltreatment referrals involving approximately 7.5 million children (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2019). Approximately 58% of the 41 million referrals required an investigation and protective services. Most of the referrals involved neglect (74.9%) and physical abuse (18.3%). Approximately 9% were sexually abused, and another 7% were emotionally (psychologically) abused. There is a high probability that emotional abuse is substantially underreported. Over one-quarter of the victims were victims of more than one type of maltreatment. Definitions for each of these terms are found in Table 9–2.

Abducted, Runaway, and Thrownaway Children

Each year, thousands of children in the United States are missing. This is a broad term that applies primarily to children who have run away, been thrown away, or been abducted by family or nonfamily. It also includes children who are missing temporarily for other reasons, such as being lost, stranded, or injured. Some children also are missing because of misunderstandings, such as not appearing at a prearranged location because of confusion about the location. Each of the primary categories deserves separate attention. A thrownaway youth refers to one whom a parent or caregiver "throws" out of the home, presumably because of bad behavior on the youth's part. In research thrownaway children are often included in the same category as runaways, because it is not altogether clear why the child was ejected. Numerous children—some say a majority—who run away do so to escape neglect or abuse from their current home or living arrangement. Abduction may occur either at the hands of a family member (e.g., a noncustodial parent) or a stranger. As we note shortly, this last form of abduction, often the most terrifying, is also the rarest. In some cases it becomes a stereotypical kidnapping. (See Table 9–3 for a summary of the types of missing children episodes.)

Most of the nationwide data on missing children are reported in the NISMART Bulletins. NISMART is an acronym for the National Incidence Studies of Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Throwaway Children, a large nationwide survey of households, juvenile residential facilities, and law enforcement agencies conducted by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. NISMART consists of several studies designed to estimate the size and nature of the missing children problem in the United States. Much of the information in this section comes from the two most recent NISMART reports, conducted in 1999 and 2011 (U.S. Department of Justice, 2002, 2013). The next NISMART report (NISMART-4) is scheduled to be conducted in 2020. In addition, we include information only from the household survey of parents and other primary caretakers (Sedlak, Finkelhor, & Brick, 2017). This was a carefully conducted online survey that ended with 3,603 completed interviews.

Before proceeding, we should highlight the very serious contemporary problem involving the unknown number of missing immigrant children who were separated from their parents at the Southern border over the past few years. As of summer 2019, the whereabouts of nearly 1,000 of those children were unknown. They had presumably been placed by the

TABLE 9–3 Categories of Missing Children Episodes

Episode type	Selective features*
Family abduction	Family member or representative takes child or fails to return, in violation of custody order
Nonfamily abduction	Nonfamily member without parental permission uses force or threat to take a child into building or car or place where child cannot leave or appeal for help
Stereotypical kidnapping (nonfamily abduction type)	Stranger or slight acquaintance detains child overnight, kills child, transports at least 50 miles, or demands ransom
Runaway/thrownaway	Child leaves on own volition without permission or leaves with permission but stays away longer; child sent away by adult who has not arranged for alternative care
Missing involuntary, lost, stranded, or injured	Child's whereabouts unknown but confused about location or injured and delayed returning home
Benign explanation	Caretaker reports child missing but was unaware of reasonable arrangement (e.g., permission to visit friend)

Source: Adapted from Sedlak, A. J., Finkelhor, D., & Brick, M. (2017). National estimates of missing children: Up-dated findigs from a survey of parents and other primary caretakers. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

*Representative features only. Time periods, not included here, vary widely (e.g., one hour, two days), often depending on child's age.

government either with relatives, foster parents, or in group homes across the nation. Other children, not included in the 1,000 just mentioned, continued to be held in detention facilities, awaiting the outcome of their requests for asylum. Access to educational, legal, and recreational services were limited, and there were reports of physical and sexual abuse. Unfortunately we cannot address this issue in detail here other than to note that the missing immigrant children are not reflected in NISMART data, and most definitely not in the Sedlak et al. (2017) survey of parents and other caretakers.

The 2011 NISMART data compared with the 1999 data, showed significant declines in the rates of missing children in some categories. For example, there was a 52% decline in the rate of children reported missing to police and a 50% decline in rate of children missing due to benign reasons. Rates of children who were missing because they had run away or were thrown away did not differ statistically in those two years, nor did those who were abducted. Sedlak et al. (2017) noted that this was consistent with other statistics on missing children kept by both state and federal agencies. Interestingly, they credited cell phone technology with reducing the problem of missing children.

In 1999, an estimated 1,682,900 youth had a runaway or thrownaway episode (U.S. Department of Justice, 2002). In most instances (71%), the runaway/thrownaway youth could have been endangered during the episode by virtue of such "street" factors as substance dependency, use of hard drugs, sexual or physical abuse, and their presence in places where criminal activity is prevalent. Recall that the UCR is no longer collecting data on runaways as of January 2012, although many states continue to do so. In addition, runaways are often taken into custody for curfew violations, so those statistics reflect the runaway problem to some extent.

Nonstranger child abduction can be another form of child abuse. In many instances, child abduction by a noncustodial parent or other family member from the custodial parent takes place. However, an undetermined number of child abductions are done by a parent who wants to protect the child or children from abuse by the other parent. Even a custodial parent may, in these circumstances, "abduct" the child, if the two parents share joint custody. According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2019), the majority (77.6%) of the perpetrators of "abduction" are a parent of the child.

Abduction of children by nonfamily members is less frequent. In this type of abduction, a nonfamily perpetrator takes a child by use of physical force or threat of bodily harm or detains the child for a substantial period of time (at least 1 hour) in an isolated place without lawful authority or parental permission. The primary motivation for this type of abduction is sexual. Nonfamily abductions are not typically the "stereotypical" stranger abductions highlighted in the media, however. They also may occur when a child younger than 15 is taken or detained or voluntarily accompanies a nonfamily person who conceals the child's whereabouts, demands a ransom, or expresses the intention to keep the child permanently. This last would include situations where a 20-year-old persuades his 14-year-old girlfriend to leave the state, or where a family acquaintance takes a child to protect the child from abuse. In 2010, approximately 58,200 children were abducted by nonfamily perpetrators, but this covered a very wide range of circumstances (Douglas, 2011).

Stereotypical abductions
Child abductions that are believed to result in tragedy, such as the complete disappearance or death of a child. Rarest of child abductions.

Stereotypical Child Abductions Stranger or slight acquaintance abductions—every parent's nightmare—are relatively rare, although any number is too great. They are called **stereotypical abductions** because they are believed to often end in tragedy, have traumatizing effects on communities, and receive considerable attention from the national media. A good example is the disappearance in 1979 of 6-year-old Etan Patz. His picture was one of the first to appear on a milk carton, intended to prompt anyone knowing anything

about his whereabouts to contact police. His body was never found, but in 2017, almost 40 years later, Pedro Hernandez was convicted and sentenced to life in prison.

In the summer of 2009 the nation was riveted to news that an 11-year-old girl abducted 17 years before was alive and living with her alleged abductor and his wife in a bizarre living arrangement that included a sheltered backyard structure. Now 28, the victim had apparently given birth to children fathered by this individual. In another high-profile similar case in the early 2000s, a teenage boy was found and returned to his family after having lived under an assumed name with his abductor for a number of years. In 2018, a 14-year-old girl was abducted and held captive for 4 days before she escaped and identified her abductor, who was taken into custody soon afterward.

Cases like the above are highly influential in forming public opinion about the risks and frequency of stranger abduction and homicides. In every year since 1997, the number of these stereotypical abductions is consistently estimated to be between 105 and 115 (Wolak, Finkelhor, & Sedlak, 2016), a number that is also consistent with FBI estimates.

Two major studies are considered the most comprehensive and data-based research available to date on stereotypical abductions. One was conducted by Finkelhor, Hammer, and Sedlak (2002) and was based on 1997 data from NISMART-2, which included extensive missing children data gathered by law enforcement agencies across the country. The second study was conducted by Wolak, Finkelhor, and Sedlak (2016) and was based on 2011 data from the Law Enforcement Survey, a component of NISMART-3.

The first study, based on 1997 data, revealed that stereotypical abductions or kidnappings were quite rare, with only 115 children kidnapped that year. However, an alarming 40% of the kidnapped children were sexually assaulted and killed, usually within the first 24 hours after abduction (Finkelhor et al., 2002; Hanfland, Keppel, & Weis, 1997; Lord, Boudreaux, & Lanning, 2001). Although 40% of the abducted children were killed, 57% were recovered alive. Three percent were still missing at the time the study was done.

The estimated number of victims (105) was very similar in 1997 and 2011, but the outcomes were quite different. In 2011, only 8% of the abducted children were killed (compared to 40% in 1997) and 92% were recovered alive. Cell phones, the Internet, and other technologies are believed to have helped law enforcement solve many of the kidnappings in 2011. We refer primarily to other data from the more recent study below.

Child victims of stereotypical abductions in 2011 ranged in age from infancy to late adolescence. More than half of the victims were adolescents, ages 12–17. Approximately 81% of the victims were girls, and about 51% were adolescent girls. In 2011, two-thirds of the perpetrators involved in the stereotypical abductions were strangers, and one-third were slight acquaintances. Slight acquaintance is defined as a nonfamily member who could be the "person the child or family did not know well enough to speak to, a recent acquaintance whom the child or family knew for less than 6 months, or someone the child or family knew for less than 6 months, or someone the child or family knew even longer but saw less than once a month" (Wolak et al., 2016, p. 5).

The perpetrators were largely male (75%), ages 18–35 (73%), and single (69%). Nine percent had a diagnosis of being mentally ill, and 54% had problems with drugs or alcohol. It was estimated that about two-thirds of the perpetrators were described as having average to above average intelligence, and about a third demonstrated average interpersonal skills. About a third had active or ongoing involvement in the criminal justice system, and about 70% were unemployed.

Most kidnappers were not violent at first contact with the child and generally lured their victim through deception or nonthreatening pretexts. Law enforcement reported that most of the children went voluntarily with their kidnapper. More than half (56%) of the children were held for 24 hours or more. Approximately two-thirds of all the kidnapped children were sexually assaulted.

According to the 2011 law enforcement data, about one-third (31%) of the kidnapped children had not been reported missing. "In some of these cases, children were kidnapped and then returned before they were missed" (Wolak et al., 2016, p. 10). For example, some children were taken from their beds late at night, sexually assaulted, and then returned before their families woke up. Other children who were not reported missing lived in situations where no one kept track of where they were.

Medical Child Abuse

Medical child abuse
An unusual form of child abuse in which the parent consistently brings a child for medical attention with symptoms directly falsified or induced by the parent. Formerly called Munchausen syndrome by proxy.

An unusual but serious type of child abuse identified in the psychological and psychiatric research literature is **medical child abuse**, which until recently was called Munchausen syndrome by proxy (MSBP) (Yates & Bass, 2017). It is important to note that although this was labeled a "syndrome," it was not a mental disorder listed in the DSM-5. Rather, the DSM-5 refers to the various forms of abuse discussed in this chapter as relational problems or conditions that may be the focus of clinical attention.

Medical child abuse is a form of child abuse in which the parent (usually the mother) or parents *consistently* and *chronically* bring a child in for medical attention with symptoms falsified or directly induced by the parent or parents (Murray, 1997). Cases illustrating this abuse are found in homes of all socioeconomic levels (Pearl, 1995), and the victims are most often children between infancy and 8 years of age (Jones et al., 1986). One mother submitted her son to 323 medical appointments and 13 major surgeries between 2009 and 2016, beginning when he was 3 years old, although the child was not sick (Epstein, 2019). None of these appointments or surgeries was necessary, and the mother subsequently was sentenced to six years in a Texas prison. Although mothers are almost always the offending parent in medical child abuse, the father is often described in case histories as an emotionally distant or physically absent parent (Robins & Sesan, 1991). Both male and female children are represented as victims in equal numbers.

Very often, the offending mother is knowledgeable about medical issues, has a fascination with medical details, has her own medical history of fabricated illnesses, and may be a health professional herself. In addition, the mother will be unusually attentive to the child and will be reluctant to leave the child's side during medical examination or treatment. Another important symptom of medical child abuse is the child's series of reoccurring medical conditions that either do not respond to treatment or follow an unusual course that is persistent, puzzling, and unexplained. Another symptom is a series of physical or laboratory findings that are highly unusual, discrepant with medical history, or physically or clinically impossible. In extreme cases, the parent may initiate starvation in the child, nearly suffocate the child, inflict vaginal/rectal injuries in order to produce bleeding, add fat to stool collection to produce a lab abnormality, put her blood into child's urine sample before lab testing, or even inject contaminated material intravenously into the child's bloodstream (Murray, 1997; Pearl, 1995; Sheridan, 2003). The extreme forms of abuse certainly can lead to serious injury or even death. Some researchers have reported a mortality rate as high as 6–10%, particularly when the parent has suffocated or poisoned the child (Ferrara et al., 2013). Unfortunately, the prevalence or incidence of medical child abuse is unknown at this time, probably partly due to the difficulty of identifying actual illnesses as opposed to the fabricated ones.

Abusive Head Trauma

Abusive head trauma
A form of child abuse in which someone shakes or throws an infant, causing significant brain damage or death. Previously called **shaken baby syndrome**.

Another form of child abuse is **abusive head trauma**. Like the medical child abuse discussed above, terminology has changed in recent years. It was previously referred to as **shaken baby syndrome** (SBS), but the new term provides a better indicator of where the physical

damage occurs: a parent or caretaker, usually in anger, shakes a baby so hard that serious head injury results. There is consensus that brain trauma of some sort is the leading cause of death and disability in infants and young children (Dubowitz, Christian, Hymel, & Kellogg, 2014). However, this trauma is not necessarily due to abuse. When children *are* abused and die, however, head trauma is the leading cause of death, and shaking was involved in many of these cases (Duhaime, Christian, Rorke, & Zimmerman, 1998; Showers, 1999; Smithey, 1998). Ellis and Lord (2001) estimate that 10–12% of all deaths due to abuse and neglect are attributable to abusive head trauma (see also National Information Support and Referral Service, 1998). Most recently it was estimated that about 30% of children diagnosed with abusive head trauma die. Of those who survive, only 15% suffer no lasting effects (Russell, 2010). Lasting effects can include significant brain damage resulting in conditions such as cerebral palsy, blindness, deafness, learning disabilities, and coma. Available research suggests that 70–80% of the perpetrators of abusive head trauma are male, and most of the time they are the parent of the child (Child Abuse Prevention Center, 1998; Ellis & Lord, 2001). Both male and female babies appear to be equally victimized.

Available research indicates that childhood abuse and neglect in general increase the odds of future delinquency and adult criminality by 40%. More specifically, being abused or neglected as a child increases the likelihood of arrest as a juvenile by over 50%, as an adult by 38%, and for a violent crime by 38% (Widom, 1992). Later research by Widom (2000) found consistent results. "The odds of arrest for a juvenile offense were 1.9 times higher among abused and neglected individuals than among controls; for crime committed as adult, the odds were 1.6 times higher" (Widom, 2000, p. 5). In addition, psychological and emotional problems were prevalent among the abused and neglected sample. Specifically, the abused and neglected individuals were significantly more likely than the controls (a comparison group who had not experienced abuse or neglect) to have attempted suicide and to have met the criteria for antisocial personality disorder.

Infanticide

In this section, the focus is on that form of child homicide that occurs when a person intentionally kills a child or infant and *intends that the death occur*. That is, the homicide is not accidental or the incidental result of abuse or neglect. Although the term **infanticide** literally means the killing of an *infant*, it has become synonymous with the killing of a child by a parent.

Infanticide
Although this term literally means the killing of an infant, it has become synonymous with the killing of a child by a parent.

For a variety of reasons, it is very difficult to maintain accurate statistics on this offense. The cause of death of an infant may be difficult to establish—for example, sudden deaths may be due to sudden infant death syndrome or traumatic brain injury not attributable to the criminal actions of an adult. Some research also has indicated that even if a medical examiner reports grounds for homicide, police may not make a report ((Porter & Gavin, 2010).

Still, it is estimated that 1,200–1,500 children are intentionally killed each year by a parent or other person, representing about 12–15% of the total homicides in the United States (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2012). Between 2001 and 2005, 2,402 children under 2 were killed (Malmquist, 2013) in the United States. In the United States and Canada, about two-thirds of murdered children are killed by family members, mostly parents. For children under 5, mothers and fathers are about equally responsible for deaths, but when someone other than a parent is responsible, the majority of cases involve a male offender (Cooper & Smith, 2011).

Neonaticide
The killing of a newborn, usually within 24 hours but also within 48.

Several decades ago, Resnick (1970) recommended that the killing of one's children (infanticide) be divided into two separate categories: **neonaticide**, which refers to the killing of

Filicide
Killing of one's child older than 24 hours. This time period has fluctuated over years and research projects.

the newborn within the first 24 hours after birth, and **filicide**, which refers to the killing of a child older than 24 hours. Resnick's research indicated that neonaticide was more likely to represent an attempt to dispose of a problem, while filicide was more likely a reflection of parental depression or feelings of being overwhelmed. This distinction has disappeared from much of the literature, but social concerns about neonaticide continue. An increasing number of jurisdictions, for example, now have laws that bar the prosecution of parents who leave newborns or infants in "safe harbors" such as hospitals, churches, or synagogues. The assumption is that if the parents have no such safe harbor, they might not sufficiently care for the infants or, worse, take the drastic step of ending their lives.

The extent of neonaticide is difficult to determine because many go undetected and there is no national data depository for these cases (Beyer, Mack, & Shelton, 2008). The same situation holds for filicide (Koenen & Thompson, 2008), although as children get older their victimization is more likely to be recorded. It is roughly estimated that approximately 150–300 incidents of neonaticide occur each year in the United States (Meyer & Oberman, 2001). A similar estimate has been advanced by researchers on filicide (Koenen & Thompson, 2008).

Multiassaultive Families

Multiassaultive families
Nuclear families (traditional or nontraditional) characterized by multiple incidents of violence involving more than one perpetrator.

Some families, referred to as **multiassaultive families**, are characterized by continual cycles of intrafamilial physical aggression and violence. Siblings hit each other, spouses hit each other, parents hit the children, and the older children hit the parents. An early study reported that at least 7% of all intact families may be considered multiassaultive (Hotaling & Straus, 1989). As noted previously, child maltreatment often accompanies intimate partner violence (Briggs et al., 2011).

Research supports the notion that assault is a generalized pattern in interpersonal relations that crosses settings and is used across targets beyond the immediate family (Hotaling & Straus, 1989). Men in families in which children and wives are assaulted are five times more likely to have also assaulted a nonfamily person than are men in nonassaultive families. A similar pattern holds for women from multiassaultive families, although the relationship is not as strong. Sibling violence is particularly high in families in which child assault and spouse assault are present, with boys displaying significantly more assaultive behavior (Hotaling & Straus, 1989). Moreover, children from multiassaultive families have an inordinately high rate of assault against nonfamily members (Hotaling & Straus, 1989). These children are also more likely to be involved in property crime, to have adjustment difficulties in school, and to be involved with police. It should be carefully noted that it is extremely difficult to tell what is causing what in this complicated web of interrelated variables. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that multiassaultive family members are violent and antisocial across a variety of settings, toward both family members and society in general, and may demonstrate this behavioral pattern throughout most of their lifetimes. Below we look at specific forms of violence within multiassaultive families, namely sibling against sibling and child against parent.

Sibling-to-Sibling Violence

Violence between siblings is believed to be the most common form of violence within families, but surprisingly little is known about it (Finkelhor, 2011; Gelles, 1997; Mathis & Mueller, 2015; Wallace, 1996). The violence and abuse a child or adolescent receives from a sibling is often overlooked and trivialized (Simonelli, Mullis, & Rohde, 2005). Sibling conflicts are generally seen as a normal part of growing up (Underwood & Patch, 1999), and some researchers have observed that some level of sibling aggression is normative

(Mathis & Muller, 2015). Mothers and fathers display a great tendency to deny the seriousness of the aggressive outbursts of siblings or their children—including violence toward themselves—in order to perpetuate a "myth of family harmony" (Harbin & Madden, 1979). Yet in many cases, sibling conflict and violence involves punching, choking, beating up, threatening to use a weapon, and actually using a weapon. Finkelhor et al. (2006) found that 35% of children in their study reported being hit or attacked by a sibling within the past year. In addition, sibling violence appears to be linked to violence in dating relationships, family violence in adulthood, and nonfamily adult violence in general (Hoffman, Kiecolt, & Edwards, 2005). Most recently, Mathis and Mueller (2015) found significant correlations between sibling aggression in childhood (between ages 10 and 14) and one's emotional difficulties and demonstrated aggression as adults. Although their study was exploratory, its findings suggest that aggression between siblings should not be overlooked.

Over 30 years ago, Steinmetz (1981) reported that two-thirds of the adolescent siblings in the family sample she studied—a sample characterized by family violence—used physical violence to resolve conflict. These findings were later supported by Hoffman et al. (2005) who found 70% of the adolescents in their sample (students) had committed at least one violent act against their closest-age sibling during their senior year of high school. Families having only sons consistently experience more sibling violence than do families with only daughters (Hoffman et al., 2005). Hoffman et al. (2005) found that males perpetrated more violent acts against their brothers than against sisters or sisters against their siblings.

Violence Against Parents

In recent years, attention has been paid to a different group of family offenders, specifically adolescents and young adults who commit "parent abuse" by causing physical, psychological, or financial harm to their parents. Distinctions are drawn between the normal parent–child conflicts of adolescence and abuse in which the adolescent tries to control and coerce the parents (Tew & Nixon, 2010). Although violence against parents rarely comes to public attention, when homicide occurs, it is recorded.

In 2013, 16% of family murder victims were killed by their children (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2014a) (see Figure 9–4). The killing of parents, termed **parricide**, is most often committed by sons by a ratio of about 3 to 1 over daughters (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005, 2014a). Mothers are killed (**matricide**) slightly less often than fathers (**patricide**) by both adolescents and adult sons and daughters.

Heide (1993) identifies three types of parricide committed by youth: (1) the severely abused child, (2) the severely mentally ill child, and (3) the dangerously antisocial child. The complex dynamics of families in which parricides occur often include multiassaultive family patterns, easy access to firearms, alcohol and drug abuse, and the youthful offender's strong feelings of helplessness in coping with the stresses at home. Sometimes the adolescent murderer as well as other family members feel a sense of relief that the parent(s) is (are) dead.

Although males predominate in the more extreme forms of juvenile violence toward parents, the gender differences disappear at more moderate levels of violence (Pagani et al., 2004). In addition, the risk of violence toward parents gradually increases during adolescence, peaking at age 15 and diminishing thereafter (Pagani et al., 2004). This pattern corresponds to the peak age of adolescent violence toward nonrelated individuals noted by Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber (1998). Most violent incidents between child and parents are associated with conflicts about home responsibilities, money, and privilege (Pagani et al., 2004). Children and adolescents who displayed early and chronic forms of aggression and antisocial behavior are most likely to be aggressive toward parents (Pagani et al., 2004). "As adolescents, those described as chronically aggressive by their (annually) different

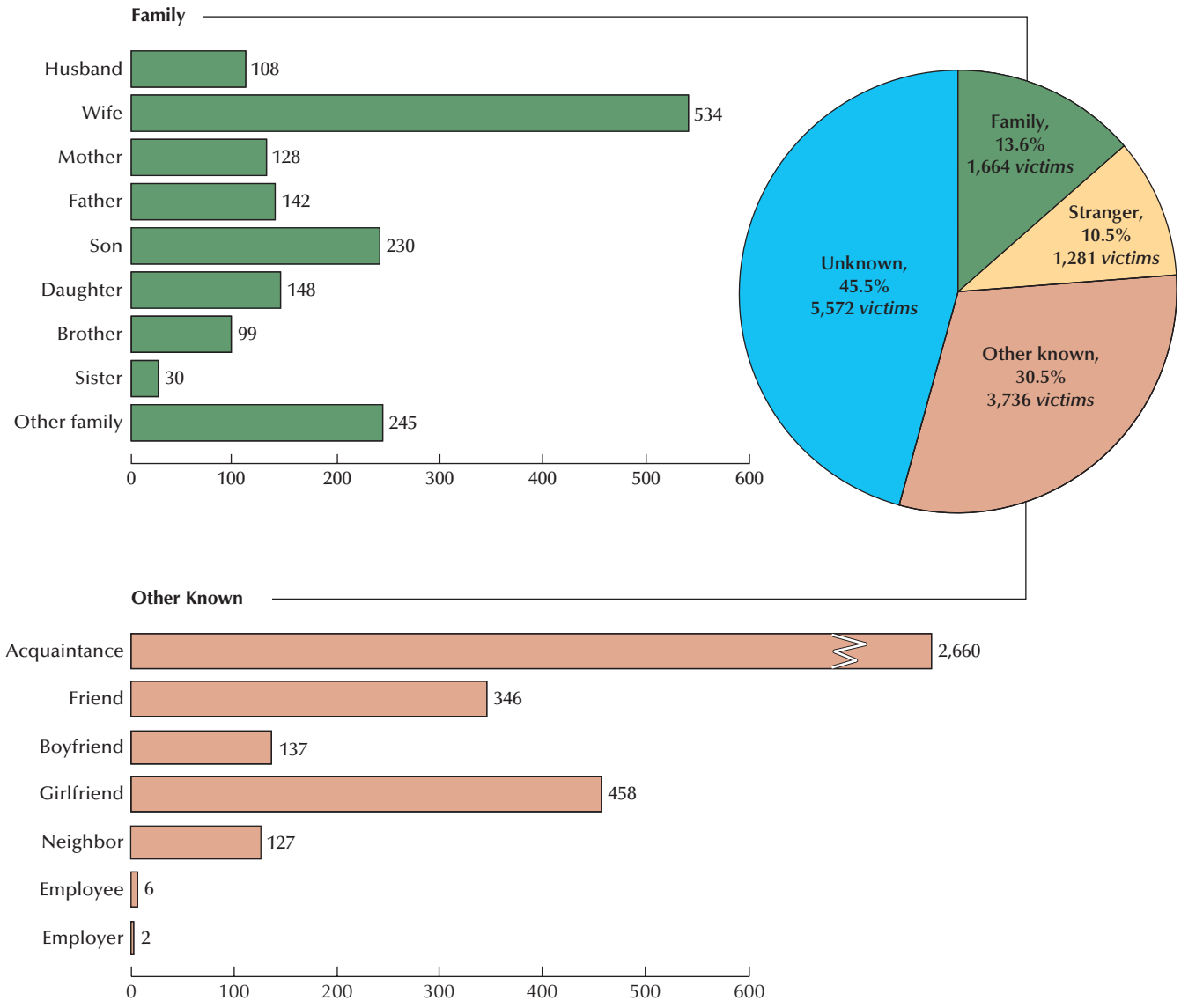


FIGURE 9–4

Murder by Relationship

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (2014a). Crime in the United States 2013: Uniform Crime Re-ports. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

primary school teachers were (9 and 4) times at greater risk of engaging in verbal and physical aggression (respectively) toward their mothers in comparison to their persistently nonaggressive peers" (Pagani et al., 2004, p. 534). In fact, violent predispositions during childhood, measured by teachers, are among the best predictors of later violence toward mothers. "Indeed," Pagani et al. (2004) concluded in their study, "teacher-rated disruptiveness during early childhood predicted the risk of engaging in physical aggression toward mothers during adolescence" (p. 220).

Multiassaultive families have received little psychological attention in recent years. Family violence research is most likely to focus upon the violence perpetrated by the parents against each other or against the children. Sibling-to-sibling violence and abuse perpetrated by adolescents against their parents are deserving of more research attention.

Elderly Abuse

To this point in the chapter, our discussion of family violence has focused on intimate partners, child abuse, and to some extent sibling against siblings and children against

parents. Here we turn our attention to violence against older individuals within the family. Although these older individuals might be living with other family members, it is more likely that they are not. Instead, they are in their own homes or in independent or assisted-living facilities specifically designed for older individuals.

It is now well recognized from census data and other statistics that the United States has experienced significant growth in the population of older adults. In 2010, there were about 40 million adults ages 65 and older; approximately 5 million of them were over 85. Projected figures for 2050 were about 90 million 65 and over, and 19 million over 85. The growth in the population of older adults—many of whom do not want to be called "elders," "elderly," or "senior citizens"—has led to a need for medical, clinical, and social service specializations, better housing options, and more. Criminologists study the population of older adults not because they are committing crimes (though some do) but because they are often victimized.

It is estimated that approximately 1 to 2 million older Americans are victims of abuse each year (National Center on Elder Abuse, 2013). Elder abuse is said to affect 1 out of 10 older adults as some time in their lives (Acierno et al., 2010). It is generally believed that elder abuse is widely underreported—one estimate is that only 1 in 23 actual incidents is reported (Mosqueda & Olsen, 2015). Similar to child abuse, most reporting is done to social service agencies, such as Adult Protective Services, rather than to law enforcement communities. (See Box 9–4 for a related topic.) Though protective agencies investigate reports, perpetrators are rarely referred to law enforcement or turned over for prosecution (Burnes, Rizzo, & Courtney, 2014).

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 9–4 PERSONS WITH DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES: WHO ADVOCATES?

Victims of family violence include an unknown number of children and adults who have been diagnosed with developmental disabilities or intellectual deficiencies. Like other victims of family violence, their abuse may never be reported.

Likewise, persons with disabilities are often cared for outside of their own homes. Historically, they were placed in large institutional settings, but in the 20th and 21st centuries these large facilities were replaced by group homes situated within the community. Many families welcomed the opportunity to place their loved ones in these homes, where they were close by and presumably well cared for. Unfortunately, this does not always occur.

It cannot be asserted that group homes are not a good alternative to remaining in one's own home or are ineffective. Many caring families are unable to meet the needs of severely disabled children and adults, and a group home setting makes sense. In recent years, however, both criminal and civil suits have been filed against some homes, and some employees, because of alleged abuse and even death of residents. Workers have been accused of beating, ridiculing, and generally maltreating residents. In one state, a media investigation revealed that these workers were subsequently transferred to other group homes rather than discharged from their duties or reported to police for assault.

Those with developmental disabilities or severe intellectual deficiency often cannot advocate for themselves. They may be unable to communicate effectively, and if they speak out they may not be believed. Although some families have become advocates for their loved ones, other families are unaware of the maltreatment they are receiving until a major incident, such as one involving serious assault or even death, occurs.

(*continued*)

Questions for Discussion

1. What concepts in this chapter are helpful in understanding group home workers who abuse the residents in their care?
2. Should a worker who pushes, hits, and ridicules a resident be reported to police? If not, how should this situation be handled?
3. Compare the victims who are highlighted above with victims of family violence mentioned elsewhere in the chapter. Are these victims more or less hidden than others, and in what ways?
4. In addition to families, who else might advocate for persons with developmental disabilities or intellectual deficiency?
5. Propose a research project to identify the extent of abuse among this population. ■

There are many reasons for the underreporting, even to protective service agencies. Although nearly all states require some type of reporting of suspected elderly abuse, there is wide variation about who is required to report and what type of suspected abuse should be reported. For example, persons as varied as mental health professionals, medical personnel, and bank officials may be obliged to report suspected abuse to police or human service agencies, depending upon the state. In addition, though suspected physical abuse involves some mandatory reporting in virtually all states, emotional or financial abuse and neglect are different matters. Additionally, even in cases of physical abuse, because of the frailty associated with aging, bruises and fractures may not be associated with maltreatment. Finally, older individuals themselves may be reluctant to report abuse that is perpetrated by their caregivers, particularly if these caregivers are spouses, children, or other relatives. There may be fear of retaliation or fear that the perpetrator will be jailed or in some cases deported. Although medical practitioners today routinely ask patients, "Do you feel safe in your home?" it is likely that some who do not would not be forthright in answering that question. Furthermore, this very general question does not address in sufficient detail the range of victimization possibilities that might be faced by older adults, such as IPV, which we discussed earlier in the chapter.

Elder abuse is characterized by the infliction of physical, emotional, or psychological harm on the older adult, usually defined as age 65 or older (Marshall, Benton, & Brazier, 2000). Some researchers, including some using very large samples, have used 60 as a minimum age (Acierno et al., 2010). Some researchers include sexual abuse within the general categories of abuse, while others treat it as a separate form of abuse. In addition, financial abuse—such as when someone withdraws sums from an older person's bank accounts or forges the person's signature—may or may not be investigated in the research. In essence, elder abuse can amount to many different actions. "The general concept involved in the numerous definitions of 'elder abuse' is that the victim is injured, neglected, or exploited because of vulnerabilities associated with age, such as impaired physical or mental capacities" (Klaus, 2000, p. 13). Neglect refers to a failure to meet basic needs of the individual under one's care, such as providing food, housing, clothing, and health care (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2013).

Reviewing the data and clinical research on elder abuse, Mosqueda and Olsen (2015) observed that abused older adults are more likely to die compared with those who are not abused; that persons with dementia are more likely to be abused than those without. However, in addition to having dementia, living in a care facility and being female are also risk factors. In general, the research literature documents that victims of this type of abuse have a condition that makes them vulnerable, such as cognitive decline or a physical condition that limits their mobility (Johannesen & LoGiudice, 2013).

Family members tend to be the chief perpetrators of elderly abuse—with 90% of all incidents being perpetrated by adult children, spouses, or other relatives (National Center

on Elder Abuse, 2015). After adult children, spouses constitute the second-largest abuser category. Male caretakers are more likely to abuse the elderly physically, while female caretakers are prone to abuse them psychologically or neglect them. However, both men and women are equally likely to exploit them financially.

Although there are similarities between the various types of family abuse, elder mistreatment is a more complex phenomenon that encompasses both aspects of interpersonal violence and the aging process (Wolf, 1992). That is, elder abuse and neglect are often a result of long-standing troubled family dynamics and interpersonal processes that have been highly charged when the dependency relationship is altered, either because of illness or financial needs. Nevertheless, as documented in an important review article (Jackson, 2014), not all perpetrators of elder abuse are alike. Jackson reviewed 19 risk factors across different forms of abuse and discovered that they were extremely variable (e.g., the quality of past relationships with the victim, a desire for access to the victim's belongings, and stress in the caretaker's life from outside sources).

However, while there is no one single causal factor to fully explain why family members abuse their seniors, some explanations have focused on caregiver stress and dependency issues (either the caregiver's or the senior's) (Au Coin, 2003a). Elderly abuse also has been associated with mental disorder or substance abuse among the perpetrators (Jogerst et al., 2012; Mosequeda & Olsen, 2015).

Mosqueda and Olsen (2015) provided a series of "red flags" for mental health clinicians to be attuned to when dealing with older clients. Though it is not up to the clinician to investigate, red flags likely signify that a report of suspected abuse is warranted. Examples are unexplained bruising in unusual locations, fearfulness or secretiveness on the part of the client, or cowering or impaired sleep.

The Cycle of Violence in Families

For some time, the scholarly and popular literature has concluded that both abusive parents and abusive spouses have themselves been the victims of family violence during their childhoods (Megargee, 1982). This conjecture might apply as well to adults who abuse their aging parents. Some research suggests that highly violent offenders may have been subjected to more severe and frequent physical and psychological abuse and punitive parenting during their childhoods than other offenders (Hämäläinen & Haapasalo, 1996). Individuals grow up to be abusive because they were abused themselves, a belief referred to as the **cycle-of-violence hypothesis**.

Cycle of violence hypothesis
The belief that violence is likely to be perpetuated across generations among individuals who have experienced and witnessed violence in their families.

According to social learning theory, those who receive harsh discipline learn that physical violence can be used to change the behaviors of others (Schwartz, Hage, Bush, & Burns, 2006). **Coercion theory** proposed by Patterson (1982) and discussed in Chapter 6 also posits that coercive and punitive tactics in parenting increase the likelihood of later aggressive behavior and potential domestic violence. Theories that view domestic violence as a tactic for gaining power and control in relationships are highly consistent with coercion theory. As noted by Schwartz et al. (2006), abusing spouses and other family members is one way, in the abuser's eyes, of gaining and maintaining control over those in their immediate social environment. There is also accumulating evidence that boys who experience parental neglect during their childhoods are more likely to engage in dating violence, a behavior that is a precursor to spousal abuse (Chapple, 2003; Simons, Lin, & Gordon, 1998).

Coercion theory
The belief that punitive and coercive tactics employed by parents will increase the likelihood of later aggressive behavior and family violence.

Nevertheless, violence does not necessarily beget violence. The cycle of violence and the presumed overall consequences of abuse and neglect do not take into account the resilience of human beings, which rules out any simple cause-and-effect relationship between maltreatment and future violent behavior (Garbarino, 1989). In many cases, rather than

finding that abusive parenting is the logical consequence of being victimized as children, the opposite sequence is likely to take place. Realizing and sensitive to the enormous psychological and social costs of family violence, many victims of child abuse may be even less likely than their nonabused peers to commit aggressive acts as adults within their families. Garbarino (1989, p. 222), for example, writes, "Many victims of child abuse, probably most, survive it and avoid repeating the pattern in their own child rearing."

On the other hand, children who are maltreated are at risk of further *victimization* as adults; this is particularly true, but not exclusively, of children who were sexually abused. The revictimization is usually through intimate partner violence (Briggs et al., 2011). Thus, while the cycle of violence may be broken in the sense that the child victim does not, as an adult, victimize others, the thread of violence continues because the child is revictimized as an adult.

Psychologists and other mental health professionals who work directly with clients, therefore, are sensitive to both possibilities. On the one hand, the client must be discouraged from believing that violence is normal and to be practiced against others. On the other hand, clients who have been abused must be helped to obtain the tools needed to gain self-confidence, empowerment, and resilience in their relationships.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we began to narrow our focus to consider specific offenses. Previous chapters were broader in that they dealt with general theoretical orientations to crime. Here, we reviewed the data on prevalence of violence and summarized empirical and clinical research on homicide, IPV, and family violence.

Criminal homicides are rare compared with the total incidence of violent crime. In the United States, violent crime is often committed by young males living in environments that implicitly or explicitly advocate violence for the resolution of conflict. Guns (especially handguns) are commonly used in the crime. Certain minority groups are overrepresented in violent crime statistics, but there are a number of explanations for this that have nothing to do with racial or ethnically based individual factors. Statistics indicate also that, when the relationship of victim and offender is known, the homicide victim and the offender are usually family members, friends, or acquaintances. The relationship is known in between half and two-thirds of the offenses. While assaults are far more common than homicide, the same features appear, particularly for aggravated assault.

While many of the psychological characteristics of offenders are similar in crimes of assault and homicide, some homicides deserve separate attention. These include the homicides that will be covered in the next chapter, and juvenile murders, which were covered here. Juvenile murders are rare, but when they occur they attract both media and research attention. Researchers have learned that juvenile murderers who act on their own or in a dyad (as opposed to killing as gang activity) often have no significant history of violence but come from dysfunctional families, have poor peer relationships, or have emotional deficiencies.

Contemporary researchers often prefer to focus on Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) rather than "domestic violence" or, more broadly, "family violence," although some IPV also qualifies as domestic or family violence. IPV allows us to consider the prevalence, causes, and prevention of violence directed at intimate partners who may or may not be married or living under the same roof. In addition, IPV researchers are examining violence

among subgroups, such as older adults, racial and ethnic groups, same-sex couples, and persons in dating relationships. In the chapter we included IPV as a separate section, but readers should keep in mind that material in the family violence section also pertains to many IPV situations.

Family violence is a very broad subject that encompasses child abuse, spouse or partner abuse, elder abuse, sibling abuse, and child-to-parent abuse. Abuse comes in many forms, including physical, psychological, or sexual abuse. Family violence is found across ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic classes. Women are disproportionately subject to spousal violence and the dire economic situations that may lead to both victimization and victimizing. Children are particularly vulnerable targets for family violence and maltreatment, enduring physical maltreatment, sexual exploitation, medical and emotional neglect, and psychological trauma—all of which are usually lifelong in their consequences. In this chapter, we focused not only on "typical" forms of child abuse but also on statistics and research relating to child abductions, abusive head trauma, and medical child abuse.

In addition to the obvious physical injuries and deaths that result, family violence is often cited in research and clinical studies as contributing to other individual, family, and societal problems. Most of all, family violence and maltreatment highlight the importance of considering a victimological approach for the complete understanding of violent crime and underscore the fact that the family is far from being a safe haven for many.

Abuse of older adults has attracted considerable research attention in recent years, perhaps because of the increasing proportion of that age group within the population. Older adults are subjected both to intimate partner violence and assault and to neglect by adult children and caretakers.

Finally, both researchers and mental health professionals are aware of the cycle of violence, which sometimes pervades discussions of violence within families. It cannot be assumed that persons who are accustomed to violence within their family dynamics must maintain violent behaviors indefinitely. Violence does not beget violence. Psychologists and other mental and behavioral health professionals focus on finding alternatives to violent behavior and developing resilience in those who have been victimized, often from early childhood.

KEY CONCEPTS

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is the availability heuristic, and how might it affect our perception of violence?
2. Compare the differences between first- and second-degree murder, and negligent and nonnegligent manslaughter. From a psychological perspective, are these differences important?
3. Summarize the demographic characteristics associated with criminal homicide.

4. Summarize the psychological characteristics associated with criminal homicide.
5. From a psychological perspective, what is the importance of the Pittsburgh Youth Study?
6. What gender differences in juvenile homicide have been uncovered?
7. What are the four contexts of IPV discussed in the chapter?
8. Contrast IPV in military families and IPV among older adults.
9. What are common psychological factors of abusers?
10. List the various approaches to research on family violence.
11. Summarize the research on stereotypical child abduction.

10

Multiple Murder, School, and Workplace Violence

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Define and review research on investigative psychology and profiling.
- Describe the five types of profiling and their relevance to investigating serious crime.
- Summarize research on types and characteristics of serial killers.
- Summarize what is known about the characteristics and motivations of mass murderers.
- Discuss crime that can lead to multiple murder, such as school and workplace violence.

- In April 2007, 32 people were killed and approximately 25 were wounded during a mass shooting at a state university.
- In July 2011, 77 people were killed in Norway during a bombing and gun rampage.
- In July 2012, gunfire erupted during a midnight showing of a film in Aurora, Colorado. Twelve people were killed and over 50 others injured.
- In August of the same year, six people were shot and four wounded at a Sikh Temple in Oak Creek, Wisconsin.
- In December 2012, 20 first graders and 6 staff members were murdered at an elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut.
- In February 2018, 17 were killed and 17 wounded at a high school in Parkland, Florida.
- Also in 2018, 11 were killed and 6 wounded at a synagogue in Pittsburgh.
- In 2019, five were killed and six wounded at a warehouse in Aurora, Illinois, and 50 were killed and over 40 wounded in two temples in Christchurch, New Zealand.
- Also in 2019, 12 were killed and 4 wounded at a city office complex in Virginia Beach, Virginia.
- And again, also in 2019, 22 were killed and 24 wounded in a large-chain department store in El Paso, Texas. A day later, 10 were killed and 17 injured on a crowded street in Dayton, Ohio.

The above incidents, some of which will be discussed in this chapter, illustrate the massive death toll that can be caused by one individual. (See Table 10–2 later in the chapter for a more complete list.) Although homicide in general was the

topic of Chapter 9, here we examine a very different form of killing, one that implicates different psychological concepts. In each of the above and additional instances to be cited throughout the chapter, the perpetrator planned an offense that would guarantee the death of multiple victims.

In this chapter we revisit criminal homicide, focusing on its exceptional but rare forms, including the mass murders cited above and serial murders, which involve one person killing multiple victims over a period of time. Acts of terrorism that result in many deaths—also a form of mass murder—will be discussed in the following chapter. Finally, because school and workplace violence also can and have resulted in multiple deaths, these are discussed in separate sections of the present chapter.

The homicides covered here are relatively rare, although there are indications that mass shootings are increasing, as we note later in the chapter. Even though rare, the social and emotional impact they have on a community—and on a society as a whole—is considerable. The fear and terror they engender can alter the lifestyles of thousands. Moreover, they draw extensive media coverage, of which much, although it may be accurate with respect to the facts of the case, lacks a solid understanding of the psychosocial aspects involved in the crime. Therefore, it is important that we give attention to what we know—and do not know—about these well-publicized offenses. Due to the serious nature of these offenses, behavioral scientists often try to explain them theoretically or place offenders into categories or typologies. This is done both to provide assistance to law enforcement in identifying the perpetrators—if they are not known—and to predict and prevent future incidents. Although some preventive measures can be taken, predicting who will undertake a multiple murder with a high level of confidence is not possible. Before discussing the various types of multiple murders, it is worthwhile to consider contemporary approaches to studying these crimes.

Investigative Psychology

In recent years, considerable public attention has been given to topics like profiling and investigative psychology. Readers are undoubtedly familiar with films and network shows (e.g., *Silence of the Lambs*, *Criminal Minds*) that feature these activities. The popular series *Criminal Minds* includes actors portraying behavioral scientists who work within the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit (BSU). Profiling is not restricted to the serious crimes that are the subject of this chapter. Furthermore, it is generally directed at unsolved crimes, such as serial killings, robberies, or burglaries, rather than the mass murders illustrated at the beginning of this chapter, in which the perpetrators soon become known. Nevertheless, psychological profiles of known offenders may be undertaken in an effort to understand what led someone to commit these crimes as well as anticipate further similar events. It must be emphasized that predicting multiple murder is almost impossible, however. Predicting the next target of a serial killer is somewhat more likely, but it, too, is a daunting task.

In the professional and academic world, the word "profiling" is often avoided. There are many reasons for this. First, because the activity is unregulated in the United States, persons with minimum degrees or experience can call themselves profilers; some have attained celebrity status, appearing for media interviews and writing in ongoing blogs. At times their "predictions" have been extremely inaccurate. Second, these profilers tend to rely on "hunches" rather than on scientific data. While hunches based on clinical experience are understandable, hunches without scientific data to back them up are problematic. We discuss this in more detail below. Third, some profilers in the past have written self-serving personal accounts of their experiences that minimize the imperfect nature of their art. And finally, depictions of profilers in novels or entertainment media too often suggest they are

infallible and can solve most crimes. For these reasons, to bring more respectability to the profiling enterprise, some professionals prefer to call themselves "behavioral analysts" or "investigative psychologists" rather than profilers.

Investigative psychology, a term coined by David Canter, the director of the Centre for Investigative Psychology at the University of Liverpool in England, refers to the application of psychological research and principles to the investigation of criminal behavior. Investigative psychology tries to answer three fundamental questions that are crucial in criminal investigations (Canter & Alison, 2000, p. 3):

Investigative psychology
The application of psychological research and concepts to the investigation of crime.

1. What are the important behavioral features of the crime that may help identify and successfully prosecute the perpetrator?
2. What inferences can be made about the characteristics of the offender that may help identify him or her?
3. Are there any other crimes that are likely to have been committed by the same person?

These questions are central to investigative psychology, and they are rapidly being addressed in the United States, Canada, Australia, The Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom is where—it is fair to say—this *scientific* approach to criminal investigation—from a psychological perspective—originated. In recent years psychologists worldwide have embraced the need to accumulate data based on empirical research in order to consult with investigators looking to solve crimes. In the United States, for example, members of the Society for Police and Criminal Psychology as well as the Police and Public Safety Section of Division 18 of the American Psychological Association conduct research relevant to investigative psychology and consult with the law enforcement community.

In this chapter, because the term profiling remains in widespread use, we will retain it in our discussion of the various forms of profiling as well as the research on its effectiveness. However, as in other published work (Bartol & Bartol, 2013, 2019), we subdivide profiling into five distinct types. It should be emphasized, though, that the investigation of crime may involve more than one of these forms. Furthermore, the forms summarized below are not equally pertinent to the topic of multiple murder.

Forms of Profiling

Profiling can be divided into five somewhat overlapping categories: (1) psychological profiling; (2) suspect-based profiling; (3) geographical profiling; (4) crime scene profiling; and (5) equivocal death analysis. Although we give attention to each type, the last is the least likely to be relevant to multiple murders. (Table 10–1 summarizes methods used on each.)

Each of these profiling methods—and the investigators who employ these methods—relies on different ways to analyze the person, the crime scene, or the incident. (See Table 10–3 later in the chapter.) Some of the profiling categories rely on either the **clinical** or **actuarial** approach. The clinical approach is *case focused* and tries to infer characteristics of an offender from the analysis of evidence gathered from a specific crime or series of crimes (Alison, West, & Goodwill, 2004). The method concentrates on the description, understanding, and identification of a *single* offender based on the material gathered on an *individual* case. It also hopes to predict if and when the offender will strike again. It is based on the premise that every case is unique, and often emphasizes discovering the motivation for the crime to obtain a basic understanding of the offender. The clinical approach relies heavily on experience and training and it is often supplemented by intuition, subjectivity, and sometimes "gut feelings."

Clinical profiling
Profiling based on experience and "gut feelings" rather than on research and statistical data.

Actuarial profiling
A procedure that employs statistical group data based on prior offenders to identify an individual offender who committed similar crimes.

By comparison, the actuarial approach concentrates on a database gathered from groups of offenders who have committed similar crimes or engaged in similar incidents. This

profiling tactic is based on how groups of offenders who have committed similar crimes have acted in the past. The accumulated data from these groups of behavioral patterns are called the **base rates**. Base rate is defined as "the unconditional, naturally occurring rate of a phenomenon in a population" (VandenBos, 2007, p. 103). If, for example, 65 out of 100 known serial killers move the body from the crime scene, the base rate would be 65. The base rate provides an estimation of how many serial killers move the bodies from the crime scene, a helpful indicator for the profiler and for criminal investigators in general

Base rate
The naturally occurring rate of a phenomenon within a given population.

Psychological Profiling

Psychological profiling is an assessment practice designed to help in the identification and prediction of behavior in known individuals. As a general concept, it is not limited to negative characteristics. For example, psychological profiling may be used to predict positive characteristics in candidates for law enforcement or even for public office (Bartol & Bartol, 2013). For our purposes, however, we focus on profiling of negative characteristics, such as those that may be associated with criminal behavior. In that sense, psychological profiling consists of two basic approaches: threat assessment and risk assessment. **Threat assessment**—which was covered in Chapter 8—is the process of determining the validity and seriousness of a threat being carried out by a person or group of persons. In most cases, the threat has already been made and is directed at a person, facility, institution, organization, or group of persons. Therefore, threat assessment might be employed in the case of a high school student who has told peers that he plans to "take out" the school, or an employee who makes threatening comments to or about fellow workers or supervisors.

Profiling
The process of identifying personality traits, behavioral tendencies, and demographic variables of an offender based on characteristics of the crime.

Threat assessment
Process of determining the likelihood and seriousness of harm carried out by a person who displayed warning signs, such as making veiled oral or written threats.

Risk assessment—also covered in Chapter 8—comes into play even if no direct threat has been made. Risk assessment is a process to evaluate "individuals who have violated social norms or displayed bizarre behavior, particularly when they appear menacing or unpredictable" (Hanson, 2009, p. 172). The primary goal of risk assessment is to estimate the probability that a particular person will harm self or others, and more importantly, to provide what can be done to prevent the harm. Not all risk assessment involves elaborate psychological profiling, however. In fact, most risk assessment does not.

Suspect-Based Profiling

Suspect-based profiling, also known as prospective profiling, refers to identifying the psychological and behavioral features of persons who may commit a particular crime, such as school violence, terrorist activities, stalking, drug trafficking, shoplifting, or skyjacking. For example, is there a "profile" of a typical school shooter? Suspect-based profiling is built on the systematic collection of behavioral, personality, cognitive, and demographic data on previous offenders who committed similar crimes. Therefore, suspect-based profiling is largely actuarial because it uses statistical methods rather than clinical skills to arrive at conclusions about who is likely to commit the crime.

Suspect-based profiling
Controversial and potentially illegal method that tries to identify an offender based on characteristics of prior offenders who have committed similar crimes.

Suspect-based profiling is often used at airports and border crossings to interdict drugs and out of concern for terrorist activities. In the wake of events of September 11, 2001, the U.S. Transportation Safety Administration trained behavioral detection officers (BDOs) to observe air passengers for behavior clues—presumably identified by systematic research—that may indicate intentions to harm or bring down aircraft. Unfortunately, this type of profiling is susceptible to **racial or ethnic profiling**. This is defined as "police-initiated action that relies on the race, ethnicity, or national origin rather than the behavior of an individual or information that leads the police to a particular individual who has been identified as being, or having been, engaged in criminal activity" (Ramirez, McDevitt, & Farrell, 2000, p. 3). Racial profiling is an illegal practice, though it is sometimes difficult to

Racial or ethnic profiling
Illegal singling out of someone (e.g., by law enforcement) solely on the basis of his or her race or ethnicity.

prove that it occurred. However, racial profiling is a practice that accounts in part for the fact that racial and ethnic minorities are disproportionately represented in arrest statistics. Furthermore, racial profiling illustrates the dangers and inaccuracies of the profiling enterprise that could affect anyone in the population. We discuss these issues in more detail in the following chapter.

Geographical Profiling

Geographical profiling is a technique that can help locate where a serial offender resides, or other geographical locations that serve as a base of operations of a serial offender, such as a bar, place of work, or significant other's home. Note that the term serial offender is not limited to the serial murderers discussed in this chapter; it can refer to burglars, rapists, or other offenders. Geographical profiling depends, in most cases, on sophisticated computer software programs that are continually developed and updated. One of the earliest such programs was called Rigel. It developed out of the work of Rossmo (1997), who pioneered a *Criminal Geographic Targeting Program* (CGT) that was subsequently incorporated into a software application known as Rigel and Rigel Analyst (Rich & Shively, 2004). The CGT generates a three-dimensional map that assigns statistical probabilities to various areas that seem to fall into the offender's territory. The three-dimensional map is then placed over a street or topographical map where the crimes have occurred. The program considers known movement patterns, possible comfort zones, and victim-searching patterns of the offender. Ultimately, the objective of the program is to pinpoint the location of the offender's residence and/or base of operations. Another popular geographic profiling package is *Crimestat*, which was developed by Ned Levine and Associates (2000, 2002) and funded by the National Institute of Justice. Still another is *Dragnet*, developed by David Canter (2008).

Geographic profiling
A type of profiling that focuses on the location of the crime and how it relates to the residence and/or base of operations of the offender.

Geographical profiling can help in any criminal investigation of an unknown offender by locating the approximate area in which the person lives, or by narrowing the surveillance and stakeouts to places where the next crime by this person is most likely to occur. The process is usually highly actuarial. This type of profiling basically tries to identify the geographical territory the offender knows well, feels most comfortable in, and prefers to find or take victims in (Rossmo, 1997). Although a *criminal* profile hypothesizes about the demographic, motivational, and psychological features of the crime and offender, a geographic profile focuses on the location of the crime and how it relates to the residence and/or base of operations of the offender. Geographical profiling is useful not only in the search for serial violent offenders but also in the search for property offenders, such as serial burglars and serial arsonists.

Crime Scene Profiling

Crime scene profiling, also called offender profiling, criminal profiling, crime scene analysis, or criminal investigative analysis, is the process of identifying personality traits, behavioral patterns, geographic habits, cognitive tendencies, and demographic features of an *unknown* offender based on *characteristics of the crime*. It can be considered a skill or an activity that is a part of the investigative psychology described earlier. Therefore, while investigative psychology is the broad application of psychological research and principles to solving crimes, crime scene profiling is the narrower activity that focuses on the traits, features, and habits of an unknown offender. Because it is highly relevant to many of the topics in the book, as well as to the material in the present chapter, crime scene profiling will be discussed in some detail here. As noted above, several terms are used interchangeably to refer to this activity, the most common being offender profiling. Descriptions or profiles of the general characteristics of a person on the basis of a limited amount of information

Crime scene profiling
One of several forms of profiling, it refers to examining features at the scene of the crime to discern characteristics of the offender. Also called offender profiling.

were used long before the FBI employed such methods (Canter & Alison, 2000). In fact, the history of crime scene profiling can be traced back to the crimes committed by Jack the Ripper, the serial killer who brutally murdered five prostitutes in separate incidents in London's East End in 1888. Although the case was never solved, the chief forensic pathologist, Dr. George Baxter Phillips, tried to help police investigators by inferring personality characteristics based on the nature of the wounds inflicted on the victims (Turvey, 2012). That is, he noticed that the wounds were inflicted with considerable skill and knowledge, suggesting that the killer had a sophisticated knowledge of human anatomy. Interestingly, the fictional detective Sherlock Holmes, first created by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in 1887, consistently employed a form of criminal profiling in his intriguing search for the offender.

Crime scene or offender profiling was developed in the United States by the **Behavioral Science Unit** of the FBI during the 1970s. During its early development, it was used primarily to provide investigative assistance to law enforcement in cases of serial homicide and serial rape (Homant & Kennedy, 1998). In 1984, the **National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC)**—located in the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia—was created and within it the **Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU)** and the **Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (ViCAP)**. Today, most of the crime scene profiling is conducted under the auspices of the BAU, although the BSU remains a separate unit that sponsors research and training, and works closely with the NCAVC. The approach to crime scene or offender profiling during its early development was clinical, but this began to change as investigators in the United States worked with and shared training opportunities with their counterparts across the globe, particularly in the Canada and the United Kingdom. Today, increasingly more profiling activity is actuarial rather than exclusively criminal.

Signature
Any behavior that goes beyond what is necessary to commit the crime. **Crime scene signature** is left deliberately by the offender. **Psychological signature** is beyond the offender's awareness.

Anything that goes beyond what is necessary to commit the crime is called the **personation** or the **signature**. For example, a serial offender may demonstrate a repetitive, almost ritualistic behavior from crime to crime, an unusual pattern that is not necessary to commit the offense. The signature may involve certain items that are left or removed from the scene, or other symbolic patterns, such as writings on a wall or mirror. If the victim is murdered, the signature may include unusual body positions or mutilations. In very rare instances, the signature may involve a "DNA torch," where the offender pours gasoline over the genital areas of the victim and sets the victim and the structure or motor vehicle on fire in an effort to destroy any evidence of sexual assault. A signature may also involve the repetitive acts of domination, manipulation, and control used by a serial rapist (Douglas & Munn, 1992b). Or it may be revealed by physical evidence found at the crime scene, such as the type of ligature used or the personal items taken from the victim by a serial rapist. The signature is often thought to be related to the unique cognitive processes of the offender and, in this sense, may be more important to an investigator than the MO. In most cases, signature behaviors often establish the theme of the crime for investigators, as they often reveal the psychological and emotional needs of the offender (Turvey, 2008).

Staging
The intentional alteration of a crime scene before the arrival of the police.

Staging refers to the intentional alteration of a crime scene prior to the arrival of the police, and it is sometimes done by someone other than the perpetrator. As Douglas and Munn (1992a) note, staging is usually done for one of two reasons: either to redirect the investigation away from the most logical suspect, or to protect the victim or the victim's family. Staging is frequently done by someone who has an association or relationship with the victim. For example, staging done by the family with the intent to protect the victim may be seen in autoerotic fatalities. **Autoeroticism**, a term coined by Havelock Ellis, refers to self-arousal and self-gratification of sexual desire without a partner.

Autoeroticism
Self-arousal and gratification of sexual desire without a partner or partners.

In some instances, the method of autoeroticism may result in the death of the individual, such as by self-strangulation or hanging. Douglas and Munn (1992a) assert that in about one-third of autoerotic fatalities, the victim is nude, and in about another one-third, the

victim is clothed in a costume, such as a male in female clothing. Under these conditions, friends or family members may alter the scene to make the victim more "presentable" to the authorities. In some instances, they may even stage a criminal homicide, including ransacking the house or specific rooms to give the impression of a burglary gone wrong.

An offender also may engage in **undoing**, a behavioral pattern found at the scene in which the offender tries to psychologically "undo" the murder. For example, the offender may wash and dress the victim, or place the body on a bed, placing the head on a pillow and covering the body with blankets. This pattern typically occurs in those who become especially distraught about the death of the victim. Very often, the offender has a close association with the victim. In other cases, there may be an effort to dehumanize the victim by engaging in actions that obscure the victim's identity, such as excessive facial battery. Others may employ more subtle acts of dehumanization, such as covering the victim's face with some material or object, or placing the victim facedown. Note that the difference between undoing and staging is the reason behind the action; in staging, the offender or someone else is trying to alter the crime scene in order to divert suspicion. In the classic case, the offender wipes fingerprints from a weapon and positions it close to the body in such a way that a death looks like a suicide.

Undoing
A behavioral pattern found at the crime scene whereby the offender tries to psychologically "undo" the murder.

Crime scenes and offenders are also sometimes classified as **organized**, **disorganized**, or **mixed**, divisions first proposed by early FBI profilers (Douglas, Ressler, Burgess, & Hartman, 1986). Organized offenders were said to be of higher intelligence, more socially and sexually competent, and even of a higher birth order (first borns compared to later borns) than disorganized offenders. These and other characteristics were developed on the basis of clinical work with offenders. Similar distinctions were made with respect to the crime scene itself. An **organized crime scene** indicated planning and premeditation on the part of the offender. In crimes against persons, such as murders and rapes, the organized crime scene showed signs that the offender maintained control of himself and the victim. Often, the victim was moved from the abduction area to another more secluded area, and perhaps the body was moved to still another area after death. By contrast, the disorganized crime scene suggested that the person had not planned the crime, often committed out of rage, impulse, or uncontrolled excitement. Although organized, disorganized, and mixed crime scenes continue to be referenced by some profilers, subsequent and more sophisticated research does not support these simplistic divisions, nor does it support characteristics attributed to organized and disorganized offenders.

Organized crime scene
Indicates planning and premeditation on the part of the offender. In other words, the crime scene shows signs that the offender maintained control of himself or herself and of the victim, if it is a crime against a person.

Disorganized crime scene
Demonstrates that the offender committed the crime without careful planning. In other words, the crime scene indicators suggest the person acted on impulse, in rage, or under extreme excitement.

Mixed crime scene
Indicates that the nature of the crime demonstrates both organized and disorganized behavioral patterns.

In sum, the organized–disorganized classification system appears to have very limited usefulness as an investigative tool (Canter, Alison, Alison, & Wentink, 2004; Kocsis, Cooksey, & Irwin, 2002). For instance, research has shown that many—if not most—offenders display behavior characteristics of both organized and disorganized in the same offense (Canter et al., 2004; Taylor, Snook, Bennell, & Porter, 2015). Snook, Cullen, Bennell, Taylor, and Gendreau (2008) assert that, at this point, there is no convincing evidence to support the dichotomies. Furthermore, as will be noted below, profilers prefer to develop several subsets of offenders for various crimes, including homicide. The problem remains, however, that these subsets themselves have not been sufficiently evaluated with respect to their reliability and validity.

Although the organized/disorganized classification is not supported, crime scene or offender profiling in general is utilized by police agencies across the world (Fox & Farrington, 2018; Snook et al., 2008). Many police investigators and detectives indicate they find it useful in their investigations of certain crime. In one survey reported by Snook et al. (2008), 8 out of 10 police officers in the United Kingdom found such profiling helpful in their investigations and said they would seek profiling help again. In an exploratory Internet survey of forensic psychologists and psychiatrists, Torres, Boccaccini, and Miller (2006) found that 40% of these professionals thought that criminal profiling was scientifically reliable and

valid. These perceptions are not always supported by the research, but in more recent years some approaches have been evaluated positively (Fox & Farrington, 2018) as we see below.

Profiling originally seemed to be particularly useful in serial sexual offenses, such as serial rape and serial sexual homicides (Pinizzotto & Finkel, 1990). This is because there was a more extensive research base on sexual offending than on other crimes. Over the last 20 years, however, profiling has been extended to other crimes, including nonsexual homicides, burglary, arson, robbery, bank fraud, and motor vehicle theft.

Research on Crime Scene Profiling Until the end of the 20th century, very little published research on the utility, reliability, and validity of crime scene profiling in general was available (Alison, Smith, & Morgan, 2003; Woodworth & Porter, 2001). Gradually, profilers wrote books about their work (e.g., Douglas & Olshaker 1995), and conceptual and descriptive articles appeared in journals. Around the turn of the century, increasingly more peer-reviewed publications began to appear. In the early 2000s, several groups of researchers published systematic reviews of the profiling literature (Bennell et al., 2013; Dowden et al., 2007; Snook et al., 2007). Most recently, Fox and Farrington (2018) reviewed 421 publications on offender profiling from 1976 through 2016. They found significant improvements in the scientific rigor of the studies but noted there was still a lack of evaluation of the effectiveness of offender profiling.

Despite media portrayals of highly successful and probing profilers employing sophisticated techniques and thoughtful strategies for identifying the offender, reality is far more sobering. Contemporary scholars (Alison, Bennell, Ormerod, & Mokros, 2002; Alison & Canter, 1999; Fox & Farrington, 2018; Snook et al., 2008) remain cautious about the validity of profiling and the extent to which it is effective in investigating. They note, for example, that there is no uniformity in the terminology or the methods used. Some methods are clinical and "hunch-based," though the hunches may be anchored in years of experience, while other methods are more statistical and based on multiple sources of data. Moreover, there are few limitations on who can call themselves profilers. Offender profiling is thus far primarily an investigative tool, but profilers are sometimes called in to testify in courts. When that occurs, they often face daunting questions, because profiling is not sufficiently established as a science to meet criteria outlined in the predominant standard for assessing scientific testimony in the courtroom.

The above said, some forms of offender profiling are regarded with more favor than others. One form of offender profiling—**case linkage analysis (CLA)**—has gained positive reviews. This is the approach that ties one individual to two or more similar crimes. It is done with the help of sophisticated databases that allow investigators to scan for similarities in crimes like murder, burglary, sexual assaults, robbery, arson, and motor vehicle theft, sometime across wide geographic areas. Researchers have found linkage analysis to be a promising profiling approach, though one needing continuing investigation (Bennell, Mugford, Ellingwood, & Woodhams, 2014; Fox & Farrington, 2018).

In general, however, there are two basic flaws in much modern-day profiling (Alison et al., 2002; Snook et al., 2008). One flaw is the assumption that human behavior is *consistent* across a variety of *different* situations. The other flaw is the assumption that offense style or evidence gathered at the crime scene is directly related to specific personality characteristics. Psychology has consistently found that behavior varies according to situations or the social context, especially if the social contexts are significantly different. Moreover, there is little empirical data that link crime scene characteristics to personality or other psychological features of the offender. Snook et al. (2008) write,

> Criminal profilers do not seem to recognize that a consensus began to emerge in the psychological literature some 40 years ago that to rely on traits or personality dispositions as the primary explanation for behavior was a serious mistake. Situational factors contribute as much as personality dispositions to the prediction of behavior. (p. 1261)

Interestingly, in the Fox and Farrington (2018) systematic review of the offender profiling (OP) literature, profiles based on traits were frequently encountered. Perhaps more significantly, though, there was wide variation in the profile types, even within the same crime. Most crimes studied had subtypes. For example, studies of homicide identified from two to six subtypes, with four as the modal number. Studies of arson ranged from 2 to 10 subtypes. Four profiles of burglary emerged from the research. Nevertheless, there was little consistency in the labels used across the various studies. "Although dozens of profiles have been developed for various offenses, no analysis has been conducted to determine the specific recurring themes or profiles [that] exist within the body of publications on OP" (Fox & Farrington, 2018, p. 1260).

There are other problems with profiling as well. Some studies point out that a large proportion of the conclusions and predictions contained within the profile reports given to investigators are both ambiguous and unverifiable (Alison, Smith, Eastman, & Rainbow, 2003; Alison, Smith, & Morgan, 2003; Snook, Eastwood, Gendreau, Goggin, & Cullen, 2007). Many of the statements are so vague that they are open to a wide range of interpretations. Compounding the problem is the tendency for police investigators to interpret the ambiguous information contained within the profile report to fit their own biases and hunches about the case or the suspect. They select those aspects of the report that they see as fitting their own cognitive sketch of the suspect while ignoring the conclusions and predictions in the report that do not fit. This powerful tendency is known in psychology as **confirmation bias**. We are all subject to confirmation bias to some extent, but being aware of it may lessen its impact.

Confirmation bias
Seeking evidence to confirm one's own preconceived notions about a person or situation.

Contemporary Perspectives on Crime Scene or Offender Profiling To summarize the above material, crime scene profiling is not about entering "the evil mind of the serial offender." The primary goal of a professional profiler is to provide information to investigators and law enforcement that is based on solid behavioral science (Rainbow & Gregory, 2011). Profilers are expected to offer advice and information that is based on empirical research on criminal behavior and up-to-date psychological principles. Recent research on profiling finds that it is more helpful to investigators if the profiler focuses on discovering how victims are chosen, how they are treated, the distance and routes traveled by the offender, and the nature of the forensic evidence left at the crime scene, especially if the evidence is unknowingly left by the offender. For example, there is a difference between a **crime-scene signature** and a **psychological signature** (Bartol & Bartol, 2013). As described earlier, a serial offender may demonstrate a repetitive, distinguishing behavior from crime to crime, an unusual pattern that is not necessary to commit the offense. The offender *intentionally* engages in this behavioral pattern to leave behind his or her trademark, the crime-scene signature. However, there is also a psychological signature left at the scene, which represents a habitual or repetitive behavioral pattern that an offender unknowingly leaves behind. A psychological signature is subtle but distinctive ways of speaking, thinking, behaving, and even problem solving *beyond the person's awareness*. It is the psychological signature that potentially provides important keys to linking crimes and identifying aspects about the offending that ultimately may be helpful to investigators.

David Canter and his associates (Canter, 2000a, 2000b) believe that an offender's style of committing a crime is a reflection of the offender's general lifestyle, not some special, unusual aspect of it. For example, how the offender treats the victim provides critical clues for the profiling process. That is, the manner in which the victim is treated and the role the offender assigns to the victim provide a distinctive pattern of how he treats others in his daily life. Offender actions that exhibit a distinctive theme and that are relatively unusual will provide the best clues for differentiating this crime from those crimes committed by other

offenders. More specifically, it is far more helpful to investigators if the offender's behavioral patterns differ from the broad database committed by other offenders who have committed similar crimes. Before this is possible, however, there must be a significant and systematic database of similar offender behavioral patterns. Some of the distinguishing clues are so subtle, however, that their identification takes a very skillful and knowledgeable profiler or investigator to discover them. Furthermore, there should be some consistencies in the manner in which the offender carries out the crime from one incident to another, regardless of how indistinguishable it seems at first glance. And the consistencies may or may not be found in the modus operandi.

In summary, much more research needs to be done on profiling accuracy, usefulness, and processing before any tentative conclusions can be advanced in the area. Some positive steps have been taken in that direction in recent years. Contrary to popular perceptions, crime scene profiling is not and should not be restricted to serial murder and serial sexual assaults. It has considerable potential value when applied competently to crimes such as arson, burglary, shoplifting, and robbery. Contemporary research has found situational factors to be critically important in profiling and predicting criminal behavior. Bennell and Canter (2002) and Bennell and Jones (2005) report in their studies of commercial and residential burglary that a high level of consistency exists for crime site selection choices. They found, for instance, that the distance between two crime locations was a very effective linking feature in that shorter distances between burglaries reliably signaled an increased likelihood that the same person committed the burglaries. Method of entry and items stolen, on the other hand, were not useful as profile indicators. The Bennell research demonstrates that some subsets of behavior do reveal consistent criminal patterns and may be very useful in the development of empirically based profiling methods and typologies.

Equivocal Death Analysis

Reconstructive psychological evaluation (RPE)
Reconstruction of the personality profile and cognitive features (especially intentions) of deceased individuals. Also referred to as **psychological autopsy** or **equivocal death analysis**.

Psychological autopsy
Postmortem analysis often reserved for cases in which suicide occurred or is suspected or alleged. The psychological autopsy is frequently done to determine the reasons and precipitating factors for the death.

Equivocal death analysis, also called **reconstructive psychological evaluation**, is the reconstruction of the emotional life, behavioral patterns, and cognitive features of a deceased person. In this sense, it is a postmortem psychological analysis and therefore is frequently referred to simply as a **psychological autopsy** (Brent, 1989; Ebert, 1987; Selkin, 1987). The psychological autopsy was first used to help medical officials determine the cause of deaths that were classified as ambiguous, uncertain, or equivocal (Shneidman, 1994). Today, equivocal death analysis or the psychological autopsy is most often done to determine whether the death was a suicide, and if it was a suicide, the reasons why the person did it. In other words, the individual conducting the autopsy tries to "reconstruct" what was in the mind of the decedent. In practice, equivocal death analysis usually relies on both clinical and actuarial approaches, depending on the investigator.

EDA is only peripherally relevant to the subject of this chapter. It is usually relevant in the case of *single* murders, if there is question whether an individual committed suicide or was murdered. In some mass death situations, however, psychological autopsies have been conducted on individuals who also died in the incident in an effort to attribute blame or to identify factors that might help in the prevention of future offenses.

Psychological autopsies have yet to gain widespread acceptance among mental health practitioners and researchers, however. A noteworthy illustration is the aftermath of the explosion aboard the USS Iowa in 1989, which caused the death of 47 naval personnel. There was a question whether the explosion was accidental or had been deliberately caused by a midshipman who was said to have been despondent and purposefully set off a detonation device. A psychological autopsy was conducted, and it was initially concluded that he had committed suicide, taking 46 others with him. Congressional committees, however, heard testimony from other psychologists who expressed concerns about the validity of the

TABLE 10–1 Summary of Primary Investigative Methods used by Five Types of Profiling

Type of Profiling	Primary Investigative Methods
Crime scene or offender	Information from the scene of the crime, interviews with victims and witnesses. Comparison of crime features with similar crimes in large databases (linkage analysis)
Psychological	Risk and threat assessment methods and procedures
Geographical	Computer models of typical spatial behavioral patterns of offenders
Suspect-based	Base-rate information of previous offenders
Equivocal death analysis	Interviews and background information; reviews of records and documents

psychological autopsy as a procedure. Ultimately, it was determined that the midshipman was not to blame for the unfortunate incident.

In sum, the psychological autopsy involves the discovery and reconstruction of a deceased person's life based on the evidence left behind by that person. It is an investigation that entails revisiting the person's lifestyle, thought processes, and recent emotional and behavioral patterns before death. It can be valuable in various forensic situations and circumstances, including insurance benefit determinations, worker's compensation cases, testamentary capacity cases, product liability determinations, malpractice cases, and criminal investigations. Its importance in criminal investigations refers to determinations of whether a person's death was due to a homicide, an accident, or suicide.

The reliability and validity of the psychological autopsy, however, has yet to be demonstrated and remains open to debate, although progress is being made, especially pertaining to attempts to standardize how these autopsies are conducted (Knoll, 2008, 2009; Portzky, Audenaert, & van Heeringen, 2009; Snider, Hane, & Berman, 2006). At this point in our knowledge, the quality of the psychological autopsy depends largely on the training, knowledge, experience, and clinical orientation of the investigator (Knoll, 2008).

In summary, the five types of profiling discussed in this section can be extremely helpful to law enforcement investigating crimes, including those discussed in this chapter. In addition, the profiling enterprise can be useful in formulating and testing theories of criminal behavior. However, caution is urged before accepting uncritically any form of profiling, as the above research demonstrates.

Multiple Murders

One of the most frightening and perhaps incomprehensible types of homicide is the random killing of groups of people, either in one episode (mass murders) or individually over a period of time (serial murders). Although multiple murders are still rare compared to all criminal homicides, when they do happen, they cannot escape attention, and they remain etched in the public consciousness. Most readers of this text will have heard of the slaughters at Columbine, Sandy Hook, Virginia Tech, Parkland, Oklahoma City, Harvest Festival in Las Vegas, Pulse Nightclub, First Baptist Church in Texas, Aurora, Fort Hood, Virginia Beach, El Paso, and Dayton, among others. Other cases, though decades old, may still be familiar. The murder of 21 patrons at a McDonald's restaurant in San Ysidro, California, in July 1984, and the murders of 22 patrons at Luby's Cafeteria in Killeen, Texas, on October 16, 1991 are cases in point.

Multiple murders also occur outside the United States. One of the most chilling happened in Norway in 2011, when Anders Breivic killed 77 people in a bombing and gun rampage. Eight were killed by a bomb he planted in Oslo, while 69 were teens and young adults at a Youth Labor Camp on an island. Breivik admitted his actions but refused to plead guilty, claiming that he was defending his country against Muslim immigration and

European liberalism. Breivik was convicted and sentenced to serve the maximum sentence of 21 years in the Norwegian prison system. At the end of this time, however, his sentence could be extended if he is deemed a danger to society.

Most recently, in March 2019, 50 people were killed and over 40 were wounded within and outside of two mosques in New Zealand. The alleged shooter, who pleaded not guilty in June of that year and was scheduled for trial in 2020, was a self-described white nationalist who had posted an online lengthy manifesto expressing anti-immigrant sentiments shortly before the incidents. In addition, he apparently wore a body camera and was able to stream the attacks on live video before the social media platforms removed them. Attacks by white nationalists, which are increasing both in the United States and worldwide, will be discussed as illustrations of domestic and international terrorism in Chapter 13.

Serial killings—where one individual carries out a series of murders over an extended period of time—are equally horrifying. Many people still recall the planned, separate murders of 33 young men and boys whose bodies were found in the cellar of the suburban Chicago home of John Wayne Gacy during the late 1970s. Between 1978 and 1991, Jeffrey Dahmer lured at least 17 boys and young men into his apartment in Milwaukee, where he drugged, killed, and dismembered them. The public was shocked to learn the details of how Dahmer ate the victims' flesh and had sex with the corpses. Other notorious serial murderers include David Berkowitz, known as the infamous Son of Sam; Kenneth Bianci, the Hillside Strangler; Albert DeSalvo, believed to be the Boston Strangler (although this has never been confirmed); Gary Ridgeway, the Green River Killer; Elaine Wuornos, one of the few female serial killers to have been identified and put to death; Donald Harvey, the nursing-care killer; Dennis Rader, the BTK killer; and Theodore Bundy. Most recently, Samuel Little was confirmed as the nation's most prolific serial killer. He confessed to committing 93 murders between 1970 and 2005 across the continental United States.

In the late 1970s, a man described as the East Area Rapist and Golden State Killer terrorized residents in three California counties. He was believed responsible for about a dozen murders and 50 rapes. Some 40 years later, in 2019, a 72-year-old man was arrested and charged with eight of these murders. Interestingly, evidence obtained from DNA data banks helped uncover the suspect (Selk, 2018). In a separate case also some 40 years later, the mayor of Atlanta, Georgia, ordered the reopening of the investigation into the deaths of some two dozen children, most of whom were African Americans. Again, DNA evidence will likely be available, as it was in many other cases solved many years after the crime (Selk, 2018).

These are but illustrations of tragic incidences that occurred—sometimes over a short period of time. As can be seen from the above examples, however, some of which will be discussed in more detail below, not all multiple murders can be categorized in the same way.

Definitions

Serial murder
Incidents in which an individual (or individuals) kill a number of individuals (usually a minimum of three) over time.

Serial murder is usually reserved for incidents in which an individual (or individuals) kills a number of victims in separate events. Criminologists and other researchers have traditionally thought of the number of victims as three or more. However, in 2005, the FBI lowered the threshold and defined a serial killer as one who has killed two or more individuals in separate events. The FBI argued that the lower number of victims allowed law enforcement more flexibility in committing resources to a potential serial murder investigation (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005a). Some researchers have demonstrated that the three-victim threshold should have been maintained, because there are significant differences between individuals who kill two victims and those who kill three or more (Fridel & Fox, 2018). In fact, Fridel and Fox also found differences between those who kill three to seven and those who kill eight or more. (See Box 10–1 for more description of this study.)

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 10–1 SERIAL KILLERS—THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS MATTERS

Research on serial killers has presented many challenges, as indicated in the chapter. First, scholars have recommended using various definitions of a serial killer, with some even excluding killers whose victims were relatives or acquaintances. Other scholars believed cooling off periods must be at least a week, and some considered spree killers to be serial killers. Perhaps the greatest debate has focused on the number of the killer's victims. This debate has been particularly intense following the change in the FBI's definition, down to two victims from the previous three.

Fridel and Fox (2018) wanted to examine whether significant differences existed between killers on the basis of the number of their victims. Using data from a widely respected database on serial offenders maintained at Radford University in Virginia (Aamodt, 2016), Fridel and Fox studied 2,275 male repeat killers who were each implicated in two or more homicides, with their first kill occurring during the 1970s or later.

Results of the analysis confirmed conventional wisdom about serial offenders as a group. For example, most were older than 25 at the time of their first kill, they killed alone, and those with the greatest number of victims were white. Contrary to the stereotyped view of serial killers, most did not rape or torture their victims, nor did they take souvenirs. The most common motives were enjoyment (for the fun of killing) or financial gain.

However, Fridel and Fox found enough significant differences to divide the killers into three distinct groups: those who killed two victims, those who killed three to seven (whom the researchers termed the typical serial killers), and the deadliest killers who had eight or more victims.

Two-victim killers differed significantly from the other groups in terms of partnership, torture, motive, and totem-taking. Killers with eight or more victims—the most lethal and rarest group—were the most likely to kill for enjoyment, convenience, torture, take totems, and kill with partners. For example, 17.6% of the most lethal group took souvenirs compared to 2.1% of the two-victim group and 4.9% of the group with three to seven victims. Almost one-third of the lethal group (29.1%) had partners, whereas 12% and 16.3% of the other two groups, respectively, had partners. In the most lethal group, 21.3% tortured their victims, whereas 5.9% of the two-victim group and 11.3% of the group with three to seven victims did so.

Fridel and Fox concluded by advocating that, for better communication and for consistency in conducting research, law enforcement and scholars alike revert to defining a serial killer as having at least three victims. However, they also recognized that there may be law enforcement advantages to keeping the two-victim definition. Furthermore, they called for more research on the cooling-off period and acknowledged that their results could not be generalized to female serial killers or those outside the United States.

Questions for Discussion

1. Which if any of the above-reported results is surprising?
2. Fridel and Fox explained why they did not include female serial killers in their study. What might those explanations be? Based on information in the chapter, was this justified?
3. The researchers labeled their three groups *potential serial killers*, *typical serial killers*, and *prolific serial killers*. Comment on each of these labels. Given differences found between the two-victim killers and the other two groups, why would the two-victim killers be labeled as potential serial killers?
4. From a law enforcement perspective, what is the advantage of shifting the definition of serial murder to comprise at least two victims in separate incidents rather than at least three? Are there disadvantages? ■

There are also other problems created by alternative views and definitions of serial killers. As Fridel and Fox (2018) state, citing several recent scholars, "The lack of consensus on a definition for serial homicide has impeded research, hampered communication among scholars and practitioners, prevented the development of accurate statistics on incidence and prevalence, and generally muddied the meaning of the construct" (p. 505). We keep this in mind as we review material below; information about serial killers is incomplete and in some cases may be misleading.

The time interval between serial murders—sometimes referred to as the cooling-off period—may be days or weeks, but it is more likely months or years. Even this time interval raises questions. Is the person who kills someone at age 23, then two more people at age 45, a serial killer? What about the person who kills three people within a period of 2 weeks but never kills again? The cooling-off period is the main difference between serial murders and other multiple murders, but as illustrated, it is not clear cut. The murders are premeditated and planned—as are almost all mass murders—and the offender usually selects victims with specific characteristics, such as age, certain hair color, or occupation.

Spree murder
The killing of three or more individuals without any cooling-off period, usually at two or more locations.

Another term, **spree murder**, is sometimes used to refer to the killing of three or more individuals without any cooling-off period, usually at two or more locations. A bank robber who kills some individuals within the bank, flees with hostages, and kills a number of people while in flight during a statewide chase would be an example of a spree murderer. However, some experts are not convinced that spree murder represents a meaningful separate category of multiple murder (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005a). This is understandable; some murders that would be characterized as spree share characteristics of serial murders; others seem to be more like mass murders, without the single location. Essentially, the spree-murder designation does not provide any real benefit to law enforcement or to psychological study.

Mass murder
The unlawful killing of three or more persons at a single location with no cooling-off period between murders.

Mass murder involves killing four or more persons at a single location with no cooling-off period between murders. Some experts say three or more. Despite the many examples cited in this chapter, it is relatively rare, occurring in less than 1% of the thousands of incidents of homicide committed every year (Levin, 2014). Nevertheless, mass murders have increased in the United States over the past 30 years, a fact that is often attributed to the widespread availability of guns, especially assault weapons, as noted in previous chapters. There are various kinds of mass murder, including those sponsored by some governmental authority, such as genocide designed to exterminate large groups of people, often on the basis of religion or ethnicity. Another type is mass murder by terrorists, such as associated with the incidents of September 11, 2001. Persons who associate themselves with terrorist groups are also responsible for some mass murders, such as the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 and the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013. Mass murder committed by terrorists—international and domestic—will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

In the following sections we will focus more specifically on the separate categories of multiple murders that have received the most research attention. These are serial murders and mass murders.

Serial Murders

It is believed that the number of serial murders decreased in the United States over the years 1970–2009 (Quinet, 2011). Nevertheless, some have estimated that there are about 35–40 serial murderers active at any given point in the United States (Hickey, 2006; Jenkins, 1988). Realistically, though, there are no accurate data on the prevalence and number of serial murderers active at any one time in the United States or internationally (Brantley & Kosky, 2005), and as noted by Fridel and Fox (2018), scholarly research in this area is challenging to conduct.

It is equally difficult to estimate the annual number of serial murder victims. Many serial offenders are adept at hiding their victims, and some inflate the number of their victims. Gary Ridgway, the Green River Killer, confessed to killing 48 women, and he skillfully hid their bodies. The long-haul truck driver Keith Hunter Jesperson, known as the Happy Face Killer because of the smiley face he drew on his many letters to the media, claimed to have killed 160 persons in multiple states, although he later recanted these assertions. He took great pride in the fact that he had been killing for over a year before any of the bodies were discovered (Quinet, 2007). Recall that the Golden State Killer may have been responsible for as many as a dozen murders, though he was initially charged with eight. As mentioned, Samuel Little, another serial killer, confessed to 93 murders. FBI analysts believe that Little's confessions were credible (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2019).

Estimating the number of victims is also difficult because, in some criminal homicides, a serial killer may not be suspected. To illustrate, Jenkins (1993) provides the case of Calvin Jackson, who was arrested in 1974 for murder committed in a New York apartment building. Actually, Jackson was a serial murderer, but none of his victims led the police to suspect a serial killer. Jackson's killings took place in a single-occupancy hotel where the guests were poor, socially isolated, largely forgotten, and mostly elderly. Time after time, the police were called to the hotel to deal with cases of death or injury that were apparently attributed to alcohol, drugs, or old age. When foul play was suspected, the police never considered it the work of a serial murderer, because the victims did not fit the stereotypic profile. Since there was no evidence of grotesque sexual abuse of the victim (the victim stereotype at that time), there was little reason for the police to entertain the possibility of a serial murderer. Other serial murderers may set up situations where murders resemble drug-related homicides. Finally, murders or other serious crimes in different states—or even different regions within a state—may not be linked unless law enforcement is sharing information. This linkage is more likely to occur today with the advent of computerized systems that allow the sharing of resources and data for solving serious crimes.

Choice of Victims and *Modus Operandi*

Serial killers generally select victims based on availability, vulnerability, and desirability (Morton & Hilts, 2005). *Availability* refers to the lifestyle of the victim or the circumstances in which the victim is involved. In other words, the victim lives a lifestyle that provides many opportunities to be abducted or not missed. In some cases, a victim's disappearance is not noticed; in other cases, they are given up as runaways or adults who have left of their own volition. An examination of the victim selection of known serial murderers reveals that killers prefer the group of people offering easy access, transience, and a tendency to disappear without seeming to cause much alarm or concern. Victims are often sex workers, street runaways, young male drifters, and itinerant farm workers.

Vulnerability pertains to the degree to which victim is susceptible to attack by the offender. Basically, the serial killer sees them as easy prey. Young women in or near a university or college campus or the elderly and solitary poor are examples. Serial murderers rarely break in and kill strangers in their homes. An exception was the Florida killer executed in 2019; he answered classified ads offering items for sale. When he appeared at a home to view or purchase the item, he then raped and killed young women who answered the door, if they were alone in the home. Although serial killers begin their murderous careers by selecting highly vulnerable victims, however, they may, as their killings continue, gain substantially more confidence in their ability to abduct more "challenging" victims.

Desirability refers to the appeal of the victim to the offender; it may involve such victim characteristics as race, gender, ethnicity, age, occupation, hair color, sexual appeal, or other specific features preferred by the offender. It should be emphasized that not all serial killers

are sexually motivated—in fact, most are not. Many other motivations prompt them to kill, such as the thrill of committing the action, financial gain, or attention seeking. In their recent analysis, Fridel and Fox (2018) confirmed that rape was not common in their sample of serial murderers and that the primary motivations were the thrill of killing and financial gain. Michael Swango, a former U.S. Marine, ambulance worker, and licensed physician, was suspected of poisoning at least 35 and up to 60 patients and colleagues over a period spanning many years. Labeled "Doctor of Death," Swango was convicted of only four of his murders. He was sentenced to three consecutive life terms without possibility of parole and is serving his sentence in the high security federal prison (ADX) in Florence, Colorado. Swango's motivation for the murders was never fully identified, but sexual motivation did not seem to be a factor. He kept a scrap book filled with newspaper and magazine clippings about natural disasters in which many people were killed and also kept a notebook in which he described the joy and thrill he felt during his killings.

Serial killers also may target their victims out of anger or hatred, particularly if they disapprove of the victim on the basis of their gender, sexual orientation, race, or ethnicity, although data are extremely limited in this regard. Bruce McArthur, a serial killer in Toronto, chose gay men as victims. In January 2019 he pleaded guilty to killing eight victims over a period of seven years. Arthur Shawcross, who died in 2008, had 14 victims in western New York state, most of whom were women he believed to be prostitutes.

Although serial killers are similar in some background characteristics to the single-victim killers discussed in the previous chapter, there are notable differences in the victims they choose and their method of committing the crimes. Single-victim offenders often kill out of anger or lack of control stemming from interpersonal conflict, whereas serial killers often murder in accordance with a carefully thought-out plan. The murder is typically not precipitated by an interpersonal conflict. The victims of single-victim murderers are most often family, friends, and acquaintances; alternately, they are killed in the process of committing another crime, such as a robbery. Serial murderers most often kill strangers with no apparent consensual relationship between the offender and the victim, and the killing itself is the perpetrator's main goal. Nevertheless, serial killers have been known to kill relatives and acquaintances. In addition, they do sometimes lure their victims into their vehicles or homes, such as by offering rides or promising money to juvenile transients in exchange for sexual favors. The lack of a previous relationship in most serial murders, compared with single murders, makes identifying suspects especially difficult.

The preferred method of killing also is often different for the two groups. Serial offenders tend to prefer more hands-on killing through strangulation or beating with hands or feet, while single-victim offenders as well as mass victim offenders prefer firearms (Kraemer, Lord, & Heilbrun, 2004). Serial homicide offenders also exhibit more planning by moving the victim or body from one location to another, by using restraints, and by disposing of the body in a remote location (Kraemer et al., 2004). Single-victim offenders tend to be much less skillful in disposing of the body.

Geographical Location of Serial Killing

Most serial killers have specific preferences for the location of their killings. They frequently commit their crimes within comfort zones that are often defined by an anchor point, such as their residence, employment, or the residence of a relative. Geographical profiling data continue to support this observation. Very few serial murderers travel interstate to kill (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005a). Those that do travel interstate for their murders are often truck drivers, those in military service, transients, or itinerant individuals who move from place to place. Hickey (1997) estimates that 14% of serial killers use their homes or workplaces as the preferred location, whereas another 52% commit their

murders in the same general location or region, such as the same neighborhood or city. This tendency suggests that geographical profiling may be an invaluable aid in the identification of serial killers.

Rossmo (1997) developed an interesting typology based on the *modus operandi* of serial killers and serial rapists he studied. Rossmo identified four "hunting patterns" they use in their search for victims: (1) hunter, (2) poacher, (3) troller, and (4) trapper. "Hunters are those criminals who specifically set out from their residence to look for victims, searching through the areas in their awareness space that they believe contain suitable targets" (Rossmo, 1997, p. 167). The hunters are geographically stable in that their crimes usually occur near the offender's residence or neighborhood. Poachers are more transient, traveling some distance from their neighborhood in their search for suitable victims. The troller, on the other hand, does not specifically search for victims but depends on random encounters during the course of other activities. The trapper creates situations (traps) to entice victims to come to him. Beauregard et al. (2007) studied 72 serial sex offenders and did find some support for Rossmo's hunting patterns. To date, however, the typology will require more research before we can confirm or disconfirm its validity. In keeping with our discussion of profiling at the beginning of the chapter, investigators may find Rossmo's typologies helpful to their work, but caution is urged because an offender might not fit the patterns that are described.

Risk Factors and Psychological Motives

A frequent question asked is: What risk factors predispose a person to become a serial murderer? Serial murderers like all human beings are products of their genetic makeup, their upbringing, their social environment, and ultimately the developmental path that circumstances lead them to take. There is no single identifiable causal factor in the development of a serial killer. As we have discussed throughout the book, criminal behavior develops from a complicated mixture of various factors and influences. The same factors and influences that lead to violence very likely play a significant role in serial homicide, although others are certainly added. For example, and as noted above, the motives of many serial killers appear to be based on some combination of psychological rewards, such as control, domination, the thrill of killing, and media attention. However, financial gain was a motive in a significant number of serial killings studied by Fridel and Fox (2018), and it is often a motive for female serial killers, as will be noted below. Their actions are predictably planned, organized, and purposeful, and they seem to take delight in playing games with the law enforcement community and the public at large.

Many serial homicide offenders are especially drawn to committing murders that attract media interest, send spine-chilling fear into the community, and are incomprehensible to the public. Keith Hunter Jesperson apparently became so irritated that his killings were not highly publicized that he began writing letters to the media in 1994, signing his letters with a smiling happy face and thus earning the nickname the Happy Face Killer. Dennis Rader, who could be classified as both a serial and a mass murderer, also sent letters to police and newspapers. In his communications, he suggested a number of names for himself; one that eventually stuck was BTK, an acronym for "bind, torture and kill." The Florida killer executed in 2019 was named the classified ad killer, because of his previously noted method of replying to ads for items for sale. We acknowledge that some readers may object to giving "nicknames" to killers and perpetuating those nicknames as we do here. Doing so seems to play into what the killer hoped to accomplish—that is, gain notoriety.

The evidence does not support any notion that serial killers kill on the basis of some compulsion or irresistible urge. Rather, the murder appears to be more a result of opportunity and the random availability of a suitable victim. It is a mistake, therefore, to assume

that serial murderers are people with serious mental disorders according to traditional clinical or psychiatric standards. Some are, but most are not.

Nor should it be assumed that serial killers are social misfits who have trouble fitting into the local community. Swango, though not a highly successful physician, was able to procure employment with various medical facilities across the country. Dennis Rader was married for 33 years, had two children, and was a Boy Scout leader. He was a long-time and dedicated church member who had held elected office in his church council. He was employed as a local government official and served on several community boards. Gary Ridgeway read the Bible at work and tried to save others by talking about religion with coworkers. He liked to hunt, fish, work around the yard, and take trips with his wife in their RV. He had been married three times, had a son, and was married at the time of his arrest. He worked as a truck painter for a company for 32 years. Robert Lee Yates, Jr., worked as a corrections officer in the state Penitentiary in Walla Walla, Washington, and was a well-decorated helicopter pilot during his 19 years of military service. None of these killers stood out as someone considered dangerous, and when their crimes were discovered many who knew them were shocked. The accused Golden State Killer had been a police officer for a short period of time, then worked steadily over a near-40-year period. He was married and divorced, and lived with a daughter and granddaughter at the time of his capture. A fellow worker described him as a "regular Joe," but said he never smiled.

Serial killers have developed versions of the world that facilitate repetitive murder, often in a brutal, demeaning, and cold-blooded manner, but again it is stressed that they are not necessarily seriously mentally disordered in the clinical use of this term. This is a difficult concept to comprehend, because most of us are probably attuned to believe that anyone who kills in this manner "must be crazy." However, a vast majority of serial killers fail to qualify as seriously mentally disordered in the traditional diagnostic categories of mental disorders discussed in Chapter 8.

As a group—and there are always exceptions—they would not be diagnosed paranoid schizophrenic, delusional, psychotic, or seriously depressed, for example. However, some would likely qualify as having "antisocial personality disorder," a category that includes many features of psychopathy, which was discussed in Chapter 7.

Female Serial Killers

Although female serial killers are rare compared with male serial killers, close to at least three dozen have been identified in U.S. history. Hickey (1991) listed 34 documented female serial murderers, with 82% of them acting after 1900.

The research is consistent in highlighting discernible differences between female and male serial murderers (Fox & Farrington, 2018). For example, only about one-third of the female offenders killed strangers, in contrast to male offenders who almost exclusively killed strangers, though killing of acquaintances or relatives still happens. Harrison and her colleagues (2015) studied the backgrounds, motive, methods, and mental status of 64 female serial killers active in the United States between the years 1821 and 2008. The victims they targeted had little chance of fighting back—they were typically children, persons who were older, or person who were disabled. Interestingly, the available research indicates that female serial murderers are active longer than the typical male counterpart, averaging around 8 to 11 years (Farrell, Keppel, & Titterington, 2011; Kelleher & Kelleher, 1998). According to Farrell et al. (2011), "On average, they operate within a different victim pool, enjoy longer active periods, and amass more victims than their male counterparts" (p. 229). Farrell et al. report that the average number of victims murdered by female serial offenders is nine. The average number of victims of male serial killers is unknown, but estimates suggest it is substantially higher than the number of victims reported for female offenders.

Most victims of female serial killers are husbands, former husbands, or suitors (Harrison et al., 2015). For example, Belle Gunness murdered an estimated 14–49 husbands or suitors in La Porte, Indiana (Holmes et al., 1991). Nannie Doss killed a combination of 11 husbands and family members in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The second largest group of victims murdered by female serial killers are those who are weak and dependent on them, such as children and the elderly (Farrell et al., 2011; Kelleher & Kelleher, 1998). In April 2015, Megan Huntsman, a 40-year-old Utah woman, pleaded guilty to smothering six of her newborns to death over a 10-year-period. She said she was addicted to methamphetamine and alcohol, suffered from depression, and was in an abusive marriage. She was sentenced to serve both consecutive and concurrent sentences and would not likely be eligible for parole for some 30 years. In New York, Marybeth Tinning was convicted of smothering only one child, a 4-month-old daughter, in 1985. However, she was suspected of killing seven or eight of her other children, and she allegedly confessed to killing three of them. After being denied parole at each attempt, she was released from prison on parole in July 2018 at age 75 and was to remain under community supervision for the rest of her life.

One notorious contemporary female serial killer, Aileen Wuornos, killed seven men in Florida in 1989 and 1990, when she was in her thirties. Wuornos had a pathetic, devastating childhood and adolescence, littered with the risk factors we discussed in early chapters. She was pregnant at 13 and became a prostitute at 15. She had a lengthy criminal record, mostly for nonviolent offenses, but she was also frequently victimized. She was generally well known to the criminal justice system even before her first murder. Wuornos is unusual as female serial killers go, because her victims were strangers or brief acquaintances rather than husbands or persons of whom she was in charge. Psychiatrists diagnosed her with borderline personality disorder. She argued that the men she killed had raped her or attempted to rape her, or that her crimes were in self-defense. She was convicted and sentenced to death, and she was executed by lethal injection in October 2002. Wuornos was the subject of several documentaries and the movie *Monster*, in which—despite the film's title—she was portrayed by Charlize Theron as having some humanity.

Traditionally, female serial killers murder primarily for material or monetary gain, such as insurance benefits, will allocations, trusts, and estates. Furthermore, the method of killing is through poisons (usually cyanide) or overdoses of pills. Approximately half of the female serial killers had a male accomplice. Some women murdered because of involvements in cults or with a male serial murderer. For example, Charlene Gallego, the common-law wife of serial killer Gerald Gallego, helped him select, abduct, and murder at least 10 individuals (Holmes et al., 1991).

Over the past few decades, several female health care workers who have killed patients have been identified, although males—including at least one physician (Swango)—have also been identified. In 2019, a male nurse in Germany was convicted of murdering 85 patients over a period of many years. Some research suggests that as many as 17% of female serial killers are nurses (Stark, Paterson, Henderson, Kidd, & Godwin, 1997). A female health worker may have been responsible for the deaths of 28 patients at two hospitals in The Hague, Netherlands. Her victims were either children or elderly patients, and her method of killing involved injections of various substances. She was arrested in December 2001 and was later convicted of four counts of first-degree murder and three counts of attempted murder.

The motivations of health care workers' serial killings are variable: recognition, attention, revenge, power, and control (Brantley & Kosky, 2005). Some of these health care workers admitted that the killings relieved tension, stress, and frustration (Linedecker & Burt, 1990). Some also maintained that they killed to put the patients out of their misery and that these were essentially mercy killings.

Mass Murderers

Surprisingly, little research has been directed at mass murderers, especially in comparison with the attention directed at serial murderers. Perhaps this is because mass murder, while frightening, is not as intriguing or mysterious as serial murder. Furthermore, mass murder happens quickly and unpredictably without warning—then the killing is over. It is often clear who the offender is, and these people's lives are usually ended on the spot, either when they kill themselves or when they are shot by the police. If they live and are prosecuted, they are invariably convicted and receive life sentences or the death penalty. Serial murders, on the other hand, occur over a period of weeks, months, or years, during which time the identity of the offender is unknown. Sometimes the perpetrator is never caught. As noted above, the person alleged to be responsible for the Golden State Killings was not detected for 40 years.

Classic mass murder
A situation in which an individual enters a public place or barricades himself or herself inside a public building, such as a fast-food restaurant, and randomly kills patrons and other individuals.

Family mass murder
A situation in which at least three family members are killed (usually by another family member).

Investigators have traditionally identified two types of mass murder by individuals: classic and family (Douglas et al., 1986). An example of a **classic mass murder** is when an individual walks into or barricades himself into a public building, such as a fast-food restaurant, mall, or theater, and kills at random (but sometimes selectively, as in targeting one gender). These classic murders also may be called public mass murders, and they occur almost invariably with firearms. (See Table 10–2 for a representative list.) Family mass murders—sometimes called domestic mass murders—typically involve weapons but also may involve other methods, such as knives, poisonings, or drownings. In a **family mass murder**, at least three family members are killed by another family member. Very often, the perpetrator commits suicide, an incident that is classified as a mass murder/suicide. Family

TABLE 10–2 Partial List of Representative Mass Shootings in United States 1999–2019

Year	Community	Location	Number Killed*	Number Wounded
1999	Columbine	High School	13	24
2007	Blacksburg, Virginia	University campus	32	17
2008	DeKalb, Illinois	University campus	6	21
2009	Killeen, Texas	Army base	13	32
2010	Manchester, Connecticut	Warehouse	8	2
2011	Tucson, Arizona	Supermarket	6	12
2012	Newtown, Connecticut	Elementary school	27	1
2013	Washington, DC	Navy yard	13	8
2014	Isla Vista, California	University campus	6	14
2015	San Bernardino, California	Social service agency	14	22
2016	Orlando, Florida	Nightclub	49	53
2017	Sutherland Springs, Texas	Church	26	20
2017	Las Vegas, Nevada	Music festival	58	500+
2018	Thousand Oaks, California	Bar and grill	13	12
2018	Parkland, Florida	High school	17	17
2018	Nashville, Tennessee	Restaurant	4	4
2018	Annapolis, Maryland	Newspaper office	5	2
2018	Santa Fe, Texas	High school	10	10
2018	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	Synagogue	11	7
2019	Sebring, Florida	Bank	5	0
2019	Virginia Beach, Virginia	Municipal Center	12	4
2019	El Paso, Texas	Large chain department store	22	24
2019	Dayton, Ohio	City street	10	11

*Some numbers include the shooter who committed suicide or was killed at the scene.

murder was mentioned in Chapter 9. A third category, mass murder by terrorists, will be covered in the next chapter.

While a mass murder is in process, the term used for the perpetrator is **active shooter**. According to the FBI, "an active shooter is one or more individuals engaged in killing or attempting to kill people in a populated area" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018b, p. 1). Implicit in the definition is the use of firearms by the shooter.

Active shooter
An individual engaged in killing or attempting to kill in a public area.

Some mass murders that have features of classic mass murders may require a separate classification. Although the victims may seem to be chosen at random, they may actually be perceived by the perpetrator to belong to a particular group or to be representative of a threatening group, despite the unreasonableness of the threat. The six victims killed at a Sikh temple in 2012 were likely targeted because of their religion, as were the 11 killed at a synagogue in 2018 and the 50 murdered at mosques in New Zealand in 2019. Victims in the El Paso murders in 2019 were primarily of Mexican descent, and the alleged killer was known for his white supremacist online diatribes. In the Norway killings, the perpetrator railed against "multicultural forces" and was heard yelling "I will kill you all, Marxists," as he was shooting (Seierstad, 2015). Most of his victims were young people at a camp for members of the Youth Labor Party. A shooter walked into a classroom at the University of Montreal, ordered male students to leave, railed against feminists, and murdered female students. Thus, the motivations of these mass killers may include hatred toward certain groups in addition to the many motivations that lead other classic mass murderers to commit their crimes.

Public Mass Shootings

A public mass shooting—referred to as an active shooter situation—takes place in public circumstances, such as schools, workplaces, malls, restaurants, parking places, and public transit (including aircraft). Over three recent decades (1983–2012), there were approximately 78 public mass shootings in the United States, resulting in 547 deaths (not including the shooters) (Bjelopera, Bagalman, Caldwell, Finlea, & McCallion, 2013). During 2014 and 2015, there were 50 active shooter incidents in 21 states resulting in 943 casualties (221 killed, 722 wounded) (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018b). All 50 shooters were male, three wore body armor, and 13 committed suicide at the scene. While shocking, frightening, and tragic, public mass shootings account for a very small proportion of the murders in any given year. In the year 2017 alone, for example, firearms were used to murder 10,982 persons (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a).

Nevertheless, active shootings or threats of mass shootings are on the rise, according to a special report prepared by the FBI (Barrett, 2014). The government identified 160 shootings from 2000 through 2013, an average of 16.4 "active shooter" incidents a year. Between 2000 and 2006, there was an average of 6.4 a year. An "active shooter" incident does not turn into a mass shooting incident if there are not multiple casualties. Most incidents (73) were in business locations, such as malls, offices, or movie theaters, while educational institutions and government locations followed (39 and 16, respectively). Altogether, the 160 shootings resulted in 486 people being killed and 557 wounded. Since 2016, there have been many additional incidents, both in the United States and worldwide. In 2019, there were at least 21 mass shootings in the United States (Keneally, 2019).

Psychologists and other mental and behavioral health professionals recognize the importance of providing services to survivors of these traumatic events. (See Box 10–2.) A bulletin produced by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA, 2017) identifies three stages of healing and the accompanying needs of survivors. In the acute stage, the individual experiences denial, shock, and/or disbelief. Their immediate need is for connection with others and information about resources (e.g., crisis

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 10–2 MASS SHOOTING SURVIVORS: LONG-TERM OUTCOMES

By early November 2018, some 304 mass killing incidents had occurred in the United States, roughly one a day during that year alone. Each incident included not only deaths, but also injuries to an untold number of survivors. Although we generally hear of the physical injuries associated with mass disasters, chiefly those requiring hospitalization, the number of psychological injuries cannot be assessed.

Survivors are not only persons who suffered actual physical harm—such as a bullet wound or a lost limb—but also those who were present but escaped injury, whether or not they witnessed others who died or were injured. Finally, survivors may include family and close friends of those who died or were injured. Psychologists and other behavioral health specialists have offered clinical services to survivors and have begun to conduct research aimed at understanding how survivors fare both in the short term and in years following the mass casualty.

As noted in the text, a mass killing is defined as having at least two victims, separate from the perpetrator. As we know, multiple victims are now not uncommon (see Table 10–2 for a representative list). Each of these incidents left survivors, whose numbers are impossible to tally. Although we sometimes know the wounded, we cannot know of family members and close friends who can suffer long-term effects of their unexpected losses. Occasionally the public learns of sad outcomes.

As noted in the text, a bulletin produced by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA, 2017) identifies three stages of healing and the accompanying needs of survivors.

Most survivors do not suffer critical long-term healing, but some do suffer behavioral health reactions, such as flashbacks or high anxiety. These survivors may resort to self-medication such as substance abuse. The survivors may compare themselves to others who seem to be adjusting better, or they may blame themselves for not having been able to help during the disaster itself ("I should have protected my friend," or "I should have been the one to break out the window and help people escape.").

Many researchers are now examining the phenomenon of surviving mass shootings and bombings, and resources are available for professionals such as community psychologists who find themselves increasingly offering services to survivors.

Questions for Discussion

1. Mass shootings have occurred in so many regions of the United States that few people now say "It couldn't happen here. We live in a safe community." List ways in which people not directly involved in these incidents have changed their behaviors as a result (e.g., participating in marches, checking exits in public places, running for political office). Are any of these approaches more "psychologically healthy" than others?
2. Choose any two mass shooting events of the recent past and recall your reactions on hearing this news. Were your reactions to the two events identical? Compare your reactions with those of your friends or family members.
3. Have survivors of the two mass shooting events you chose remained in the public eye in any way? How? ■

counseling, shelter, medical care). In the intermediate stage, which can last from several days to weeks, survivors may experience fear, anger, anxiety, and depression. Communities during this phase need to provide trauma-informed services for survivors. Long-term stage may occur after community attention has waned, and media attention has shifted elsewhere (sometime to another mass shooting event). Most survivors do not suffer critical long-term healing, but some do suffer behavioral health reactions, such as flashbacks or high anxiety.

These survivors may resort to self-medication such as substance abuse, and there have been at least two incidents of suicide in the very recent past. Very sadly, survivors and their relatives sometimes encounter cruelty from others, such as being trolled on social media. Parents and survivors of the Sandy Hook and Parkland shootings, for example, even have been accused of "faking" the incidents or "using" them to gain public attention and support more gun control.

Surviving a mass shooting, like surviving other violent crimes, requires personal, family, and community resources. Although we focus here on the psychological aspects of the criminal behavior itself, we are not insensitive to the aftereffects the survivors must face.

A detailed profile that will enable experts and law enforcement to predict the actions of mass murderers does not exist. For example, active shooters during the years 2016 and 2017 ranged in age from 14 years to 66 years (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018b). "Seven shooters were in their teens, 18 were in their 20s, nine were in their 30s, nine were in their 40s, three were in their 50s, and four were in their 60s" (p. 5). In their study of 63 active shooters, Silver, Simon, and Craun (2018) did not discover any way of identifying them or predicting their attacking behavior based on demographic information alone. Case studies of active shooters often identify common risk factors, including in some cases, mental disorders, but in general we cannot identify who will or will not carry out such an event.

However, some observations made by law enforcement, professionals, or scholars have resulted in a mass murderer profile that is often cited in the media. Nonetheless, mass murderers or active shooters sometimes simply do not "fit the profile." In fact, a recently published study of 152 mass murders between 2007 and 2011 (Taylor, 2018) questions some of the profile characteristics. Taylor found that typical mass murders were precipitated by a triggering event (e.g., being fired from one's employment) and were committed by persons who knew one or more of the victims. Rarely was there indication of mental illness in the murderer's background. The mass murderer profile cited in media reports almost invariably makes reference to mental illness.

Silver et al. (2018) could only verify that 25% of the 63 active shooters in their investigation had been diagnosed by a mental health professional with a mental illness of any kind prior to the shooting. Twelve of the active shooters were diagnosed with a mood disorder, four with an anxiety disorder, three were determined to be psychotic, and two were diagnosed with a personality disorder. One shooter was diagnosed with autism spectrum disorder. Based on their investigation, Silver et al. concluded that "formal diagnosed mental illness is not a very specific predictor of violence of any type, let alone targeted violence" (p. 17). They further assert that "declarations that all active shooters must simply be mentally ill are misleading and unhelpful" (p. 17). Consideration should be directed more toward social and contextual factors than concluding the shooting was caused by mental illness.

In fact, most mass murderers do not have criminal records or a history of psychiatric hospitalizations (Fox & DeLateur, 2014), despite the fact that some (e.g., Virginia Tech shooter, Aurora theater shooter) have had mental health treatment. Active shooters seem to be convinced there is little chance that things will get better for them. Silver et al. (2018) found that a majority of active shooters experienced multiple stressors in their lives before they attacked. There appeared to especially be a high prevalence of financial and job-related stressors as well as conflicts with peers, partners, and coworkers or supervisors. It was clear the 79% of the active shooters were attacking in reference to a grievance of some kind. Their personal lives have been a failure by their standards, and they have often suffered some tragic or serious loss, such as a loss of meaningful employment or a significant other. Again, the research by Taylor (2018) suggests that this loss was recent. Notably, at least half of the active shooters studied by Silver et al. (2018) demonstrated suicide ideation or engaged in suicide-related behaviors before their attack.

In the weeks and months before an attack, many active shooters demonstrate behavior that "may signal impending violence" (Silver et al., 2018, p. 6). Although they may try to intentionally conceal these signals other signaling behaviors are observable and, if recognized and reported, may lead to preventing the attack. Friends, family members, coworkers, and others who notice these signals may resist reporting them for fear of erroneously labeling a friend or family member as a potential killer.

Mass murders are usually carefully planned, and the crimes are often carried out in a calm, systematic fashion. Silver et al. (2018) found that 77% of the shooters they studied spent a week or longer planning their attack, and 46% spent a week or longer actually preparing and procuring the means for the attack. A majority obtained their firearms legally. The Aurora theater shooter had equipped himself with a mask and multiple tear-gas canisters along with the deadly weaponry he carried. He also booby-trapped his apartment with incendiary devices that were fortunately detonated before police entered it after the shootings. The Norway shooter rented a farmhouse and meticulously assembled a bomb. The Las Vegas shooter had rented a suite in the hotel from which he fired his shots and had smuggled in a cache of weapons and set up barriers to prevent law enforcement officers from entering. The targets selected by mass murderers are often—perhaps even most often—planned and deliberate, and again often include nonstrangers. Their preparations often "include where, when, and who to kill, as well as with what weapons they will strike" (Fox & DeLateur, 2014, p. 126). They are determined to accomplish their mission no matter what obstacles and challenges are placed in front of them. The targets are either symbolic of their discontent (such as their workplace) or are hated or blamed for the perpetrator's misfortunes. Mass murderers who target groups of people (e.g., members of a religious or political group) blame the group for their own failures or the threats they perceive to their own existence. The level of planning is often so focused and intense that when they do attack, they can maintain a calm composure during the massacre. Fox and DeLateur (2014) write that "Mass murderers have been known to follow a mental script, one that is rehearsed over and over again, to the point where they become comfortable with the mission" (p. 127).

Public mass shooters usually plan to die in the shooting, which characterizes their mission as a mass murder-suicide. Approximately 50% of the shooters turn the gun on themselves during the episode and many of the rest are shot by law enforcement officers (Bielopera et al., 2013). Very few mass shooters live to go on trial—they generally die at the scene, either at their own hand or the hands of police. Exceptions include James Holmes, the Aurora, Colorado, theater shooter who is serving life in prison; Robert Bowers, who shot worshippers in a Jewish synagogue in Pittsburgh in 2018; and Nikolas Cruz, who killed 17 at Marjory Stoneham Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, the same year. Bowers, for whom prosecutors are seeking the death penalty, and Cruz are awaiting trial on multiple murder charges. Cruz has apparently offered to plead guilty in exchange for avoiding the death penalty, but as of late 2019 prosecutors had not accepted that offer. The El Paso and New Zealand shooters also survived, and both have pleaded not guilty—the former as recently as October 2019.

Active shooters are usually thought to be socially isolated and withdrawn people who are without a strong social network of friends or supports. However, a majority are not completely isolated and had at least some social connection to another person (Silver et al., 2018). In Silver et al.'s study, although most were single or never married or separated or divorced at the time of the attack, a majority had "significant in-person social interactions with at least one other person within a year of the attack" (p. 18). In addition, although drug and alcohol abuse was not an obvious behavior pattern of the shooters, inappropriate behavior with firearms was. This referred to unusual interest in or use of firearms given the shooter's background and experience with firearms.

When isolation exists, it is probably due to some combination of an active dislike of people and their inadequate interpersonal and social skills. The mass murder is their chance to get even, to dominate others, to take control, to call the shots, and to gain recognition. Again, there are exceptions, because some mass murderers had no such indicators in their backgrounds. When considering the typologies and profiles discussed in this section, therefore, it is important to do so cautiously. In the next section we present a typology that helps identify different motives for mass murder. While there is a significant increase in active shooters in the United States, there are also a variety of reasons why certain individuals or groups engage in mass murder, as we see below.

A Mass Murder Typology

Fox and Levin (2003) proposed a five-category typology based on the motivations for mass killings. The five categories are revenge, power, loyalty, profit, and terror. According to Fox and Levin, many—if not most—mass killings are motivated by *revenge*, either against specific individuals or specific groups. Usually, the killer seeks to get even with a group of people he dislikes. Fox and Levin bring up the concept of "murder by proxy" in which victims are chosen because they are associated, by the killer, with a primary target against whom revenge is sought. For example, a man who opened fire on female students at the Université de Montréal had long-term hatred against feminists. Although some of his victims may have not considered themselves feminists, he considered all women, by proxy, feminists. Another individual, who killed 10 people, mostly women, in Toronto in 2018, considered himself a member of Incel (involuntarily celibate) Rebellion, because women were not interested in having sex with him. That incident was atypical in that the weapon used was a van, not a firearm.

Another example of a revenge mass killing occurred on March 10, 2009, when a 28-year-old man went on a rampage in southern Alabama. The gunman, who killed 11 people including himself, had a list of people he had worked with who had allegedly done him wrong. He began the day of the shooting by burning down his mother's house (her body and four dead dogs were later found inside), and shot most of his victims at a plant where he had stopped working just days before the rampage.

The second type identified by Fox and Levin (2003) is the killer who seeks *power* and domination over his victims. They enjoy and crave the fear they engender and the immense control they have over their victims. Usually, the need for revenge and power go together. The power killer is seeking both revenge and control over his tormentors. Fox and Levin observe that the thirst for power and control inspire this type of mass murderer to dress in military fatigues and combat gear, and carry assault weapons packed with considerable firepower. Some investigators refer to them as pseudo-commando killers. The American soldier who killed 16 Afghan civilians in 2012, pleaded guilty in military court, and is now serving a life sentence without the possibility of parole may be an example of a power mass killer. Another example is the unemployed security guard who put on his camouflage pants and told his wife, "Society has had its chance. I'm going hunting, hunting for humans."

The third type identified by Fox and Levin is inspired to kill by a warped sense of love and *loyalty*, usually based on a desire to save their loved ones from misery and hardship. Many family massacres—not discussed in this chapter—stem from this motivation. "Typically, a husband/father is despondent over the fate of the family unit, and takes not only his own life, but also those of his children and sometimes his wife, in order to protect them from pain and suffering in their lives" (Fox & Levin, 2003, pp. 59–60).

The fourth motivation for mass murder is *profit*. The intention in this murder is to eliminate victims and witnesses to a crime, such as a robbery. Drug wars between organized crime groups are also sometimes involved. This type of mass murder also sends the message to other potential witnesses that the same thing could happen to them if they try to testify to authorities.

The fifth and final motivation for mass murder is *terror*. In this situation, the perpetrator wants to send a message through a horrific murderous rampage. This is a motive for the terrorist murders to be covered in the following chapter.

The remainder of the chapter addresses specific offenses that have been, or possess the strong possibility of becoming mass murder. School violence and workplace violence do not necessarily result in death, of course, but when they do, the deaths may be multiple. These crimes have drawn extensive media coverage, and some research interest, in recent years.

School Violence

In the later 1990s a rash of school shootings made headlines. As discussed briefly in Chapter 5, the most infamous case was the mass murder of 12 students and one teacher at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, in April 1999. The two teenage boys who did the shootings committed suicide during the incident. Twenty more students were injured. Although there had been a number of school shootings prior to Columbine (there were at least 10 school shootings between 1996 and 1999), the Columbine shooting prompted a great deal of alarm and concern nationwide.

Columbine's death toll was surpassed by the shootings at Virginia Tech in 2007, Newtown, Connecticut, in 2012, and Parkland, Florida, in 2018. Because the Virginia Tech event happened at a university setting, it is not considered in the same category as a more enclosed elementary or high school campus and is treated more as a mass shooting than a "school shooting" in the literature. However, shootings at colleges and universities are receiving increasing attention. From 2001 to 2006, shootings at or near colleges totaled 40, with 61 people killed or wounded. From 2011 to 2016, there were 101 college campus shootings, with 208 killed or wounded. As but one example, in 2008 a 27-year-old former grad student walked into a lecture hall at Northern Illinois University with several weapons. He shot the professor (who lived), then students in the front row, then went up and down two aisles of the auditorium-style lecture hall. During the entire episode, which lasted six minutes, five students were killed and many others were injured. The shooter apparently killed himself on the stage. As recently as 2019, two students were killed and four injured in a similar incident at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte.

The Newtown massacre was carried out by an individual from outside the school, and is also not typical of the school shootings discussed in this setting. The typical shooting is carried out by a student in the school or one who has recently been expelled, with fellow students or adult staff as victims. Because the Newtown setting was an elementary school, however, it is universally regarded an incidence of school shooting.

Even before the school shootings of the 1990s, anecdotal and media accounts of children being victimized at school by other children prompted researchers to study the issue to document the magnitude of the problem. Violence in schools is more than school shootings. Violence in schools includes aggravated and simple assaults, sexual assaults, and robbery (Bushman, Newman, Calvert et al., 2016). Furthermore, it must be emphasized that violence itself is not the only harmful behavior experienced by students. As noted by Mayer and Jimerson (2019), "research has demonstrated serious harm from persistent low-level aggression and incivility in schools" (p. 6). In this chapter, however, we focus on the violence.

As long ago as 1974, the U.S. Congress funded a 3-year study to evaluate the nature and extent of crime, violence, and disruption in the nation's schools. Periodic studies of school violence have been conducted since that time. A recent report from the National Center for Education Statistics (Musu-Gillette et al., 2017) is illustrative. The report includes a wide range of data about public-school-related violence, threats, nonviolent victimizations, student fears of being harmed, staff training, and related material. Below are some of the

findings, most of which refer to academic year 2015–2016. Readers are encouraged to access the complete report.

That report indicated the following:

- Between July 1, 2014 and June 30, 2015, there were 47 school-associated violent deaths. This included 28 homicides, 17 suicides, and 2 deaths by legal intervention.
- During the academic year 2015–2016, 10% of public school teachers reported being threatened with injury by a student, and 6% reported being physically attacked.
- Approximately 76% of public reported that they provided training for teachers or aides on recognizing problem behaviors, such as physical, social, and verbal bullying; about 48% provided training on early warning signs of student violent behavior.
- Training was more likely to be provided in middle schools than in high schools. The use of security cameras increased markedly, from 19% in 1999–2000 to 81% of all public schools in 2015–2016. In addition, 94% of public schools controlled access to school buildings in 2015–2016.
- Between the years 1992 and 2016, total victimization of students aged 12–18 declined both at school and away from school.

Like previous school safety reports (e.g., Robers et al., 2012) the 2018 report concluded that students were more likely to be victims of serious violence or homicide away from school. Over the years, the percentage of youth homicides occurring at school remains at less than 2% of the total number of youth homicides. Furthermore, schools today are alert to the need to offer mental health services, perform threat assessments, and take measures to prevent harm and respond to violence, much of which occurs outside the school environment (Nickerson & Cornell, 2019). It is not unusual for a school to offer crisis counseling after a student or teacher has been killed in a car accident or been victim of a criminal homicide in his or her own home, for example.

Despite the fact that schools are generally safe environments, some statistics have indicated that about one out of 10 students in secondary schools fear that they will be attacked or harmed while at school (Verlinden, Hersen, & Thomas, 2000). Thus, while an actual attack might not occur, the fear of being harmed is still considerable. More recent research (Musu-Gillette et al., 2017) reported that student fears decreased over the last decade overall. Fear of crime is a complex issue, however. Recall in our discussion of Generation Z in Chapter 6, the APA survey found high anxiety about school violence among young adolescents.

School Shootings

Although active shooter situations occur in a variety of settings, the education realm is one that has received the most attention from policy makers, officials, and the public (Bjelopera et al., 2013). The school shooting incidents that have, so far, drawn the most attention are the above-mentioned 1999 shooting at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, the 2012 tragedy at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut, and the 2018 shootings in Parkland, Florida. All three, but most particularly the last two, have resulted in renewed activism on the part of parents, students, and members of the public aimed at curbing gun violence in society.

Research has found that school shootings have been a rapidly expanding phenomenon in modern Western societies over the past two decades (Böckler, Seeger, Sitzer, & Heitmeyer, 2013). It should be noted that more school shootings have occurred in the United States than in all other countries combined (Böckler et al., 2013). Nevertheless, as noted below, while mass shootings have increased, the number of *school* shootings has not increased dramatically in recent years. In this country, the term "school shooting" usually refers to those

violent incidents that involve a firearm and occur within the school building or on the school grounds. Some argue (e.g., Daniels & Bradley, 2011) that the definition should include one or more fatalities due to firearms that happen "in school, on school property, at school sponsored activities, or to a member of the school community on his or her commute to or from school" (p. 3). Some shootings also involved school board members as victims. Although school shooting is largely a term used in North America, in other parts of the world where there are strong restrictions on the availability of guns, perpetrators of school violence resort to other weapons. In Europe, for example, perpetrators use such weapons as explosives, swords, knives, or axes (Böckler et al., 2013). Even though these incidents are not literally school shootings, the perpetrators exhibit very close similarities to the factors, developments that led up to the attacks, and *modus operandi* of school shooting incidents in North America (Böckler et al., 2013). Even in the United States, though, knives and other weapons are often confiscated from students, and at least one notable incident involving a student slashing fellow students and staff with a knife has occurred. In April 2014 a 16-year-old student in Pennsylvania stabbed 20 students and a security guard before being restrained.

For our purposes, we will restrict our coverage to those school shootings that took place within the school building or immediately outside the building. In recent years, the incidents that occurred within the school building took place in school classrooms and hallways (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013). A few also happened in the school cafeteria.

Although school shootings are understandably frightening and are of deep concern, statistically they are rare. In addition, despite increases in general active shootings discussed above, studies have found no significant increase in *school* shooting incidents (Bjelopera et al, 2013; Fox & DeLateur, 2014). Nevertheless, as O'Toole (2013) writes: "While these lethal school shootings are rare, when they occur they are devastating, life-changing events, and always leave people shaking their heads" (p. 173). (See Box 10–3 for responses to school shootings.)

Of the 25 school shootings investigated by FBI that occurred between 2000 and 2013, 14 occurred in a high school, 6 occurred in a middle school or junior high school, 4 occurred in

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BOX 10–3 RESPONSES TO SCHOOL SHOOTINGS

The terrible tragedies that occurred at Columbine High School in 1999, Sandy Hook Elementary School in 2012, and Marjory Stoneham Douglas High School in 2018 produced fear in communities across the nation, among parents, school personnel, and students. They were atypical incidents, both in their occurrence and in the number of victims. As noted in the text, school shootings are still rare events. Furthermore, when they do occur, they generally involve one perpetrator who shoots a small number of victims and is promptly taken down, such as by a teacher, an administrator, or a school safety officer. Most recently, a shooter in Colorado was stopped by a classmate, Kendrick Castillo, who lost his life as a result.

Many communities across the country reviewed their safety procedures in the event of a similar crisis. Almost all public schools now control access to school buildings, about three-fourths have installed security cameras and most also provide training to classroom teachers and aides. Furthermore, threat assessments are conducted when individual students are believed to present a threat, either to particular individuals or to overall school safety (Burnette, Datta, & Cornell, 2018). Some schools, as well as some

businesses, have initiated general lockdowns or safety drills, and in a small number of states, active shooter drills are mandated (Frosch, 2014). Active shooter drills may be conducted by local police or by private consulting companies. They are intended to simulate reality; for example, a person playing the role of a shooter enters the school or business and, in some cases, actually fires blanks. Students and employees are told how to respond. In many schools, however, the drills are carried out only for teachers and other staff, not while students are present. Furthermore, when students are involved, they are more likely to be high school aged.

Another response to school shooting situations has been an increase in activism on the part of students and their parents. The activism has taken different forms, including advocating for stricter gun control measures and suing gun manufacturers. In 2019, parents of children killed at Sandy Hook won a court victory when they were allowed to sue Remington, the manufacturer of the automatic weapon used in that attack. Parkland students have gained national attention with their efforts to bring gun control legislation to the forefront, including organizing a March for Our Lives rally in Washington, DC, shortly after the tragedy. In 2019, the House of Representatives passed legislation that would extend the waiting period for purchasing guns under federal law and would also place restrictions on gun sales at gun shows. A similar bill was not taken up in the Senate, however.

Questions for Discussion

1. Critics of active shooter drills say they have negative consequences that outweigh their benefits, given that these situations are rare. What might be these negative consequences? Determine whether the state or territory you reside in (a) requires school lockdown or safety drills in public school; (b) mandates active shooter drills; or (c) neither. If you have participated in such a drill, either in school or the workplace, discuss your reactions to the experience.
2. Within a week after a mass shooting in New Zealand in 2019 that took the lives of 50 women, men, and children, New Zealand banned semiautomatic assault weapons. Meanwhile, in the United States, some school districts are considering arming teachers or hiring additional armed monitors to patrol their grounds and hallways. Discuss these two very different approaches to gun violence.
3. Obtain and discuss updated information about the student activism movement initiated by students at Marjory Stoneham Douglas High School in Parkland. ■

an elementary school, and 1 occurred at a school including grades preK–12 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2013).

During 2016 and 2017, seven of 50 active shootings occurred in educational environments, resulting in five killed and 19 wounded (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018b). Two incidents occurred in elementary schools, one in a middle school, and four in high schools. Six of the seven school shootings involved present or former students. In the one incident that did not involve a student, the perpetrator was a 44-year-old man who shot his wife at their home, then killed and wounded a number of people the next day at multiple locations, including a school. No active shooter incidents took place at institutions of higher education in 2016 or 2017.

In a majority of the high school and middle school incidents, the shooter was a student at the school. Shooting incidents in high and middle schools were more likely to occur on Monday but the other days of the school day were not far behind, suggesting that the day of the week is not that significant a factor. Shooting incidents in elementary schools were more likely to take place on Friday, but because there were only 4, this tells us little. In most of the school shootings (similar to public active shootings), the shooter acted alone. The notable exception is Columbine, where two teenage boys carried out the attacks together.

Investigations of school shooters have often found that two characteristics emerge: peer rejection and social rejection. As pointed out by Arluke and Madfis (2014), "School shooters are often students who have been bullied, picked on, and marginalized" (p. 16). A vast majority of shooters have poor social and coping skills and felt picked on or persecuted (Verlindene et al., 2000). They expressed anger about being teased or ridiculed and vowed

TABLE 10–3 Select Descriptive Characteristics of School Shooters*

- Primarily white, male offenders
- History of mental illness or disciplinary problems not common
- Symptoms of depression and suicidality not unusual
- Average or above-average intelligence; school failure very uncommon
- Reside in rural towns and suburbs
- Intense and unusual interest in and easy access to guns
- Middle class family background
- Typically kill alone
- Might victimize family members before shooting
- Signaled intention to other students

Source: Adapted from Bushman, B. J., Newman, K., Calvert, S. L., Downey, G., Downey, G., …. Webster, D. W. (2016). Youth violence: What we know and what we need to know. American Psychologist, 71, 17–39.and other general research studies.

*Note: Caution must be taken not to ascribe these characteristics to all shooters.

revenge against particular individuals or groups. Moreover, as a group, "they lacked social support and prosocial relationships that might have served as protective factors" (Verlinden et al., 2000, p. 44).

A recent comprehensive review of school shooting research places a different slant on the peer rejection findings, however. Bushman, Newman, Calvert et al. (2016) reviewed literature that allowed them to report data on 85 school shootings that occurred from 1974 to 2008. They noted that school shooters were not necessarily "loners" but rather had been marginalized and then sought out peers who were also disliked, forming their own fringe group. (See Table 10–3 for other characteristics identified with school shooters.)

Cruelty to animals was prominent in the backgrounds of at least half of the shooters (Arluke & Madfis, 2014; Verlinden et al., 2000). Moreover, a certain kind of animal foreshadows this kind of violence (Arluke & Madfis, 2014; Levin & Arluke, 2009). The shooters are inclined to abuse socially valued or culturally humanized animals, such as pet dogs and cats. Furthermore, the form of animal abuse is up-close and personal, such as strangulation, bludgeoning, or beating the animal to death. However, not all school shooters show prior histories of unusual cruelty to animals—and sadly, animals are abused by youth who never become school shooters. In fact, some shooters display unusual affection, attachment, and empathy toward their pets, probably reflecting how they wish they were treated by peers and others (Arluke & Madfis, 2014).

The backgrounds of school shooters also revealed a keen and unusual interest in guns and other weaponry, and they often had easy access to firearms (Bushman et al., 2016). Most of these assailants expected to be killed or planned suicide during or immediately after the attacks. All the attacks seemed to be carefully planned and thought out beforehand.

As is consistently noted in the literature, the violent intentions of the assailants were repeatedly made clear to others, particularly peers, often including the time and place. In reference to active shooters under age 18, school peers and teachers are more likely to observe concerning behaviors than family members (Silver et al., 2018). Silver et al. also found that at least "one person noticed a concerning behavior in *every* active shooter's life, and on average, people from three different groups noticed concerning behavior for each active shooter" (p. 20). It is estimated that at least 50% of school shooters let their intentions be known to others, a phenomenon that became known by investigators as *leakage*. Other warning signs have been combined with risk factors, which school officials are advised to be alert to. In addition to leaking, for example, some have raised concerns about students with narcissistic personality traits, experiencing rejection by peers, a generally negative school climate, and similar factors that may present warning signs that threat assessments are warranted (Amman et al., 2017; Meloy, Hoffmann, Guldimann, & James, 2012). Recall

that we discussed threat assessments in Chapter 8. Some scholars also have emphasized that threat assessments are not only needed but that schools must be provided with resources to carry them out effectively. Guidelines for conducting threat assessments, offered by the federal government, some states, and private consultants, may not be successfully implemented, as has been demonstrated in some case studies of school shootings (Goodrum, Thompson, Ward, & Woodward, 2018). Furthermore, continuing research is needed on distinguishing between transient and substantive threats and responding appropriately to each (Burnette, Datta, & Cornell, 2018).

Threat assessments are complicated, challenging, and are usually conducted by a team of knowledgeable experts, teachers, and administrators. A multidisciplinary and collaborative process is usually the most effective approach to reducing violence. As emphasized by Amman et al. (2017), "Threat assessment envisions a holistic assessment of the person of concern, the potential target, the situation, and the potential setting for an incident" (p. 29). Intertwined in this process is threat management, which essentially refers to steps designed to prevent the threat from being carried out.

Bushman et al. (2016) report data that in about half of the incidents, fellow students were aware of the plan and sometimes even encouraged it, but evidence of collaboration was not found because they did not take the person's threat seriously. Fear could also be a factor. A survey by the Safe School Coalition of Washington State (1999) (cited in Verlinden et al., 2000) revealed that fear of not being believed, fear of retribution, or fear for what might happen to the youth threatening the school violence were the most frequently reported concerns of peers. Is it likely that this attitude has changed in recent years, given perceptions that school shootings are becoming more common?

Psychological Characteristics of School Shooters

It should be emphasized that there is no firmly established school shooter profile, though a school shooter profile is often alluded to in the media. However, many students who fit this so-called profile never engage in violence of any kind, while many students who have planned and committed violent attacks at their school do not match it (Arluke & Madfis, 2014). Put another way, no one general profile fits all, and no general profile firmly identifies the prospective shooter. Nevertheless, some general observations of psychological characteristics of school shooters can be made, based on research data and expert commentary. We cover the more common observations and findings below, with the caution that they do not apply to all offenders.

Leary, Kowalski, Smith, and Phillips (2003) examined the psychological characteristics of juvenile offenders involved in 15 school shootings between 1995 and 2001. They discovered that social rejection was involved in most cases. As mentioned above, peer and social rejection seem very prominent in the backgrounds of the perpetrators, but they are not necessarily socially isolated at the time of the shootings, having joined fringe groups of others who were also considered out of the mainstream. Most of those who were identified as rejected experienced an ongoing pattern of teasing, bullying, or ostracism, and a few were subjected to a recent romantic rejection. In many cases, the victims of the violence were among those who rejected or humiliated the shooter.

But social rejection alone did not seem to be enough to prompt the killing of classmates. In addition to the social rejection, perpetrators showed at least one of the following three risk factors: psychological problems, an unusual interest in guns or explosives, or a morbid fascination with death. The psychological problems centered on low impulse control, lack of empathy for other people, serious depression, aggressiveness, and antisocial behavior. Bushman et al. (2016) note that school shooters generally have no history of treatment for mental disorders. Interestingly, however, there were often indicators of early onset of

some form of mental disorder, such as depression and suicidality. Consequently, schools are advised to be alert to the possibility of suicidal thoughts, particularly if the youth also expresses hostility toward others (Cooper, Clements, & Holt, 2011).

Depression appears to be especially important in identifying potential school shooters. In one comprehensive study, three-fourths of school shooters had expressed thoughts of suicide or attempts at suicide before the attack (Vossekuil, Fein, Reddy, Borum, & Modzeleski, 2002). Active shootings in schools and suicide are more closely linked than many think (Amman et al., 2017). "In many cases multiple homicides are linked with prior suicide attempts, gestures, or suicidal ideation on the part of the perpetrator" (Amman et al., 2017, p. 26). Vossekull et al. (2004) discovered that 78% of school active shooters demonstrated a history of suicide attempts or suicidal thoughts at some point before their attack.

As noted above, guns are readily available to school shooters. "Many high school shooters manifest intense interest in guns prior to the shooting incident" (Bushman et al., 2016, p. 19). Fascination with firearms, bombs, and explosives is a common theme. School shooters seem to be comfortable with instruments of destruction. Wike and Fraser (2009) note that police in a community outside of Philadelphia arrested a 14-year-old school dropout who, with his parents' assistance, had collected swords, guns, grenades, bomb-instructional manuals, black powder used in bomb making, and videos of the Columbine massacre. According to police—who acted on a tip from students—this alienated student had plans to attack his former school.

The third observation is that shooters tend to be highly fascinated with death and dark lifestyles and themes. They are not as horrified by sadistic and brutal carnage as most of their peers. However, these dark themes may be more characteristic of depression, thoughts of suicide, and anger at society than a central lifestyle. In a vast majority of school shootings, the perpetrator apparently had very little attachment or bonding to their schools, teachers, or peers (Wike & Fraser, 2009). School attachment and bonding appear to be crucial in any strategy designed to reduce school violence. Some investigators have found that school attachment plays an important role in producing high levels of academic achievement and in reducing substance use, violence, and high risk sexual behavior (Catalano, Haggerty, Oesterle, Fleming, & Hawkins, 2004; Wike & Fraser, 2009). Nevertheless, school shooters often have average or better-than-average intelligence, and only 2% had failing grades (Bushman et al., 2016).

In a national study of school violence, Gottfredson, Gottfredson, Payne, and Gottfredson (2005) report that schools in which students find the rules fair and in which discipline is managed consistently experience less violence and disorder. This is regardless of the type of school (e.g., public, private, charter, magnet) and community. They also found that schools characterized by high teacher morale, focus, strong leadership, and high teacher involvement are protected from school crime and violence. Their conclusions: The school climate makes a significant difference in reducing the overall crime, disorder, and violence that occur within the school building.

An important study by Daniels and Page (2013) examined the school cultures in those schools where a shooting occurred and those schools where a planned shooting was successfully averted. Four common themes emerged. In those schools where a shooting occurred, there was evidence of (1) an inflexible culture, (2) inequitable discipline, (3) tolerance for disrespectful behavior, and (4) a code of silence. The inflexible culture created among many students a sense of not belonging. Inequitable discipline is when teachers and administrators apply school rules differently to different groups of students. Tolerance for disrespectful behavior refers to "looking the other way" when incidents of bullying, racism, and overt rudeness and aggressiveness happen in the school building and school grounds. The code of silence emerges when students become resistant to

reporting threats because of fear of repercussions or lack of an adequate or clearly defined reporting system. It cannot be assumed that school shootings occur only in schools with these negative aspects, because there is no indication that a negative culture existed in schools that were victimized. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to take steps to change such a negative culture when it does occur. Furthermore, observations about school culture would not be relevant to tragedies where shooters came in from outside.

Workplace Violence

On a Friday afternoon in late May, 2019, a man walked into his workplace—a municipal center in Virginia Beach, Virginia—and opened fire with two .45 caliber handguns with extended magazines and sound suppressors. All weapons and attachments were legally obtained. After a half-hour shooting battle with police who arrived on the scene, the shooter died. Twelve people—eleven municipal employees and a contractor who was on the premises to obtain a building permit—were killed.

In the public mind, this may be the definition of workplace violence: a worker killing his or her coworkers or supervisors, though few people have ever seen this occur in their workplace. Fortunately, the above incident is an exception. Commentators, researchers, and experts, on the other hand, have used workplace violence to refer to a wide range of aggressive actions, such as gossip, assaults, sexual assaults, robberies, and murders, and they are often separated into two categories, such as mildly aggressive and physically violent. It is also important to distinguish violence perpetrated by employees from that carried out by those not directly committed to the workplace.

We begin, then, with a two-part classification, one that refers only to employees themselves. Then, we will discuss four different categories of workplace violence, categories that include both employees and outsiders but also apply most directly to the study of criminal behavior.

Workplace aggression is "a general term encompassing all forms of behavior by which individuals attempt to harm others at work or their organizations" (Neuman & Baron, 1998, p. 393). Workplace aggression may range from subtle and hidden actions to active confrontations or direct destruction of property (Geck et al., 2017; Hepworth & Towler, 2004). It encompasses bullying, sexual harassment, intimidation, humiliation, and verbal abuse, as well as other harassing behavior. With the exception of direct destruction of property none of these is a crime, but all can be accompanied by behaviors that are crimes. For example, the person who bullies or who sexually harasses may also assault the victim. **Workplace violence**, on the other hand, refers to incidents in which the offender intends to cause *serious* physical or bodily harm to an individual or individuals within an organization or to the organization itself.

Workplace aggression
A term for conduct, usually on the part of employees, that qualifies as emotional harm or minor physical harm to other employees. Distinct from workplace violence.

Workplace violence
Aggressive actions, including deaths, that occur at the workplace, not necessarily caused by those who work within the organization.

Not surprisingly, much research and public attention has been directed at the most severe form of violence, where findings like the following are reported. In 2009, 521 persons, age 16 or older, were murdered at the workplace (Harrell, 2011). The highest workplace violence occurs for law enforcement officers, security guards, and bartenders (Harrell, 2011). Persons working in law enforcement and security occupations usually are believed to have the highest annual average rate of workplace violence among government and private-sector employees (Harrell, 2013). More recent data from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA, 2015) indicates that health and social service workers are even more vulnerable to such violence, however. In addition, there are gender distinctions, with women being highly susceptible to homicide in the workplace setting. Before focusing on these points, it is important to understand the various type of workplace violence, because clearly not all is aggression and violence that occurs among employees.

Categories of Workplace Violence

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (2011) has outlined four types of workplace violence that center around the relationship between the perpetrator and the target of the workplace violence. The target may be the establishment itself or one or more individuals working within.

- *Type I—Criminal Intent*. This offender has no legitimate relationship to the workplace or the victim and usually enters the workplace to commit a criminal action such as a robbery or theft. Common victims of Type I offenders are small, late-night retail establishments, including convenience stores and restaurants, and taxi drivers.
- *Type 2—Customer/Client/Patients*. This offender is the recipient of some service provided by the victim or workplace and may be either a current or former client, patient, student, customer, or inmate or person under correctional supervision (e.g., on probation or parole).
- *Type 3—Co-worker*. This offender has an employment-related involvement with the workplace. The act of violence is usually committed by a current or former employee, supervisor, or manager who has a dispute with another employee of the workplace. This type of workplace violence offender is usually referred to as the "disgruntled employee" and is often someone who has been fired, demoted, or lost benefits. When death results from the violence, if the victim or victims were of higher authority than the perpetrator, the crime may be called **authority homicide**.
- *Type 4—Personal*. This offender has an indirect involvement with the workplace because of a relationship with an employee. The offender may be a current or former spouse or partner, someone who was in a dating relationship with the employee, or a relative or friend. Essentially, the perpetrator follows the employee into the workplace from the outside.

Authority homicide
The killing of someone of higher authority than the perpetrator.

The first of these categories, depicting violence by someone not directly or indirectly connected to workplace, accounts for the vast majority of violence and homicides, perhaps as high as 80% of the total (Critical Incident Response Group, 2001). The motive is usually robbery, and in many cases, the offender or offenders are carrying a gun or other weapon, greatly increasing the likelihood that the victim (most often, the victims) will be killed or seriously wounded. Thus, a large majority of workplace homicides do *not* involve murder between coworkers or supervisors *within* an organization but occur in robberies and related crimes by people *outside* the organization (Barling, Dupré, & Kelloway, 2009) (See Table 10–4). Convenience store clerks or fast-food restaurant workers are often the victims of robbery and other forms of violence while working. Between 2005 and 2009, approximately 28% of the workplace homicides involved victims in retail sales and related occupations (Harrell, 2011). Shootings accounted for 80% of the workplace homicides.

Type 2 workplace violence usually involves health care workers, police officers, counselors, school teachers, college professors, social workers, and mental health workers. Again between 2005 and 2009, about 17% of victims were in protective service occupations (e.g., law enforcement officers, security officers) (Harrell, 2011). As noted above, the latest figures from OSHA (2015) indicate that healthcare and social service workers are among the most vulnerable occupations to workplace violence. This is especially the case for those workers providing inpatient psychiatric service, geriatric long-term care settings, high-volume urban emergency departments, and residential and day social services. And, in recent years, violence against doctors and staff at women's health centers that provide abortions has increased (*New York Times, 2019*). Although *homicides* may not be as prevalent as in some occupations (e.g., law enforcement), serious personal injury is widespread. Healthcare workers, for instance, had a 20% overall higher rate of workplace violence than all other workers. Moreover, workplace violence in the medical occupations represents about 10% of all workplace violence incidents.

TABLE 10–4 Workplace Homicides of Victims, Age 16 or Older, by Known Offender Type, 2005–2009

Offender Type	Percent of Workplace Homicide
Total	**100.0%**
Robbers and other assailants	**70.3%**
Robbers	38.3
Other assailants	32.0
Work associates	**21.4%**
Co-worker, former co-worker	11.4
Customer, client	10.0
Relatives	**4.0%**
Spouse	2.9
Other relatives	0.8
Other personal acquaintances	**4.3%**
Current or former boyfriend or girlfriend	2.0
Other acquaintances	2.3

Source: Harrell. E. (2011). *Workplace violence, 1993–2009*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

In Type 3 workplace violence, the offender is also the worker. As noted by the Critical Incident Response Group (2001, p. 11), "mass murders in the workplace by unstable employees have become media-intensive events." In 2013, there were 397 homicides and 270 suicides at the workplace, with shootings being the most common frequent manner of death (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). These are relatively small in number, but they do receive extensive media coverage, as did the 2019 incident in Virginia Beach mentioned at the beginning of this section.

We must emphasize, however, that troubled employees are not likely to commit criminal homicides. Rather, they are far more likely to engage in the nonphysical aggressive behaviors referred to at the beginning of this section. That is, for a variety of reasons, some employees lash out at others by such means as verbal abuse, bullying, or general harassing behaviors. If lashing out includes physical violence, it is a mild form (e.g., anger demonstrated by kicking a chair, or lightly pushing someone aside). These forms of workplace aggression have been associated with traits such as low self-control and negativity (Douglas & Martinko 2001) and with being married, cohabiting (reflecting stress in one's home environment), and having demonstrated aggression in previous employment situations (Geck et al., 2017). Geck et al. also compared employees who were repeatedly aggressive with those who had only a one-time incident. Not surprisingly, persons displaying repeated violence were more likely to have experienced early physical abuse, have substance abuse problems, a mental health problem, checkered work histories, and difficulties with anger management.

The rampage at the Washington, D.C. Naval Yard in September 2013 is a recent example. Twelve people were fatally shot and three injured in an early morning shooting spree that lasted just under an hour before the assailant was killed by police. This was the second deadliest mass murder on a military base, after the Fort Hood shootings in 2009, which will be covered in the next chapter as an example of a terrorist attack. The perpetrator, who had received an honorable discharge from the Navy, was employed as a civilian contractor at the time of the incident. He had had numerous altercations with police and was believed to suffer from mental illness.

Type 4 workplace violence represents a spillover of domestic violence or intimate partner violence into the workplace, and usually women are the victims. Homicide is the leading cause of workplace death for women. Though a criminal event such as a robbery accounts

for most of those deaths, the second highest cause is a present or former intimate partner who enters the workplace (Tiesman, Gurka, Konda, Cohen, & Amandus, 2012). This includes parking lots or garages, as many workplaces today are equipped with security devices.

Perpetrators of Workplace Violence

According to the FBI (Southerland et al., 1997), the workplace homicide offender whose motivation is not robbery is often a disgruntled employee (Type 3) who believes the job is (or was) his life, is a loner, has few friends, and lacks a support system. The target of the attack may be a person or persons (usually innocent) working within a building or structure or for an organization that symbolizes the authority (Douglas et al., 1992). However, it should be emphasized that there is no precise "profile" or litmus test that will provide clear signs that an employee will become violent. As mentioned previously in the chapter, there is no demographic profile that predicts violence. "Any individual, no matter what age, sex, race, religion, education or income level, marital status, or occupation has the potential to engage in targeted violence" (Amman et al., 2017, p. 21). Rather, it is important for employees and employers to remain alert to unstable or problematic behavior that, in combination with threatening behavior, could result in violence (see Table 10–5). In other words, it is more important to examine the person's behaviors, and what changes in behavior have been observed. The dilemma for employers, however, is to decide what to do if these behavioral changes are revealed.

With reference to serious violence, a vast majority of Type 3 victims are killed or severely injured (often randomly) by disgruntled employees who were fired or felt mistreated by the company or agency. It seems that a particular autocratic work environment, such as found in large, impersonal bureaucratic organizations, can be a problem. However, as should be clear from the anecdotes cited, no workplace seems immune. As we discussed previously, an employee, when feeling frustrated and angry, may be more likely to strike out, and this could occur even in a benevolent work environment.

Similar to mass murderers in general, offenders who commit authority homicide—in which a figure in authority, such as a supervisor, is killed—tend to be white males who have few social supports, are socially isolated, and who blame others (externalize) for their problems and misfortune. The offenders often perceive that their performance evaluations were unfair or that they were treated unjustly (Barling et al., 2009). They are often seriously depressed. Very often, the offender expects to die at the scene, either at his own hands or by the police. Authority offenders also tend to be preoccupied with weapons, accumulating a

TABLE 10–5 Identifying Problematic Behaviors in Coworkers That Might Lead to Violence

- Increasing belligerence
- Ominous specific threats
- Hypersensitivity to criticism
- Recent acquisition/fascination with weapons
- Apparent obsession with a supervisor or coworker or employee grievance
- Preoccupation with violent themes
- Interest in recently publicized violent events
- Outbursts of anger
- Extreme disorganization
- Noticeable changes in behavior
- Homicidal/suicidal comments or threats

Source: Critical Incident Response Group (2001), *Workplace violence: Issues in response*. FBI Critical Incident Response Group, National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, Quantico Virginia, pp. 21–22.

number of them over a period of time with eventual revenge or "occupational martyrdom" in mind. The weapons are often of maximum lethality, such as automatic or semiautomatic assault weapons. In most instances, the offender is middle-aged (over 30 and under 60) (Barling et al., 2009; Kelleher, 1997). There is also evidence that Type 3 workplace offenders tend to have a history of violent behavior, alcohol or drug abuse, and will vocalize, or otherwise act out, their violent intentions prior to the authority homicide (Kelleher, 1997). Recall that Gleck et al. (2017) found similar characteristics in workplace offenders who did not commit homicide but were characterized by their involvement in repeated violence.

In light of increasing sensitivity of employers to the possibility of Type 3 workplace violence, many large organizations contact threat assessment teams to evaluate the probability of a particular employee behaving in a violent manner. A threat assessment specialist may interview the individual, review records, and take statements from other employees. When a significant number of problematic behaviors have been identified, employers may require that the person seek counseling or, in some situations, may terminate the person's employment. Furthermore, some businesses, like some schools, conduct safety drills or active shooter drills to prepare employees for possible incidents of violence.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we have taken a closer look at types of homicides that are relatively rare but have significant impact on large numbers of victims, both directly and indirectly. Before doing this, however, we focused on investigative psychology, a scientific enterprise that has contributed to the understanding of this form of criminal behavior.

Many of the crimes that are covered here—particularly serial murders—are often investigated by police with the help of investigative psychology, loosely referred to as "profiling." Because profiling is the commonly used term, we employ it in the chapter but have divided it into five areas: psychological profiling, suspect-based profiling, geographical profiling, crime-scene profiling, and equivalent death analysis. Investigative psychology, which refers to the application of psychological research and principles to the investigation of criminal behavior, is used particularly in crime-scene profiling, but it can occur in all forms. It typically includes crime scene investigative methods, such as reviewing features of the modus operandi, the personation or signature, and staging. Crime scene profiling focuses more on the offender, identifying personality traits, behavioral patterns, demographic features, and sometimes geographical habits, such as the distance offenders travel from their homes.

Crime scene profiling is a strategy widely used in law enforcement, particularly but not exclusively for multiple murders or sex crimes. In serial murders, for example, profiling is helpful particularly if the offender demonstrates some psychopathology, such as a specific method of torture. However, it may also be very useful for nonviolent crimes, such as burglaries or arsons. Profiling is a very complex enterprise, though, and unfortunately it is often based on hunches or anecdotal information. However, with increasingly larger databases made available to professional profilers, along with scientifically rigorous methods applied to the techniques they use, there is hope that the enterprise will gain more validity. Rarely does a profile provide the specific identity of an offender, but it is not intended to. As Douglas et al. (1986) noted, profiling tries to narrow the field to a manageable number of suspects.

Following the profiling material, we addressed more directly the crimes that are the main focus of the chapter. Multiple murders can be divided into three main categories: serial, spree, and mass killings, but the spree murder category is losing favor with

criminologists and investigators, because multiple murders generally fall into one of the other two categories.

The form of multiple murder that most terrorizes a community is the serial killing, particularly because it may appear that anyone can be a potential victim at any time, and the killer is at large. Serial killers generally choose their victims for their specific characteristics, but these characteristics can encompass a very large variety of victims. For example, victims may be women in their twenties, transients, preadolescent and adolescent boys, or residents in health care facilities, to name just a few. In the case of the rare female serial killers, victims may be husbands or intimate acquaintances, children, or other individuals dependent on them for care.

Mass killings are divided into classic and family mass murders. We focused on the classic form here, both because incidents are increasing and because researchers are giving it more attention. A mass killing is defined as one having three or more victims during one incident. It is referred to as an active shooter situation while it is in progress. The chapter provides multiple illustrations of mass killings over the past 50 years. Though they are still rare compared with the homicides discussed in the previous chapter, active shooter situations get much media attention and are increasingly gaining more scientific research. There is no demographic profile of an active shooter, but some behavioral characteristics have been identified and are presented. There is no debate that the availability of lethal weapons is a contributing factor to this social problem.

There are many descriptions and illustrations of mass murder but few empirical studies. In the classic form of mass murder, an individual enters a scene and opens fire on a group of people, such as in a restaurant, a place of worship, or a place of work. This form of mass murder is usually carefully planned, and the victims are often symbols of the murderer's discontent. Alternatively, the group of victims includes one or more individuals whom the killer hates or blames for his misfortunes. Mass murderers are typically socially isolated and withdrawn and have inadequate interpersonal and social skills. Nevertheless, researchers also have found that they typically have at least one significant person in their life. They may crave the power they gain from their crimes or may have grandiose aspirations to be famous. They also may be searching for significance in their lives.

We discussed unique crimes that have the potential of becoming mass murders, such as school and workplace violence. School violence is a widespread problem in the educational system, although it is not clear that it is on the increase, and it rarely ends in death. In the 1990s, however, an inordinate number of school shootings were reported, the most noteworthy being the Columbine incident in Littleton, Colorado, in 1999. The death toll at Columbine was surpassed by the toll at Sandy Hook elementary school in Connecticut, but the latter was distinctive because it was carried out by someone outside the school itself. Then came the mass shooting in Parkland, Florida in 2018, where 17 were killed by a former student. Over the past decade, additional school shootings have occurred, leaving fewer direct victims but traumatizing students, school personnel, and the communities at large. Despite the fact that school shootings remain relatively rare events, many states mandate safety drills, and some mandate active shooter drills in their public schools. The great majority of public schools have a threat assessment system to evaluate whether a particular student or students pose substantial threats to others.

Investigations of school shootings consistently find that peer rejection and social rejection in general were factors contributing to the eruption of violence. However, other factors, such as cruelty to animals and unusual fascination with guns and other weaponry, often appeared in the background of school shooters. Virtually all had communicated their intentions to other students, sometimes in very specific terms.

The chapter ends with coverage of workplace violence, another phenomenon that may or may not end in mass murder. Offenders are divided into four categories: those having

no connection to the workplace but are violent during the commission of another crime, those who have received some service provided by the organization, those who currently or formerly worked there, and those who have some relationship with one or more employees. The vast majority of violence is perpetrated by the first category, those who come into the workplace from the outside, such as the convenience store robber who kills four employees. However, most psychological research has focused on the third type, the disgruntled employee who kills supervisors and/or fellow workers. These individuals are not only angry but also usually socially isolated and seriously depressed. Typically, they expect or plan to die at the scene. Nonetheless, disgruntled employees as a group do not perpetrate violence in the workplace. The challenge for employers, and employee support groups, is to address their concerns and make the workplace a more conducive place for all who are associated with it.

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Define investigative psychology, and list and define the various forms of profiling.
2. List and define the types of multiple murder, and provide an illustration of each.
3. List and define the types of multiple murder, and provide an illustration of each.
4. Identify and discuss the five-category typology based on the motivations for mass killings provided by Fox and Levin.
5. What are the psychological characteristics of mass murderers, according to the available research?
6. According to the available research, what characteristics are school shooters most likely to have in common?
7. What are the categories of workplace violence?

11

Psychology of Modern Terrorism

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Examine the many definitions of terrorism.
- Evaluate the motives and goals of terrorist groups.
- Define and contrast domestic and international terrorism
- Introduce a typology of terrorism in order to emphasize the multidimensional features of persons who engage in it.
- Introduce Quest for Significance Theory to explain terrorist motives.
- Introduce Terror Management Theory as another explanation for terrorist motives.
- Describe the lone wolf terrorist.
- Identify the motives of terrorists and identify psychological concepts that contribute to the understanding of terrorist activity.

  - "Terrorist acts are defined to a large degree by their impact, and especially their psychological effects" (Ditzler, 2004, p. 189).
  - Without a doubt, "the September 11 attack had achieved its purpose: to create a global psychological state of fear, uncertainty, and terror" (Marsella, 2004, p. 39).
  - "Terrorism, like a shark attack, wields tremendous psychological impact" (Victoroff, 2005, p. 33).
  - "As a form of intelligible human behavior, terrorism has fundamental psychological aspects" (Kruglanski, Crenshaw, Post, & Victoroff, 2008, p. 98).

As the above quotes indicate, the nature of terrorism is basically psychological; its aim is to create crippling fears and psychological debilitation in a civilian population (Levant, 2002). Given its uniqueness, it is clear that psychology has an important role to play in understanding terrorism, counteracting it, and treating its traumatizing effects (Levant, Barbanel, & DeLeon, 2004). Not until September 11, however, did psychologists demonstrate more than a passing interest in investigating, studying, and writing about this topic (Horgan, 2017; Marsella, 2004).

On that day, an entire nation and much of the world were stunned by the sudden destruction of life and property, when two commercial airliners struck the World Trade Center in New York City, a third was flown into the Pentagon outside Washington, and a fourth crashed into a field in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. The plane that crashed in Pennsylvania was believed to be heading for the White

House, but passengers on board took over the plane, preventing it from remaining on its original course. At the World Trade Center, 2,823 were killed; at the Pentagon, 184 lives were lost; and all 40 passengers died in the Pennsylvania crash. Nineteen terrorists (all under the age of 35) were directly involved in the airline hijacking (10 at the World Trade Center, 5 at the Pentagon, and 4 in Pennsylvania) (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2002).

The 9-11 attacks were followed by a number of additional terrorist attacks across the globe. They include, for example, the Bali bombing in 2002, the Madrid bombings of 2004, the London bombing of 2005, the Mumbai attack of 2008, and from 2011 to 2015 attacks throughout the Middle East conducted by Islamic extremists and other terrorist organizations in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Yemen. In addition to these international examples, there is growing concern about the rise in domestic terrorism, a concept that has thus far defied clear definition. Domestic terrorists, as we note shortly, produce fear and havoc within a nation's borders.

The 21st century has seen an enormous increase in books, articles, and commentary on the psychological foundations of modern-day terrorism by psychologists, psychiatrists, and other mental health professionals. The slaughter of innocent civilian populations and the destruction of their homes and businesses for some political, religious, or social purpose is considered, by most societies, serious criminal behavior.

Terrorists are often described as abnormal individuals, sometimes by using terms like evil, psychologically insane, immoral, seriously mentally disordered, or psychopathic killers. Indeed, their outrageous, inhumane attacks on innocent persons challenge the view that terrorists are rational, emotionally stable individuals. However, there is very little evidence that members of terrorist organizations are mentally unstable, irrational, or psychopathic (Maikovich, 2005; Monahan, 2011; Sarangi & Alison, 2005). In fact, many studies report that terrorists, particularly those who belong to groups, are psychologically much healthier and considerably more stable than other violent criminals (Silke, 2008). There are exceptions, as we will note later in the chapter. Essentially, though, people who demonstrate mental or emotional disorders do not make good terrorists. "They lack the discipline, rationality, self-control and mental stamina needed if terrorists are to survive for any length of time" (Silke, 2008, p. 104). Well-organized terrorist groups immediately expel individuals from their ranks who are emotionally unstable, primarily because they represent a security threat (Post & Gold, 2002). As we learned in Chapter 5, much of the aggression displayed by violent criminals is spontaneous or reactive; terrorist organizations go to great lengths preparing for their attacks, and any breach of their plans seriously compromises their goals. In summary, terrorism—especially that perpetrated by well-organized groups or organizations—is most often a rational behavior based on the belief that violence is morally justified and necessary to further political or religious goals (Ruby, 2002). It is not rational to nonterrorists, but it is rational to the person or group that embraces it.

Over many years the world has been dealing with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). Many experts prefer to call the terrorist group ISIS, referring to the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham. We will use both terms, depending on the reference or quotation. ISIS has been a dangerous terrorist organization that has the ambitious goal to solidify and expand its control of territory and to govern by implementing its violent interpretation of sharia (Islamic) law (Olsen, 2014). The organization believes it requires territory to remain legitimate and follow caliphate rule (Wood, 2015). And, despite statements by persons holding high political power, ISIS has not been defeated.

The frightening terrorist message of ISIS is promoted by images of extreme violence and brutality and the innovative use of social media. However, ISIS must not be equated with the practice of Islam as a religion. Muslims across the world are peaceful people and do not support the tactics of radical groups that perpetrate violence in their name.

Misunderstanding of Islam is demonstrated in a surge in hate crimes against Muslims, as noted earlier in the book.

ISIS has strongly encouraged lone individuals or insular groups in the United States and other nations to attack the authority figures and cultural events and symbols in their own countries. These lone terrorist or insular groups that are directly or loosely tied to terrorist organizations in other countries are often referred to as Homegrown Violent Extremists (HVEs). Terrorist attacks by HVEs are quickly becoming the preferred strategy in modern terrorism, often enabled by access to dark sites on the Internet. An example of an HVE attack advocated by foreign terrorist organizations is the 2013 Boston Marathon bombings to be discussed later in the chapter.

The plots devised by HVEs are difficult to identify beforehand because they often display few behaviors that law enforcement and intelligence officers usually utilize to detect readiness to commit violence (Rasmussen, 2015). In some cases, those who carry out attacks have been on the radar of government officials, but without sufficient evidence to question or detain them. Moreover, "The perceived success of previous lone offender attacks combined with al-Qaida's, AQAP's, and ISIL's incendiary propaganda promoting individual acts of terrorism has raised the profile of this tactic" (Rasmussen, 2015, p. 4). AQAP is an acronym for "Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula," a Sunni extremist group based in Yemen that has orchestrated numerous terrorist attacks.

ISIS is not the only terrorist organization that presents a serious threat. There are many others. The group Boka Haram, an affiliate of Al Qaeda that kidnapped over 200 Nigerian girls in 2014, is responsible for the slaughters of over 5,000 people in that country. In some countries (e.g., Syria and Yemen), groups and individuals are trained in terrorist techniques and sent back to other countries to carry out their crimes. In April 2015, an Ohio man who trained with a terrorist group in Syria was charged with returning to the United States, allegedly with instructions to attack a military base or a prison (Shane, 2015). As noted by Mazzetti, Schmidt, and Hubbard (2014), "Beyond the militant groups fighting for control of territory, Syria has become a magnet for Islamic extremists from other nations who have used parts of the country as a sanctuary to plot attacks" (p. A1). Besides Al Qaeda, the terrorist groups of Khorasan and the Nusra Front are formidable direct threats to the United States (Mazzetti et al., 2014).

The counterterrorism policy in the United States soon after Al Qaeda's attacks of September 11, 2001 largely focused on jihadist terrorism. Currently, that very policy has been called into question as a result of chaos within the executive branch of government and lack of agreement between the executive and legislative branches. Nevertheless, international terrorism is not the only problem "[I]n the last decade, domestic terrorists—*people who commit crimes within the homeland and draw inspiration from U.S.-based extremist ideologies and movements*—have killed American citizens and damaged property across the country" (Congressional Research Service, 2017, p. ii). Domestic terrorism has become a major issue in the United States as well as other countries in recent years. Thus, much of the attention in the chapter will be directed at terrorism perpetrated by both international organizations and "homegrown" terrorists.

Definitions and Examples

Throughout this book, and most particularly in Chapters 9 and 10, we have encountered individuals who terrorized others through their criminal activity. Serial killers, for example, terrorize communities, domestic abusers terrorize members of their household, and a home invader may terrorize a family. Mass killers terrorize while they are carrying out their attacks. However, to terrorize in this way is not to be a terrorist in the context of this chapter.

In federal law, terrorism is defined as "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (Code of Federal Regulations, 18 U.S.C § 2331(1)). Under federal law, terrorism may be either domestic or international, depending on the origin, base, and objectives of the terrorist organization or individual (U.S. Department of Justice, 2000a). The federal government also uses the terms "terrorist" and "extremist" interchangeably when referring to someone engaged in domestic terrorism (Congressional Research Service, 2017). In addition, it does not differentiate between terrorism committed by groups, organizations, and individuals.

Domestic Terrorism

Domestic terrorism is "perpetrated by individuals and/or groups inspired by or associated with primarily U.S.-based movements that espouse extremist ideologies of a political, religious, social, or environmental nature" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2019b, p. 1). Moreover, "domestic *terrorists* do not simply operate in the homeland, but they also *lack foreign direction*" (Congressional Research Service, 2017, p. 4). Bandura (2016) writes: "Like foreign terrorists, domestic terrorists target innocent civilians, carry out their attacks surreptitiously while aiming for maximum publicity, and—unless they are suicide bombers—try to get away safely" (p. 332). They are often citizens of the countries where they reside—whether the United States or other countries—and blend into the general public and go about an ordinary routine in daily living. Basically, domestic terrorism is homegrown terrorism. Domestic terrorists are usually not affiliated with terrorist organizations but are often described as lone wolves or lone offenders or are connected to small cells. They often have no record of arrests, and leave no record of their planned attacks. They are essentially "unremarkable" (Horgan, Shortland, & Abbasciano, 2018).

Although the above definition will suffice for material covered in this chapter, domestic terrorism takes many forms and is not easy to define—and the concept itself is a controversial one. For example, some would like to broaden the definition to enable it to apply to more individuals, including mass murderers discussed in the previous chapter who had no indication in their backgrounds of antigovernment sentiments or attempts to influence governmental policies by intimidation. Critics of these efforts to expand the definition argue persuasively that severe punishment, including the death penalty, is already available for these crimes (Jenkins & Daddario, 2017).

Also controversial is the overlap between domestic terrorism and hate crimes. As noted by the Congressional Research Service (2017), "The grey area between domestic terrorism and hate crime hints that in some instances, suspects with links to domestic terrorist movements or ideologies supporting domestic terrorism may be charged with hate crimes" (p. 6). A good example of the difficulty in distinguishing domestic terrorism from hate crime occurred during the rally "Unite the Right" in August 2017 in Charlottesville, Virginia (see Box 11–1).

In hindsight, a clear case of domestic terrorism was the Oklahoma City bombing, which occurred on April 19, 1995. On that day, a truck bomb (designed and detonated by Timothy McVeigh) destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. The blast killed 168 persons (19 were children, most of whom were in a day care center on the premises) and injured 684.

This is phrased as "in hindsight" because McVeigh was not tried under antiterrorism laws in effect at that time. Rather he was charged with killing federal officials, conspiracy, bombing, and 168 counts of capital murder. Nevertheless, McVeigh was a domestic terrorist. A U.S. citizen and Persian Gulf War military veteran, he "was deeply involved in the white-supremacist militia gun culture" (Bandura, 2016, p. 332).

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 11–1 A RALLY, THEN A DEATH

The "Unite the Right" rally planned in Charlottesville, Virginia in August 2017 was hailed by its supporters as a means to protest the city's taking down of a statue to confederate general Robert E. Lee. The evening before the planned rally, white supremacists, neo-Nazis, and other extremists held a march, chanting racist and antisemitic slogans. Some carried semiautomatic firearms, and Nazi and neo-Nazi emblems, Confederate battle flags, and torches. In addition, symbols of past and present anti-Muslim and antisemitic groups were in view—on placards, on clothing, on tattoos. It was the largest gathering of white supremacists in the United States in two decades.

White supremacists "believe in racial separation and that society discriminates against them" (Congressional Research Services, 2017, p. 17). The supremacists' beliefs are encapsulated in the slogan known as the "fourteen words." "We must secure the existence of our race and a future for white children" (Congressional Research Services, 2017, p. 17).

The next day during the "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, counterprotesters expressed opposition to the march the night before and to the symbolic meaning and hatred that were expressed. As the counterprotesters and the extremists clashed in the streets, avowed white supremacist James Alex Fields, Jr. plowed into the counterprotesters with his car, killing Heather Heyer and injuring 19 others. Both state and federal charges were subsequently filed against Fields.

The Department of Justice (DOJ) was undecided about whether Field's criminal acts constituted a hate crime or domestic terrorism. After some debate, DOJ eventually decided to open a civil rights investigation into the incident, presumably pursuing possible hate crime charges. Meanwhile, Attorney General Jeff Sessions further explored the possibly of characterizing the incident as domestic terrorism, but ultimately decided to pursue charges of hate crimes instead.

On December 7, 2018, Fields was convicted in a Virginia state court of first-degree murder, five counts of aggravated malicious wounding, and one hit-and-run count. He was later charged with 30 federal hate crimes, pleaded guilty to 29 of 30 of those charges, and received six life sentences.

Questions for Discussion

1. What arguments would you make for and against charging Fields with domestic terrorism? What arguments would you make for and against charging him with hate crimes?
2. Some would argue that Fields violated enough "ordinary" criminal statutes (first-degree murder, malicious operation of a vehicle, etc.) to make him eligible for the lengthy prison sentence he received. Explain the importance of charging him additionally with hate crimes. ■

McVeigh was convicted and eventually executed for this crime. His coconspirator, Terry Nichols, pleaded guilty in both federal and state courts to avoid the death penalty. The Oklahoma City attack remains the deadliest domestic terrorist incident ever committed on U.S. soil prior to the September 11, 2001 attacks.

McVeigh's primary motive was revenge against the federal government for the FBI's siege of a religious sect compound in Waco, Texas, in 1993 and the Weaver family in Ruby Ridge, Idaho. The Waco sect was suspected of gun violations and resisted the government's attempt to enter the compound. The confrontation between the FBI and sect members ended in a rapidly growing blaze in the compound that killed many members of the sect. Ruby Ridge was the site of an eleven-day standoff in 1992 between U.S. Marshals and the Hostage Rescue Team of the FBI. Randy Weaver, a self-proclaimed white supremacist, his family, and his friend Kevin Harris, resisted the U.S. Marshalls' attempted arrest of Weaver.

In the ensuing siege, Weaver's wife, his 14-year-old son, and a U.S. Marshall were killed. McVeigh was apparently so enraged by the Ruby Ridge event that he carried out his carefully planned antigovernment attack three years later.

On November 5, 2009, Army Major Nidal Hasan killed 13 people and wounded 32 others at Fort Hood, Texas. All but two were military personnel. Although we could consider this an illustration of mass murder of the workplace violence variety discussed in Chapter 10, the circumstances of the shooting—including words shouted by Hasan as he opened fire—led the Department of Defense (DoD) to consider this an example of domestic terrorism. As will be mentioned later in the chapter, Hasan also had exchanged email correspondence with a prominent al-Qaeda recruiter. An independent review was undertaken to address possible deficiencies in DoD's force protection and identify employees who could potentially pose credible threats to themselves or others (Monahan, 2011).

Other illustrations of domestic terrorism include actions by members of far-right extremist groups, including political and religious white supremacists, such as Aryan Nations and neo-Nazi organizations. The gunman who killed 22 in El Paso in 2019 was charged with capital murder under Texas law but also might be charged under federal law with domestic terrorism or with hate crimes. Domestic terrorism is increasingly gaining attention in the scholarly literature (see, generally, Freilich, Chermak, & Caspi, 2009, and the special issues of the *American Psychologist*, October 2013 and September, 2011), and many law enforcement authorities consider it a greater threat to national security than international terrorism (Chermak, Freilich, & Shemtob, 2009).

International Terrorism

International terrorism refers to violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of criminal laws and are under the direction of a foreign government, group, organization, or person. Terrorist activities of this type are widespread and affect people throughout the world.

In the United States the most vivid example of international terrorism and the one most covered by the media and the research literature is that represented by the events that occurred on September 11, 2001. With that exception, most international terrorism aimed at U.S. property or citizens occurs in other countries. For example, in the late 20th century, groups in Columbia targeted American interests, kidnapped seven U.S. citizens, and carried out multiple bombings against oil pipelines used by American companies (U.S. Department of Justice, 2000a). Another example involves the American embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where in August 1998, both embassies were bombed almost simultaneously. The truck bombings killed 224, including 12 American citizens, and injured over 4,500 located in or near the embassies. The attacks on the American consulate in Benghazi in 2012 where four Americans, including Libyan Ambassador Christopher Stevens, were killed, are still another illustration.

Despite these sobering numbers, Americans living or visiting abroad are no more likely to be victimized by terrorist activities than are citizens of other nations. Terrorist activities were a fact of life in other parts of the world long before September 11, and they have continued since then. Japan, the United Kingdom, Spain, Indonesia, Israel, Palestine, Sri Lanka, Syria, Yemen, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia among others have all been targeted. On March 11, 2004, a series of coordinated bombings directed at the commuter train system of Madrid, Spain, was carried out by an al-Qaeda–inspired terrorist group. The attacks killed 191 people and injured 1,900. On July 7, 2005, the first Islamist suicide bombings in Europe occurred in London (Silke, 2008). Suicide bombers detonated explosives during the morning rush hour, killing 52 persons and injuring 700 (Silke, 2008). And on October 1, 2005, terrorists believed to be associated with the terrorist network Jemaah Islamiah

detonated bombs at two sites in Bali, Indonesia, killing 26 and injuring about 120 persons. Terrorism frightens and touches people worldwide. On January 7, 2015, the most deadly radical-Islamist terrorist attack ever in France followed weeks of warning from French officials. Victims were in or near the editorial offices of the satirical newspaper, *Charlie Hebdo*. Armed with assault rifles and other weapons, masked gunmen dressed in black identified themselves as belonging to al Qaida in Yemen (AQAP). Shouting "Allahu akbar!" they killed 11 people and injured 11 others. *Charlie Hebdo* had been repeatedly threatened for its caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad and other sketches.

There were 8,584 terrorist attacks around the world in 2018, a 23% decline from 2016 (Harris, 2018). About 18,700 people were killed in these attacks, and approximately 25% of the fatalities were the perpetrators themselves. Half of all these attacks occurred in just five countries: Afghanistan, India, Iraq, Pakistan, and the Philippines.

A quick scan of the literature reveals there are multiple definitions and illustrations of terrorism in addition to those cited above. Victoroff (2005) found at least 109 definitions within the academic literature alone. He asserts that the lack of consensus is probably inescapable, considering the heterogeneity of terrorist behaviors and the wide variety of declared or assumed motivations, justifications, and goals. As Monahan (2011, p. 15) asks succinctly, "(I)s it plausible to expect that the risk factors for joining the Irish Republican Army are the same as the risk factors for joining the Taliban?" Trying to reach a comprehensive definition is complicated by the maxim, "One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter" (Marsella, 2004, p. 15).

Despite the vast and sometime overwhelming array of definitions, Marsella (2004) finds some common ground in all of them, although—as in the definitions above—it may be implicit. "Terrorism is broadly viewed as (a) the use of force or violence (b) by individuals or groups (c) that is directed toward civilian populations (d) and intended to instill fear (e) as a means of coercing individuals or groups to change their political and social positions" (p. 16). These five elements are common to the illustrations used in this chapter. Marsella further notes that any comprehensive definition of terrorism also requires thoughtful consideration of the psychosocial context, motives, and consequences of the act.

Although terrorism is not a new phenomenon, terrorism today offers a much greater threat of violence to the world than ever before. This is because of the globalization of commerce, travel, the Internet, electronic communication in general, and the consequent rapid flow of information, "which puts economic disparities and ideological competition in sharp relief and facilitates cooperative aggression by far-flung but like-minded conspirators" (Victoroff, 2005, p. 3). Victoroff (2005) also notes that, because of this rise in globalization, religious fundamentalism has ascended as an aggrieved competitor with the market-economic, democratic, and secular trends of the rapidly changing modern world. Furthermore, this expanding globalization has been instrumental in the emergence of the first *multinational* terrorist group of the 21st century, al-Qaeda (Hellmich, 2008), the group responsible for the attacks of September 11. Multinationalist terrorists train and carry out attacks in many different countries, and they are typically associated with a philosophy that advocates a violent jihad, or duty to be violent. It is important to stress again that the religion of Islam, with which the term is associated, does not advocate violence. To most Muslims the term "jihad" simply means religious duty. However, multinational radical Islamic terrorist groups have given it a violent interpretation—a duty to wage religious war against infidels.

In response to the September 11 attacks, the United States launched strong military forces into Afghanistan in an effort to weed out al-Qaeda cells and training centers in that country. Soon thereafter, the United States invaded Iraq on the premise that it contained weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and in apparent pursuit of al-Qaeda–sponsored organizations. Critics argued forcefully—and events since then have documented—that the invasion of Iraq was unjustified. Furthermore, many people believe that such aggressive

military responses are rarely successful in preventing future attacks because they do not address the root conditions that spawn terrorism (Marsella, 2004). Instead, "there must be a response to prevent its emergence and its growth and development as an appealing option" (Marsella, 2004, p. 34). "(T)errorism may be contained but never defeated as long as there are real or perceived threats or injustices that foster widespread hatred and revenge. There may be small and large military successes, but eventually there must be coming to grips with the strengths and weaknesses of the human psyche and the cultural milieu in which it is fostered" (Moghaddam & Marsella, 2004b, p. 4).

Classification of Terrorist Groups and Individuals

In addition to the domestic and international categories, there are several other ways to classify terrorism and those who engage in it. The FBI classifies terrorists according to political leanings. For example, **right-wing terrorists** are groups or individuals that generally adhere to an antigovernment or racist ideology and often engage in a variety of hate crimes and violence. They may be prompted to become active by the passage of legislation or by government policy in opposition to their beliefs, such as laws placing restrictions on gun ownership or taxation or laws granting civil rights to various groups, such as marriage equality laws or laws applying to the children of undocumented immigrants.

Right-wing terrorists
Extremist groups that adhere to an antigovernment or racist ideology and often engage in a variety of hate crimes and violence.

Far-right organizations are receiving considerable research scrutiny. Freilich et al. (2009) note that, though the domestic far right is not easily defined, it is composed of individuals or groups that are fiercely nationalistic, antiglobal, suspicious of centralized federal authority, and reverent of individual liberty, such as the right to own guns or be free from taxes. They also believe in conspiracy theories, believe attacks to national sovereignty and/or personal liberty are imminent, and consequently participate in paramilitary training in survival skills. Interestingly, and perhaps not surprisingly, the number of far-right groups in existence today, both in the United States and worldwide, is increasing.

Left-wing extremist groups have also been prevalent in American history. Although less likely to be labeled "terrorists," their actions may qualify them for that designation when they move from political activism to violent activities. Historically, left-wing extremism developed from working-class movements seeking in theory to eliminate class distinctions. More modern left-wing extremists, however, protest and politically agitate against certain governmental policies, discrimination, and environmental issues. According to Smith and Morgan (1994), the extreme left "is characterized by extreme egalitarianism, an extreme hatred of racism and capitalism, and an overt opposition to militarianism" (p. 44).

Left wing extremists
Political activists who move from activism to violence.

In the 1970s, a number of radical left groups were in operation. Some, but not all, were regularly engaged in violence. The Weather Underground—originally called the Weathermen (taken from a line in a Bob Dylan song)—was a group created as an offshoot of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) to promote social change. SDS—along with many other groups—strongly opposed the Vietnam War and later actively engaged in the civil rights movement. The Weathermen and other similar groups (e.g., the Symbionese Liberation Army), however, went beyond peaceful protests. They smuggled bombs into government buildings, banks, and restaurants, though they typically tried to warn the public before the bombings. Nevertheless, their members were also associated with assassinations of law enforcement officers, and other deaths sometimes resulted from their criminal activities. (See Burrough (2015), for a journalistic review of these radical groups and efforts by the FBI to contain them.)

Another powerful and well-known left extremist group was the Black Panther Party, an African American organization that was established to promote black influence through

militant-type protests and demonstrations. The Black Panthers also encouraged young African Americans to be proud of their heritage and sponsored various programs to help the black community, including recreational and nutritional programs. The organization was most active in the United States from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. Law enforcement organizations were highly suspicious of the group's intentions and went to great lengths to discredit and destroy the organization, despite lack of evidence of violence. Among the most controversial law enforcement activities was the raid on Black Panther headquarters that included the fatal shooting of two Panthers, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, in 1969.

Special interest extremists
Persons whose activism revolves around one issue and ultimately turns to violence.

Another FBI classification is **special interest extremists**, whose activities revolve around one issue about which they are passionate. The predominant representatives of this group are violent antiabortion groups that firebombed women's health centers during the 1990s. A number of physicians who provided abortions were killed by individuals who were sympathetic to the groups' views, over 20 years after *Roe v. Wade*, the landmark 1973 decision that legalized abortion in every state. As late as 2009, Dr. George Tiller, a physician who had provided abortion services and advocated for women's health over many years, was shot to death in Kansas (Editorial Board, 2019). In recent years, though firebombings and murders of this type have declined, other violence and threats against abortion providers and their staff have increased.

Radical environmental groups
Environmental activists who have used terrorist tactics to draw attention to dangers in or to the environment.

The special interest extremist category also includes **radical environmental groups**, or ecoterrorists, such as the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). The ELF organization received particular attention during the late 1990s by destroying homes, earth-moving equipment, power lines, computer systems, and buildings that they believed damaged the earth's ecology. In its own words, the organization's primary mission is to "speed up the collapse of industry, to scare the rich, and to undermine the foundations of the state."

Another extremist group is the animal rights extremists who engage in such crimes as vandalism, theft, the destruction of property, and arson. They avoid physical violence directly targeting people or animals. One extremist animal rights group is the Animal Liberation Front (ALF).

Neither the ALF nor the ELF maintains formal rosters or leadership structures (Congressional Research Service, 2017). The ALF's "moral code includes the belief that animals possess inalienable rights such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and this suggests that animals cannot be owned" (Congressional Research Service, 2017, p. 18).

Nuclear/biological/chemical (NBC) terrorism
Terrorist activities carried out with the use of nuclear, biological, or chemical substances.

During the past several decades, fear of **nuclear/biological/chemical** (abbreviated **NBC**) **terrorism** has apparently accelerated. The thought of being exposed to an invisible or undetectable agent can be more frightening to the general public than the prospect of physical injury or death caused by conventional weapons. Furthermore, the threat of NBC terrorism is more realistic today because terrorists are able to take advantage of the greater availability of information and weapons technology.

Nuclear terrorism includes the use of nuclear bombs or dirty bombs that make use of radioactive material and thus far has not been known to occur. The public is periodically told, however, of thwarted attempts to plant dirty bombs in various global locations. In Spring 2012, an al-Qaeda plot to place a bomb in an airline departing from Yemen and heading for the United States was stopped; the "terrorist" was apparently a CIA undercover agent who had infiltrated a terrorist training ground and kept U.S. officials apprised of the plan. By design, he was "arrested" before the plot unfolded.

Unknown and unforeseen attacks with chemical agents or biological agents, on the other hand, have happened. The use of sarin, a deadly nerve agent, in the subway system of Tokyo, Japan, in 1995, provides a horrifying example. The attacks were carried out by the doomsday cult Aum Shinrikyo (Supreme Truth Sect) and resulted in the deaths of 11 people and injuries to more than 5,000. It is estimated that about 375 pounds of sarin is enough to kill over 50,000 persons. The use of biological agents in this context is

sometimes referred to as **bioterrorism**. It involves the use of bacteria, viruses, germs, and other agents such as anthrax, bubonic plague, and smallpox (Marsella, 2004). A recent example of domestic bioterrorism is represented by the anthrax attacks that occurred in the United States less than a month after 9/11. The bioterrorist(s) sent the anthrax by letter to various persons in the eastern sections of the United States, including the Washington offices of Senators Patrick Leahy and Tom Daschle, and the New York office of former CBS anchor Dan Rather. Anthrax is an acute infectious disease caused by the spore-forming bacterium *Bacillus anthracis*. Although anthrax is most commonly found in hoofed mammals, it can also infect humans. Symptoms of the disease vary depending on how the disease was contracted, but they usually occur within seven days after exposure. The serious forms of human anthrax are inhalation anthrax, cutaneous (skin) anthrax, and intestinal (ingestion) anthrax. Inhalation (pulmonary) anthrax starts with inhalation of anthrax spores and has a mortality rate of around 95%, even with treatment. Cutaneous anthrax starts with the spore colonizing the skin through an abrasion, cut, or wound. The mortality rate of the cutaneous anthrax ranges from 20% to 25% without treatment, and is less than 1% with treatment. Intestinal anthrax, by far the worst, is usually transmitted through eating contaminated meat. It has a mortality rate of 95%, even when treated.

The bioterrorist(s) sent letters containing both inhalation and cutaneous anthrax to the victims. (The FBI believes the anthrax mailer was a microbiologist, Dr. Bruce Ivins, who committed suicide on August 1, 2008, before formal charges were filed.) The anthrax spores were mixed with a light powder in the folds of the letters. The first known case of the anthrax letter attack killed a photo editor of a newspaper in Boca Raton, Florida, in October 2001. In total, the bioterrorist letters resulted in at least five deaths due to inhalation anthrax infections; another eight cases of nonfatal cutaneous anthrax infections were reported during 2001. Bioterrorism, if delivered under the right conditions and by using a highly infectious biological agent, could be devastating. The fear of bioterrorism is so intense in some individuals that they entertain its possibility whenever an influenza problem arises. For example, when "swine flu" (H1N1) erupted in Mexico and several states in Spring 2009, radio talk shows and the Internet were flooded with comments that this was the work of bioterrorists. By the fall, when H1N1 had reached near-pandemic proportions, the chatter had turned to criticism of the government for not acting swiftly to prevent it.

Although it is important to outline various forms of extremist groups or individuals, it is also important to highlight those that have caused the most harm. For example, white supremacists and other far-right extremists have killed more people since 9/11 than any other category of domestic extremist, being responsible for 71% of terrorism fatalities between 2008 and 2017. In 2017, 60% of attacks were by racists, anti-Muslims, anti-Semites, or antigovernment individuals or groups. In that one year alone, there were 65 incidents and 95 deaths. By contrast, left-wing groups or individuals (e.g., eco-terrorists) accounted for 11 attacks and radical Islam individuals or groups were responsible for 7 attacks (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2018).

A Terrorist Typology

In addition to categorizing terrorist groups on the basis of their interest, researchers have also attempted to provide typologies of individuals within the groups based on their motives. In most cases, the motivation can be generalized to the group as a whole. Ditzler (2004) describes a terrorist typology promulgated by the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College (Terrorism Research Center, 1997). The typology also incorporates some of the research conducted at RAND (Hoffman, 1993). The typology identifies three motivational

categories: (1) the rationally motivated terrorist, (2) the psychologically motivated terrorist, and (3) the culturally motivated terrorist.

Rationally motivated terrorists
Those motivated by goals of the organization they belong to and the possible consequences of their actions.

The **rationally motivated terrorists** are those who consider the goals of the organization and the possible consequences of their actions. They develop well-defined and theoretically achievable goals that may involve political, social, economic, or other specific objectives. In many cases, rationally motivated terrorists try to avoid loss of life but focus instead on destroying infrastructures, buildings, and other symbolic structures to get their message across. However, multiple examples of deaths caused by rationally motivated terrorists can be found. Note that this classification does not suggest that the behavior of the group is rational or logical; rather, they believe it is, and they typically carry out carefully planned activities. An example of this motivation is the Weather Underground described earlier.

Psychologically motivated terrorists
Motivated by their own sense of failure or inadequacy.

Psychologically motivated terrorists are driven by "a profound sense of failure or inadequacy for which the perpetrator may seek redress through revenge" (Ditzler, 2004, p. 202). The attraction to terrorism is usually based on the psychological benefits of group affiliation and collective identity. They are especially drawn to terrorist groups that have a charismatic leader. One variation of the psychologically motivated terrorist, though, is the lone wolf operation, "for whom the validation of the self is not derived through group affiliation, but through the sense of power, mastery, and autonomy that attends to the ability to make unilateral decisions" (Ditzler, 2004, p. 203). A classic example of this type of terrorist may be Theodore Kaczynski, known as the Unabomber. Kaczynski mailed or hand delivered a series of sophisticated bombs that killed three Americans and injured another 24 over a 17-year period. Often, lone wolf terrorists have strong feelings of social alienation, anger, and extreme antigovernment ideology. In most instances, they view themselves as victims of the "system." We will return to the lone wolf terrorist later in the chapter.

Culturally motivated terrorists
Those who are motivated by fear of irreparable damage to their ways of living, national heritage, or culture.

Culturally motivated terrorists are driven by fear of irreparable damage to their way of living, national heritage, or culture done by an organization, foreign country, or powerful factions. Most often, religion is the aspect that generates the fervor or passion in the group as well as the individual. National or cultural groups that are largely governed or socially defined by a particular system of faith are often constantly vigilant for forces that may eradicate their religious way of life or cultural identity. Ditzler gives the example of Afghanistan under the Taliban, where "Islam provided not only a system of religious faith as understood in the West, but the entire system of civil and criminal law, political organization, and social behavior" (2004, p. 203). Under such conditions, a perceived threat to the faith would be cause for alarm and a threat to the group's existence. However, as we know from the millions of law-abiding and peaceful Muslims, most members of the religious group do not respond to threats to their way of life with acts of terrorism. One of the most troubling outcomes of the events of September 11 was the widespread and unjustified distrust of those of Islamic faith.

Followers and Leaders: Who Joins and Who Leads

Overall, terrorists are a very heterogeneous group, and the range of people who become involved in terrorism may be placed on a wide spectrum (Silke, 2008). They may differ in educational levels, family background, intelligence, gender, socioeconomic class, and religious conviction. Although young men make up the majority of terrorists, some are women, and a few men are much older than the average group member. In recent years, there have been anecdotal accounts of young people leaving the United States or other Western countries to attempt to join ISIS, but thus far no accurate data are available, and no systematic studies have been conducted to determine the extent of this phenomenon. Likewise, in recent

years there have been concerns about terrorist groups reaching out to young people through social media sites, posting and encouraging messages of hatred against certain groups.

In an investigation of 242 jihadi terrorists in Europe, Bakker (2006) was able to identify only five women recruits, which seems to be an unrealistically low number. Bakker (2006) also found that most of the terrorists were in their teens to mid-twenties, but some were also in their fifties. Over 70% of al-Qaeda members were married, including many who carried out suicide attacks (Sageman, 2004; Silke, 2008). Many married al-Qaeda members also had children.

Sageman (2004) found in a survey of extremist Islamist groups that over 60% had some higher levels of education, and three-quarters of them came from upper- or middle-class backgrounds. The 9/11 terrorist pilots included the middle-aged, middle-class urban planner Mohammad Atta, and the wealthy and educated Ziad Jarrah who enjoyed discos and beer (Victoroff, 2005). Although a significant number of terrorist members come from well-established or well-heeled family backgrounds, many come from the poorer and less-advantaged people of the world (Miller, 2006a). Many terrorists come from backgrounds where "menial work gives little satisfaction, political freedom is sparse or nonexistent, avenues of recreational escapism are few, and social mobility and hope for a better life is little more than a fantasy" (Miller, 2006a, p. 126).

In a summary of the literature on risk factors for terrorism, Monahan (2011) confirms the above. He notes that the mean age for terrorists is between 20 and 29, the preponderance is male, and most appear to be unmarried. Their backgrounds indicate no evidence of major mental illness or psychopathology. With respect to social class, "the evidence thoroughly contradicts the common belief that terrorists are disproportionately of lower social class. ...In terms of occupation, income, and educational level, terrorists appear to be largely indistinguishable from the local population" (p. 10).

Finally, Monahan (2011) posits, there is no evidence that terrorists of well-developed organizations have personality disorders or problems with substance abuse. In addition, "The search for personality traits that distinguish terrorists from non-terrorists with any degree of reliability has a long and frustrating history" (p. 12). Citing several researchers, Monahan notes that that search has been more or less abandoned. In essence, research reveals that a specific personality profile that characterizes a terrorist does not exist (Kruglanski et al., 2013).

Why Do They Join?

When people lack the skills and strategies to modify at least some of their social situations, feelings of helplessness usually result. This may explain why some individuals engage in terrorist activities, but by no means all. These feelings are in turn likely to provoke one of two response patterns: approach (attack) or avoidance (withdrawal). The withdrawal response, as theorized by Martin Seligman (1975), is often called **learned helplessness** or **reactive depression**. Some people feel there is nothing that can be done about their predicament, so why bother? This response pattern is vividly illustrated by powerless people living under dire economic conditions, who perceive that they have little opportunity for change—a life without hope. On the other hand, an alternative response is to attack, to lash out in desperation, especially if one believes this response pattern will be effective in improving one's circumstances, or the circumstances of one's family or community. If people have next to nothing or little hope for a better future, "the only thing you cannot take away from them is their religious or political or philosophical belief" (Miller, 2006a, p. 126). Especially if that belief tells them that, despite their hardships, their God is ultimately just and things will work out for them either in this world or in the next.

Learned helplessness (or reactive depression)
A learned passive and withdrawn response in the face of perceived hopelessness.

It has also been hypothesized that young people lacking self-esteem and a sense of self may be primary candidates for joining terrorist groups. This perspective fits well with Erik

Erikson's theory that adolescents reach a stage of identity formation during which ideologies are most likely to have a significant and potentially lasting impact. Erikson viewed identity and the sense of self as central themes in anyone's life course. Arena and Arrigo (2005) point out that some scholars have suggested that many terrorists have failed to effectively negotiate Erickson's eight stages and consequently have assumed a negative identity. The negative identity encourages these persons to turn to extremist organizations to finally experience purpose and meaning in their lives.

Social learning theory also provides some insight into the psychological processes that influence members to join a terrorist organization. Victoroff (2005) writes, "Teenagers living in hotbeds of political strife may directly witness terrorist behaviors and seek to imitate them or, even more commonly, learn from their culture's public glorification of terrorists—for example, the 'martyr posters' lining the streets of Shi'a regions of Lebanon and Palestinian refugee camps or the songs celebrating the exploits of the PIRA" (p. 18). However, although social learning theory has strong explanatory power for why they join, it does not completely explain why more young teenagers living within these social contexts do not become terrorists.

Quest for Significance Theory

Although the above perspectives have some validity in explaining how and why someone joins and engages in terrorism, Kruglanski and his colleagues (Kruglanski, Chen, Dechesne, Fishman, & Orehek, 2009; Kruglanski & Orehek, 2011; Kruglanski et al., 2013, 2018) have proposed a model that provides a comprehensive framework for explaining the behavior. The model is called the **quest for significance theory**. The motivation to engage in terrorism, the model posits, is the search to be meaningful and recognized as someone significant. The quest for significance represents the "attainment of what the culture says is worth attaining, the kind of competence that the culture deems worthy, and for which one is accorded the admiration of others who matter to oneself" (Kruglanski et al., 2013, p. 561). Furthermore, "[P]sychological theorists have long realized that this quest constitutes a universal, human motivation variously labeled as the need for esteem, achievement, meaning, and control" (Kruglanski et al., 2017, p. 222). Basically, the quest for significance needs to be specifically activated by someone or some event in order for it to influence behavior. This quest may be activated by three events: (1) significant loss; (2) the threat of significant loss; and (3) the opportunity for significant gain.

Quest for Significance Theory
Relating to terrorism, theory proposes that terrorist wants to be meaningful and accomplish something in his or her life.

A loss of significance can occur in a variety of ways, including a failure in some important pursuit (Kruglanski et al., 2013, 2017). It also often happens when an individual is demeaned, ostracized, or rendered powerless by another person or social group. The primary way for that individual to regain significance may be to participate in violent or terrorist acts, either by oneself or as a member of a terrorist group. Sometimes it is the fear of losing power that determines one's engagement in terrorist activities. The racist Ku-Klux-Klan historically recruited members by appealing to their fear that blacks would become a dominant force in society and that they themselves would lose power and status. Furthermore, Bélanger et al. (2014) found evidence to support the observation that individuals who have lost significance will display greater readiness to self-sacrifice themselves, such as they may do in carrying out terrorist suicidal attacks.

The threat of significant loss may arise when a person fails or refuses to comply with the pressure to engage in terrorism. In other words, if the person resists engaging in suicidal terrorism, he risks the threat of being ostracized from the group.

The opportunity for significant gain may occur when the terrorist goals promise a considerable increase in status and self-esteem. If a person has undergone a series of personal setbacks and has developed a sense of meaninglessness, an organization that comes along

and offers the opportunity to become somebody, or to contribute to an important cause, becomes a powerful influence. Kruglanski et al. (2013) describe the tactic of indoctrinating young children into terrorist groups with convincing stories of martyrdom and heroism. This approach reflects the group's attempt to create a promised opportunity for immense significance once they join the cadres of the group's fighters later in their lives.

Once the quest for significance is activated, an ideology (a belief system) has to be put in place for the person to understand what is needed to obtain significance and life everlasting. Kruglanski et al. (2013) write: "We thus assume that ideology is relevant to radicalization because it identifies such radical activity as violence and terrorism as means to personal significance and justifies it on moral and effectiveness grounds" (p. 564). The ideology may be so demanding that it trumps all other goals, including protecting one's own family. Moreover, the ideology ensures that one be willing to undertake risk and sacrifices on behalf of the group.

The quest for significance theory has received considerable support across different cultures and geopolitical contexts (Kruglanski et al., 2018). Part of the theory's worldwide appeal is that it offers a general blueprint for developing interventions aimed to counteract or prevent violent extremists (Kruglanski et al., 2017). Essentially, this blueprint "may be used to systematically guide deradicalization and counteraradication efforts in an effort to address a pernicious trend that is currently threatening to destroy civilized societies worldwide" (Kruglanski et al., 2018, p. 116). However, the more challenging task is to identify an alternative, equally compelling avenue to significance and make this avenue available to radicalized individuals (or those at risk for radicalization) in order to sway them from violent extremism.

Terror Management Theory

Another general model that adds an additional motivational factor for engaging in terrorist activities is **terror management theory** (Jonas & Fritsche, 2013; Pyszczynski, Abdollahi, Greenberg, & Solomon, 2006). The theory was inspired by the works of Ernest Becker (1973, 1975). Similar to quest for significance theory, terror management theory (TMT) offers a useful framework for understanding the motivational forces that help explain why people engage in intergroup conflict, join terrorist organizations, and are willing to sacrifice themselves for a cause. According to the theory, the sacrifice and commitment to a group or cause can be negative (terrorism against innocent people) or positive (a religious commitment toward the betterment of all humankind).

Terror Management Theory
Model for engaging in terrorist activity that sees the person as afraid of own mortality and believes engaging in terrorism will reduce this fear.

The word "terror" in TMT refers to the high anxiety of eventual death that all humans face. The theory asserts that humans are continually and often keenly aware of their own mortality, and this is accompanied by the consistent threat of personal insignificance. The threat of death brings with it the "nightmare of ending up as 'a speck of insignificant dust in an uncaring universe'" (Kruglanski, Chen, Deschesne, Fishman, & Orehek, 2009, p. 335). The basic tenet of TMT is that people construct and maintain cultural worldviews as a way of avoiding the anxiety and fear that come from the knowledge that death is inevitable (Pyszczynski, Rothschild, & Abdollahi, 2008). "Cultural worldviews are individualized conceptions of reality, derived from the external culture, that provide meaning, purpose, value, and the hope of either literal or symbolic immortality, through either an afterlife or a connection to something greater than oneself that transcends one's mortal existence" (Pyszczynski et al., 2008, p. 318). "The worldview not only provides a canopy under which life makes sense on a grand scale but also prescribes principles to live by and standards for appropriate behavior" (Landau & Sullivan, 2015, p. 210). The worldview is more than merely an outlook on life; it is a formula for immortality (Becker, 1973; Landau & Sullivan, 2015). Reminders of one's own mortality encourage individuals to embrace their group's

culture and ideals (Kruglanski et al., 2009). People must believe that "some valued aspect of themselves will continue, either literally or symbolically, after cessation of their biological body" (Burke, Martens, & Fauchjer, 2010). Literal immortality refers to the form of afterlife existence, whereas symbolic immortality refers what legacy one leaves behind, such as—in the case of a terrorist—achievements, heroic feats, and martyrdom.

Perceived threats to a group's cultural worldview, in the form of humiliation, domination, and injustice by outgroups, are seen as the root causes underlying terrorist hatred, rage, and violence. On the basis of a growing body of research, Jonas and Fritsche (2013) conclude: "Research has shown that when reminded of death, people become more intolerant and aggressive toward outgroup others and more strongly supportive of military action in intergroup conflict" (p. 543). This conclusion applies to terrorist organizations in their quest to terrorize and destroy members of outgroups whom they perceive as serious threats to their beliefs, lifestyle, and worldview. From this perspective, one becomes significant and receives comfort in dealing with death by belonging to an ingroup that provides an opportunity for significance and for dealing effectively with death transcendence. It is perhaps comforting to believe that, in order to continue on in some fashion after death, one must fulfill the ingroup's requirements for being significant, leading a proper life, and contributing to its ultimate mission.

Overall, the quest for significance theory and terror management theory have a number of similarities but the major difference is the motivational factor. Significance theory contends that people are driven to become contemptuously significant within a given society or group. Terror management theory contends that people are driven to deal with inevitable death by striving for immortality in the hereafter. Both provide cogent explanations for many terrorist acts.

Violent and Nonviolent Extremists

As indicated throughout the chapter, terrorists are extremely heterogeneous. "It is now widely accepted in the literature that terrorists come from all spectrums of life, religious or ideological knowledge, and socioeconomic backgrounds" (Horgan et al., 2018, pp. 85–86). Horgan et al. believe it is crucial nonetheless to identify individual behavioral differences among terrorists in order to target violence prevention techniques more accurately. Likewise, though members of a particular terrorist group have a number of shared attributes, beliefs, and commitments that underlie extremism in general (Knight, Woodward, & Lancaster, 2017), some attributes distinguish members who are personally willing to directly participate and carry out extreme violence from those who are not so inclined.

Knight et al. (2017) investigated some notable differences between these two groups, in an effort to help law enforcement detect and stop potential extreme violence at early stages of investigations. Knight et al. reasoned that identifying psychological characteristics of violent extremists (VEs) compared to nonviolent ones (NVEs) is an important research undertaking.

Knight et al. (2017) and other researchers (Bartlett & Miller, 2012; Rahomullah, Larmer, & Abdalla, 2013) have discovered that radicalization does not automatically lead to extreme violence. In fact, research indicates that a majority of people with radical views and extremist ideas will never take part in extreme violence (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2014). But who are the ones who directly engage in violence?

Knight et al. used an in-depth case study of 40 extremist individuals to analyze key themes, and characteristics of each person. They discovered that, compared to nonviolent extremists (NVEs), violent extremists (VEs), during their lifetimes, had been exposed to extensive negative life experiences (such as extreme violence, hatred, and being considerably

bullied) and had deliberately isolated themselves from others. VEs also had been reported as having low self-esteem and had greatly underperformed in academic achievement and employment status. In other words, they failed to experience personal significance because of a lifetime of high levels of rejection, achievement failures, humiliation, and abuse. Noting that the need to belong is very potent in adolescence, Coll and Marks (2017) state that many terrorist attacks are perpetrated by adolescent males who experienced severe family challenges, such as "parental loss, radicalization of family members, or feelings of alienation from and conflict with parents" (p. 701). Furthermore, dangerous, violent group memberships frequently come after exclusion from other socially important group memberships, such as family, school, and nonviolent peers.

NVEs normally do not experience the same levels or variety of insignificance. NVEs are generally better educated, do not experience low self-esteem, and are usually highly motivated individuals who play vital roles in the success of the terrorist groups or organizations. While they do contribute to the terrorist group, they do not physically train or actively participate in violent attacks.

Suicidal Terrorism

Although most do not, some terrorists volunteer for suicide missions. For Western societies, suicide is often associated with despair, depression, or a disordered mind (Miller, 2006a). However, members of terrorist groups are *not* necessarily depressed nor do they necessarily see things as hopeless. Rather, upon entering a terrorist organization, they see themselves doing something worthwhile with their lives; and if they participate in a suicide mission, they see themselves as martyrs, bringing honor to their families and communities (LoCicero & Sinclair, 2008). Terrorists on suicide missions firmly believe that their death is for a just cause and that the act provides a ticket to another form of eternal life. As Kruglanski et al. (2009) note, "the willingness to die in an act of suicidal terrorism may be motivated by the desire to live forever" (p. 336). In the jihadist ideology, for instance, martyrdom does not result in an end of individual existence, but rather immortality under highly pleasurable conditions. In addition to paradise, for some insignificant individuals, suicidal terrorism offers the opportunity for a rare shot at immense "stardom" (Kurglanski et al., 2009, p. 349).

Al-Qaeda portrayed martyrdom as a highly desirable goal in the training camps of Afghanistan, and many recruits were willing to volunteer for suicide missions (Busch & Weissman, 2005). After reviewing several studies on the suicidality of terrorists involved in suicide bombings, Monahan (2011) noted that they are not otherwise suicidal—that is, were it not for their mission, they would not likely be candidates for suicide. In addition, the Koran specifically prohibits suicide (Post, McGinnis, & Moody, 2014). "But radical interpretations of the Koran have led to the adoption of suicide terrorism, justifying this as defensive aggression and rationalizing this not as the prohibited suicide, but as martyrdom instead, which is rewarded with a higher place in paradise" (Post et al., 2014, pp. 309–310).

A majority of terrorists lack the early developmental antisocial patterns found in chronic *violent* criminal offenders. They are often young men in their teens or twenties who even have been good students, and model citizens and participants in their communities or families, although this tends to be less correct about young, would-be terrorists from Western countries who want to join the cause from afar or hope to flee to training camps. The young persons who join terrorist groups may come from families who may even support their cause and their supreme sacrifice, although others are outcasts and isolated from their communities. Their willingness to sacrifice themselves comes from the rage and resentment they have for the unjust persecutions and humiliations they perceive as originating from outside groups, governments, or societies.

Fail-safe Procedures Miller (2006) notes that many terrorist organizations develop a fail-safe procedure to ensure that the suicide mission is completed. Terrorists eventually have the difficult task of coping with the realization that they must kill people, most often innocent men, women, and children. This realization can become psychologically stressful to maintain a terrorist lifestyle during the early stages of membership. Consequently, the organization must focus on intense indoctrination of the members who will carry out the mission, and restrict the tactical details of the mission to the leaders of the organization. As the suicide mission approaches, the organization will have those selected to complete the mission engage in a series of "point-of-no-return rituals" to ensure compliance. "These include having members write last letters to friends and relatives, videotaping a goodbye narrative, saying final prayers, and so on" (Miller, 2006, p. 131). These commitments make it increasingly difficult for the "living martyr" to back out. In those cases where the organization believes the martyr may back out, they arrange for a remote-control detonation, just in case (Silke, 2003).

Becoming a Terrorist: The Process of Radicalization

In the context of terrorism, radicalization is defined as an individual's indoctrination to fully embrace a terrorist group's ideology and mission, and to gradually embrace the level of violence necessary to reach the group's goals. Becoming a terrorist is for most people a gradual process (Horgan, 2005). It takes time to become a full-fledged member of a terrorist organization, and the process usually involves many steps, activities, and commitments. The change is frequently achieved by a gradual disengagement of self-censure—in other words, one eventually stops chastising oneself for thinking the excessive violence is wrong. The process usually involves small groups engaging in long periods of intense social interactions (Silke, 2008). Within the group, individuals gradually adopt the beliefs of the extreme members in a psychological process called risky shift (Silke, 2008). **Risky shift** refers to the tendency of groups to develop beliefs and make decisions that are more extreme than the initial inclination of its members. It should be emphasized, however, that group discussions do not usually change the members' initial beliefs into the opposite direction, but serves to shift them into a more extreme worldview in line with their initial views. For example, members may find their opinions regarding the injustices done to their in-group more extreme after group discussions.

Risky shift
Tendency of groups to make decisions that are more extreme than if the same decisions were made by individuals independent of the group.

Once they formally join the terrorist organization, the process is so gradual, and the recruits may not even recognize the transformation they are undergoing (Bandura, 2004). The recruits become deeply immersed in the ideology of the organization, and may even be expected to perform unpleasant acts to discover if they can tolerate hardships and cognitive dissonance without much self-censure. The social modeling of the more experienced peers becomes an integral part of the indoctrination process: "The training not only instills the moral rightness and importance of the cause for militant action; it also creates a sense of eliteness and provides social rewards of solidarity and group esteem for excelling in terrorist exploits" (Bandura, 2004, p. 140).

Another common factor in the backgrounds of many jihadi recruits is social marginalization (Silke, 2008), but as noted above, this is not necessarily the case. A majority of the recruits who joined al-Qaeda groups were socially isolated from friends, family, and cultural origins at the time they volunteered. One of the major attractions of terrorist groups is the psychological benefits of group affiliation (Ditzler, 2004). In fact, the opportunity to become a member of a meaningful, close-knit organization often holds much stronger attraction than the stated political objectives of the organization.

From a developmental perspective, ease of recruitment may depend to some extent on the fact that the youth being recruited are developmentally less competent decision makers than adults due to both cognitive and psychosocial factors (LoCicero & Sinclair, 2008).

Peer influence is often cited as the primary reason for joining a terrorist group (Victoroff, 2005). In April 2015, six Minnesota men, all in their late teens and early 20s, were charged in connection with attempts to join ISIS. A friend of theirs had traveled to Syria and joined the terrorist group and was said to have persuaded his six friends to join him. A U.S. Attorney in Minnesota was quoted as follows: "The person radicalizing your son, your brother, you friend may not be a stranger. It may be their best friend right here in town" (Grossman, Kesling, & Audi, 2015, p. 1). Increased social standing among family and friends is also listed as a principal reason, although in many cases, including the Minnesota example above, parents and friends cooperate with authorities and try to prevent or discourage the young people from joining the terrorist group. Once young recruits become members of the group, charismatic leaders have a very strong impact on their decision making as well as on the development of their value system.

One psychological element that may be additionally helpful in understanding why someone would become a terrorist is the cognitive construct. Constructs are mental representations of the social environment; they are our mental summaries of what we know and understand about the world, especially the social world. They are—as described above—their adopted worldview. Cognitive constructs allow flexibility of thought and increase our ability to anticipate future events and to alter a course of action based on unanticipated events. Some people possess more cognitive constructs and knowledge about the world than others. That is, some people are more cognitively complex and their decision making considers all grey areas. People who possess many sophisticated constructs are able to evaluate behavior and world events in more complex ways than people with few, crude constructs. In essence, a construct is an element of knowledge, which varies with age. As experiences and learning with the environment accumulate, the number, quality, and organization of these constructs normally change. It is likely that those who engage in terrorism as followers have fewer sophisticated constructs, but this cannot necessarily be assumed of leaders.

As pointed out by Commons and Goodheart (2007), "Individuals who operate at a more complex stage are less likely to respond with violent, non-empathic behavior" (p. 96). Therefore, leaders of terrorist organizations try to recruit young men who are enthusiastic but who operate at a relatively low level of cognitive complexity. This does not mean they look for individuals with low intelligence, only that they are young, naïve, idealistic, and often seek significance.

Terrorist Leaders

Leaders of terrorist organizations often have some level of charisma (Ditzler, 2004; Staub, 2004). Many are seen by their followers as profoundly significant and influential. Consequently, many recruits of terrorist organizations want to attain some degree of the leader's significance for themselves (Ditzler, 2004), or submit themselves to powerful leaders (Staub, 2004). In terrorist groups, there is often a strong hierarchy, chain of command, and strong expectation of **obedience to authority** (Staub, 2004).

Lone Wolf Terrorists

Although we most often associate terrorism with 9/11, most of the terrorist attacks in the United States have actually been carried out not by international terrorist groups but by one, sometimes two or three individuals who are commonly referred to as lone wolves, or actors or offenders. When the terrorist acts are carried out by isolated small groups, they are called cells. "Thus, in decentralized fashion, terrorist lone actors (lone wolves) or isolated small groups (cells) generally operate autonomously and in secret, all the while drawing

ideological sustenance, *not direction*, from propagandists operating in the free market of ideas" (Congressional Research Service, 2017, p. 2).

Lone wolf terrorist
Terrorist who operates alone, or occasionally with one or two others. May or may not be sympathetic to the goals of an established terrorist organization.

The United States appears to be especially vulnerable to the **lone wolf terrorist**. Available data suggest that, between the years 1968 and 2007, 42% of the identified lone wolf attacks in the world occurred in the United States (COT, 2007). Moreover, the explosion in popularity of all forms of social media, the Internet, and 24/7 cable channels have provided new virtual tools for the recruitment and propaganda platform for terrorist groups to reach out, not only to other like-minded extremists, but lonely, isolated young youths without a cause (Post et al., 2014). With these new forms of communication, terrorist groups are now turning to the tactic to empower and motivate individuals to commit violence terrorist acts on their own, independent of the terrorist chain of command. Although they act alone, "they see themselves as belonging to a virtual community, a virtual community of hatred" (Post et al., 2014, p. 321). Below we discuss three notable examples.

Boston Marathon Bombers

The two brothers responsible for the Boston Marathon bombing in April 2013 qualify as lone wolves. Twenty-six-year-old Tamerlan Tsarnaev and his 19-year-old brother Dzhokhar Tsarnaev planted twin pressure cooker bombs filled with nails, BBs, and explosives hidden in backpacks near rows of spectators close to the marathon finish line. The bombs detonated, killing an 8-year-old boy and two young women, and injuring more than 260 people, including 17 who lost limbs. Shortly after the incident they killed a campus police officer who may have recognized them from descriptions provided to law enforcement officers. As recently as spring of 2015 one bombing victim lost her second leg following a long period of attempted rehabilitation. (See Box 11–2 for additional discussion of the Marathon bombing.)

The younger brother admitted to authorities that the Boston Marathon attack was prompted by the killing of Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan, primarily by the United States

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 11–2 THE MARATHON BOMBING AND BEYOND

The annual Boston Marathon has for many years been a popular event attracting runners and spectators, many from across the country and the world. Many of those who converged on this small city on April 15, 2013, experienced horror and sadness that will likely never be forgotten. As noted in the text, two brothers planted bombs near the marathon finish line that resulted in three deaths and injuries to more than 260 others. As they were leaving the area the brothers carjacked a vehicle and kidnapped its driver, who ultimately escaped. They also shot to death a campus police officer.

Residents of the city and its surrounding suburbs lived in shock and in fear while the brothers—Tamerlan and Dzhokar Tsarnaev—remained at large. Police released photos of the two captured on video cameras. Images of Dzhokar wearing a white baseball cap backward and nonchalantly purchasing milk at a convenience store after the event were widely circulated, as were images of terrified victims and individuals coming to their aid. At one point when the brothers were being pursued, they engaged in a gun battle with police; in the course of that battle, Tamerlan was killed and Dzhokar escaped. The immediate episode had its bizarre ending four days after the marathon when Dzhokar was found wounded, hiding in a boat in a suburban backyard.

He was ultimately charged with 30 federal criminal counts (e.g., engaging in terrorist activities, murder, kidnapping), 17 of which carried the possibility of a death sentence, and he went to trial in April 2015, two years after the crimes that left the city reeling. Defense lawyers

tried unsuccessfully in as many as four pretrial hearings to have the trial moved out of Boston, citing the extensive pretrial publicity about the case.

During 16 days of testimony, prosecutors described the defendant as a terrorist who had been radicalized by online extremist Islamist teachings that call for avenging Muslim deaths (Levitz, 2015). Defense lawyers conceded that the defendant was involved but attempted to show throughout the proceedings and during the penalty phase that his older brother was the leader. They cited his youth and immaturity at the time of the crime. As noted in the text, Tamerlan was a devout follower of radical Islam and was said by the defense to have a strong influence on his brother and to be more responsible for the crimes. A jury rejected those arguments and decided unanimously in May 2015 that Dzhokhar Tsarnaev should be sentenced to death.

Throughout his trial, including the penalty phase when the jury was deciding whether to recommend death or life without parole, Tsarnaev sat stone faced and showed no remorse. Only once did he express emotion, when a relative testifying on his behalf broke down on the witness stand. An expression of remorse would have been a mitigating factor, although it alone might not have affected the ultimate outcome of the case. At his sentencing, however, Tsarnaev apologized for the crimes. It is interesting to observe, also, that had he been just 2 years younger at the time of the crime (i.e., 17 as opposed to 19), he would have been ineligible for the death sentence.

Tsarnaev, 25 years old in 2019, is held at the federal government's supermax facility in Florence, Colorado. His lawyers have appealed his death sentence on a number of grounds, including the trial judge's refusal to move the trial out of Boston, the alleged bias of two jurors, and the inordinate influence the older brother had over his younger sibling.

Questions for Discussion

1. In death penalty cases, juries consider both aggravating and mitigating factors in deciding whether to recommend a death sentence, but one group does not have to outweigh the other. In other words, even two mitigating factors can be enough to spare a person the death penalty, even if there are five aggravating factors. What aggravating and mitigating factors can you identify in this case?
2. The jury in this case was "death qualified," which is a requirement in all capital cases. Psychologists have conducted considerable research on this topic. Discuss the meaning and significance of this term.
3. Does research by Steinberg, cited in earlier chapters, have any relevance to this case? What about research on emerging adulthood, cited in Box 6–1?

(Reitman, 2013). The brothers were born in republics of the former Soviet Union but were brought to the United States by their parents—who later returned to their native countries. Tamerlan was an aspiring boxer who later became a follower of radical Islam. Dzhokar became a naturalized American citizen on September 11, 2012, seven months before the bombing. At the time he launched the bombing attack with his older brother, he was enrolled as a college student.

The Tsarnaey brothers were not believed to be directly connected to any terrorist group—therefore, the lone wolf designation. They became self-radicalized primarily by using Internet sources to acquire terrorist philosophical beliefs and propaganda. The brothers apparently learned to build their bombs by logging onto an online magazine that was connected to al Qaeda in Yemen (Cooper, Schmidt, & Schmitt, 2013). The magazine's first issue was published in 2010 and contained detailed bomb-making instructions. American investigators indicated that "the two brothers could represent the kind of emerging threat that federal authorities have long feared: angry and alienated young men, apparently self-trained and unaffiliated with any particular terrorist group, able to use the Internet to learn their lethal craft" (Cooper et al., 2013, p. A1).

Fort Hood Shooter

Another example of a lone wolf or lone actor is Major Nidal Hasan, an Army psychiatrist, who in November 2009 walked into the Soldier Readiness Processing Center at Fort Hood, Texas, and began shooting. He killed 13 people and wounded 30 others before being

wounded himself. Hasan passed up several opportunities to shoot civilians, and instead continually targeted military personnel. He was eventually seriously wounded by a civilian police sergeant during the attack and paralyzed from the waist down.

According to the *New York Times*, "Some experts on terrorism said Major Hasan may be the latest example of an increasingly common type of terrorist, one who has been self-radicalized with the help of the Internet and who wreaks havoc without support from overseas networks and without having to cross a border to reach his target" (Scott & Dao, 2009, p. A1). Were it not for this, Hasan would qualify as one of the mass killers discussed in Chapter 10. Investigators were able to uncover at least 20 emails Hasan sent to radical cleric Anwar al-Awlaki outlining his intentions to become an Islamic soldier of Allah. Al-Awlaki, an American born in New Mexico, was a highly influential Islamic extremist who supported a violent jihad and preached a hateful ideology directed at inciting violence against the United States. His videos were widely circulated on the Internet. Some experts believe al-Awlaki was especially appealing to young Muslims who are curious about radical ideas but not yet committed (McKinley, 2009). He was considered a senior talent recruiter and motivator for terrorist operations for the Islamic military group al Qaeda. He praised Hasan after the Fort Hood shooting. Al-Awlaki was killed in 2011 in a U.S. drone strike in Yemen.

Hasan represents the trend of self-radicalization, which is gaining considerable momentum via the Internet and other social media. Hasan was described by people who knew him as socially isolated. He was sentenced to death in August 2013 and is one of about six inmates on military death row in Leavenworth Penitentiary.

In summary, the "lone wolf" terrorists—or homegrown violent extremists—are generally psychologically different from conventional terrorists who belong to a more organized extremist group, network, or organization as discussed above. The lone wolf operators do not rely on group or organization affiliations to validate their mission. They basically operate on their own: they design their own plans, select their own targets, choose their own *modus operandi*, and make their own decisions. Based on their unique interpretations of the world, they perceive injustices that they wish to bring to public attention. Alternately, they adopt the ideological or philosophical leanings of an extremist or outside group, even when the group itself does not engage in terrorist activities.

Table 11–1 summarizes the key characteristics of lone wolf terrorists. Lone wolf terrorists present a greater threat in some ways than conventional terrorist organizations. They are more difficult to track and predict, and gathering intelligence on them is a challenge. Explosives tend to be their main weapon of choice, followed by firearms (COT, 2007), and they principally target civilians. The attacks are premeditated, usually carefully planned, and self-financed. Unlike conventional terrorists who are affiliated with organized groups, they usually do not plan to die during their attacks, and they often escape arrest for long periods of time.

Although the examples we have used thus far are recent and are associated with a violent jihadist philosophy, this is not always the case. In fact, the ideological motivation of

TABLE 11–1 Main Characteristics of Lone Wolf Terrorists

1) They operate individually.
2) They do not belong to an organized terrorist group, network, or organization.
3) They act without the direct influence of a leader or hierarchy.
4) They may *claim* to be acting on behalf of an interest group.
5) Their attacks are premeditated and carefully planned.
6) They are more likely than other terrorists to be emotionally disturbed.
7) They demonstrate poor interpersonal and social skills.

most lone wolf attackers in the United States has centered on white supremacy, antiabortion, or antigovernmental issues (COT, 2007). For example, a primary example of a lone wolf terrorist is Theodore Kaczynski, the Unabomber mentioned earlier in the chapter. He carried out a campaign of sixteen mail bombings over a 17-year period that resulted in three deaths and 24 injuries. He apparently wanted to draw attention to a list of societal problems, including technology, the destruction of the environment, and the worldwide industrial system in general. The targets of his mail bombings, therefore, were usually individuals he identified as involved in some aspect of technology, such as in university research facilities. Kaczynski was a highly educated individual (he was once a college professor of mathematics) who was a loner throughout his life and eventually withdrew from society and lived simply in a wooded cabin. Though he is widely believed to have been seriously mentally disordered, he ferociously resisted an insanity defense. However, he was apparently persuaded to plead guilty to avoid a death sentence, and he entered into a plea agreement whereby he was sentenced to life in prison with no possibility of parole.

Another often-cited example of a lone wolf terrorist is Eric Rudolph—also known as the Olympic Park bomber—who committed a series of bombings in Georgia and Alabama in the mid to late 1990s in his campaign against gay nightclubs and health centers where abortions were performed. He had no known co-conspirators, and apparently planned and carried out the bombings on his own. Three people were killed and about 150 were injured in his bombings. Rudolph likely identified with antiabortion activist groups and with groups opposed to equal rights regardless of sexual orientation, although the majority of these groups would not condone his actions. He maintained a socially isolated existence and was eventually captured in 2003 near a trash container as he was foraging for food. Rudolph pleaded guilty to avoid a death sentence and received life sentences without possibility of parole.

Like those mentioned above, most lone wolf terrorists demonstrate poor interpersonal and social skills and adopt an isolationist attitude, staying away from much direct contact with society. In addition, although conventional terrorists who are affiliated with a terrorist organization do not demonstrate behavioral patterns of emotional instability, the rate of psychological problems appears to be significantly higher among lone wolf terrorists (COT, 2007; Hewitt, 2003).

The Psychosocial Context of Terrorism

The psychosocial context refers to those social and psychological circumstances that encourage certain behaviors to develop and expand. The psychosocial context is a cognitively constructed world that is sustained through the socialization process associated with each culture. Culture in this sense may be as broad as an entire country or as narrow as a small group of individuals. Thus, there is psychosocial context relevant to both the entire society and to the subcultural components of that society.

Staub (2004) postulates that certain cultural characteristics are conducive to the emergence of terrorist groups. One characteristic is what he calls **cultural devaluation**, a process that occurs when a group or culture is selected by another group or culture as a scapegoat or an ideological enemy. "It might consist of beliefs that the other is lazy, or of limited intelligence, or manipulative, or morally bad, or a dangerous enemy that intends to destroy society or one's own group" (Staub, 2004, p. 158). The United States itself is often seen this way. Many groups and individuals see the United States as being indifferent to the world's suffering and insensitive to global cultural diversity and local identity (Marsella, 2004). This may be particularly at issue today, as a presidential administration fails to lend support to its allies, enacts policies that restrict entry to the country, and denigrates cultural groups.

Cultural devaluation
The scapegoating or demonizing of one cultural group by members of another cultural group. Refers to the emergence of terrorist groups.

Many are convinced that indifference contributes to the political suppression of the poor and the disadvantaged on a global basis (Marsella, 2004).

A second characteristic noted by Staub involves perceptions of *inequality*, *relative deprivation*, and *injustice*. Disadvantaged, powerless, and shunned peoples are sometimes more likely to join violent or terrorist groups, not only to get some of their basic needs met, but also to gain a sense of identity and community that the terrorist group offers. In other words, and as discussed earlier, terrorist groups provide the opportunity to satisfy the quest for significance. Staub (2001) calls such situations *difficult life conditions* characterized by hunger, sickness, no sense of community, and lack of shelter for oneself and one's family. "People with few material resources, having little to lose, are prime candidates for joining extremist organizations that promise better living conditions as soon as the haves are removed from power" (Wagner & Long, 2004, p. 211). Not only is there promise of better physical living conditions but also promise of feeling a sense of belonging. Taylor and Louis (2004) make a similar point when they argue that, in addition to disadvantaged economic and political factors, the need for psychological identity draws some individuals into terrorist groups. They assert, "What makes terrorist groups particularly attractive is their simplistic worldview that offers recruits a clear collective identity" (p. 184). To this end, terrorist groups also fill a necessary psychological void. Some individuals, however, may also join because they "have moral principles that lead them to identify with those who are affected by difficult conditions or are unjustly treated" (Staub, 2004, p. 159).

A third characteristic is that many—perhaps most—terrorist groups have a strong hierarchy, sometimes with leaders who are described as all-powerful, convincing, and charismatic. Staub calls this psychosocial characteristic a *strong respect for authority*. Some persons who join simply wish to relinquish their unfulfilled selves and submit themselves to powerful leaders and chain-of-command organizations. They feel most comfortable in hierarchical social structures organized for a challenging or exciting mission. Overall, these real or perceived conditions are apt to be productive areas for terrorist recruitment when promises of a better life beckon.

In summary, terrorism is a learned form of political action that is facilitated by the social and cultural context and maintained by intrinsic rewards, group influences, and indoctrination processes (Ruby, 2002).

Terrorist Motives and Justifications

Despite the efforts discussed earlier in the chapter to neatly classify terrorists and terrorist groups according to motives, there is no single motive for engaging in terrorism. The motives are multiple and complex, ranging from revenge and anger, to attaining paradise, status, respect, significance, and life everlasting (Marsella, 2004). "The roots of terrorism are complex and reside in historical, political, economic, social and psychological factors. Of all of these, psychosocial factors have been among the least studied and the least understood, but arguably the most important" (Moghaddam & Marsella, 2004a, p. xi).

Contemporary researchers are attempting to identify individual risk factors for engaging in terrorism, in an effort to alert investigators to possible activities of this nature. Risk assessment of terrorism is a relatively new enterprise for the psychological community, but several studies have been conducted with this goal in mind. Reviewing this research, Monahan (2011) notes that there is little evidence of risk factors at this point beyond the nontrivial factors (e.g., age, gender) mentioned earlier in the chapter. Risk factors for what Monahan calls "common violence" (e.g., a history of violence) do not typically apply to terrorists. Nevertheless, "promising candidates include ideologies, affiliations, grievances, and moral emotions" (p. 29). That is, the extant research suggests that terrorists have strong

beliefs in the rightness of their causes and are willing to act on those beliefs; they associate with other terrorists; they have some grievance against a group or a government; and they experience strong moral emotions, such as contempt or disgust. As Monahan emphasizes, it is premature to assume the validity of these risk factors without additional research.

Bandura (2004) skillfully takes the explanation for motives of terrorism into the cognitive realm. He posits that terrorists justify their horrific acts through **cognitive restructuring**, a psychological process that involves moral justifications, euphemistic language, and advantageous comparisons. Bandura's cognitive restructuring is very similar to the concept of moral disengagement discussed in Chapter 4, except that terrorists strive to publicize their activities rather than camouflage or neutralize them (Bandura, 2016).

Cognitive restructuring
A psychological process that allows one to justify committing reprehensible actions; typically involves **moral justification, euphemistic language,** and **advantageous comparison.**

As mentioned in Chapter 4, **moral justification** enables people to engage in reprehensible conduct by telling themselves that their actions are socially worthy and have an ultimate moral and good purpose. Bandura writes,

Moral justification
The process of convincing oneself that one's actions are worthy and have a moral and good purpose.

> The conversion of socialized people into dedicated fighters is achieved not by altering their personality structures, aggressive drives, or moral standards. Rather, it is accomplished by cognitively redefining the morality of killing, so that it can be done free from self-censuring restraints. Through moral sanction of violent means, people see themselves as fighting ruthless oppressors who have an unquenchable appetite for conquest or as protecting their cherished values and way of life, preserving world peace, saving humanity from subjugation to an evil ideology, and honoring their country's international commitments. (2004, p. 124)

The second cognitive restructuring process of **euphemistic language** is based on the well-known research finding that language shapes thought patterns on which people base many of their actions. Importantly, people can display more cruelty or at least can feel better about what they are doing when their conduct is given a sanitized or neutral label. Consequently, they use terms such as "waste" people rather than kill them, or "collateral damage" to designate civilians who are killed in bombings. Obviously, euphemistic language is employed in many contexts other than terrorist activities (e.g., wars, drone strikes, control of prisoners). Among the colorful metaphors and euphemisms offered by Bandura to emphasize his point are bombing missions referred to as "serving the target," and bombs themselves called "vertically deployed anti-personal devices."

The third cognitive restructuring process is **advantageous comparison**, where terrorists are convinced that their way of life and fundamental cultural values are superior to those they attack. Advantageous comparison is further advanced when the terrorists are told and come to believe that the enemy engages in widespread cruelties and inhumane treatment of the people the terrorists represent. The United States, for example, is seen by many people in Arab countries as blameworthy for their problems because of a variety of U.S. policies and practices (Staub, 2004), thus providing a fertile atmosphere for terrorist recruitment. Advantageous comparison methods draw heavily on history to justify violence. For example, terrorist leaders will indoctrinate their people about the many oppressive policies and tyrannical tactics their targeted organization or country has employed on them in the past. Many people believe, for example, that the United States has historically and consistently supported repressive governments in the Arab world and elsewhere. Terrorist recruiters take these beliefs a step further and turn them into a hatred of the repressors.

Additional Disengagement Practices

Bandura states that other disengagement practices are also at play in developing motivations, such as dehumanization, displacement of responsibility, and diffusion of responsibility. **Dehumanization** is based on the premise that mistreating or randomly killing *humanized*

Dehumanization
Engaging in actions that obscure the identity of the victim, such as excessive facial battery, or treating victims like objects rather than human beings.

or known persons significantly increases the risks of self-condemnation. It is easier to mistreat (and kill) strangers who are divested of human qualities. "Once dehumanized, they are no longer viewed as persons with feelings, hopes, and concerns but as subhuman forms" (Bandura, 2004, p. 136). Now they can justifiably be called "savages," "gooks," "degenerates," "monsters," "the unwashed masses," "evil cowards," and so on.

Displacement of responsibility
A concept that allows an individual to deny responsibility for an action because he or she was told to perform it by someone higher in authority; also referred to as **obedience to authority** or **strong respect for authority.**

Deindividuation
A process by which individuals feel they cannot be identified, primarily because they are disguised or are subsumed within a group.

In **displacement of responsibility**, terrorists may view their actions as stemming from the dictates of authorities and leaders rather than from their own personal responsibility. Consequently, they avoid self-condemning reactions because they are not personally responsible for their conduct; they are only following orders, perhaps even from their god. Some serial killers (e.g., "Son of Sam") have used similar justifications for their actions. Diffusion of responsibility is similar to the concept of **deindividuation**, discussed in Chapter 4. Terrorism often requires the services of many people in the organization, all pulling together to achieve some ultimate purpose. Bandura points out that each person in the organization often performs relatively small, fragmentary jobs that, taken individually, seem harmless, and out of the limelight. The collective sense of identity that results allows members of the group to participate in horrific or heinous actions that individually they may resist doing themselves.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the latter part of the 20th century, the typical textbook in criminology paid scant attention to the topic of terrorism. The events of September 11, 2001, drastically changed that. Although terrorist activities had been occurring, both in the United States and worldwide, long before the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, that date marked a radical shift in public attention and fear, law enforcement activity, and psychological interest. By definition, terrorism involves the unlawful use of force or violence, so by definition, terrorist activities are criminal.

Scholarly literature, government documents, public policy writings, and the media have proposed numerous definitions and categories of terrorism. We adopted the definition used in federal documents, seeing terrorism as unlawful force or violence used to intimidate or coerce a government or population in furtherance of political or social objectives. Terrorism may be either domestic or international, depending on the origin, base, and objectives of the terrorist organization. We covered the FBI's classifications of terrorist *groups*—according to their political leanings—and psychology's classifications of terrorist *motivations*. The groups include right-wing terrorists, radical environmental groups, special interest extremists, and the nuclear/biological/chemical group. Note that these categories best characterize domestic terrorism; while the al-Qaeda terrorists would probably be classified in the right-wing group, they are far different in organization, skills, and motivations from Timothy McVeigh or Theodore Kaczynski. Classifications of psychological motives are better able to capture terrorism in all its facets, despite the fact that we discussed only three *categories:* rationally motivated, psychologically motivated, and culturally motivated terrorists.

We discussed two recent theories—similar in some ways—that are proposed to explain someone's involvement in terrorist activities: quest for significance and terror-management. The major difference between the two is the motivational factor. The quest for significance posits that the one of driving forces in human behavior is to become significant in the eyes of friends, family, or society. The driving force behind terror management is the fear of death and the intense desire to achieve immortality.

The chapter also covered the psychosocial context of terrorism, specifically those social and psychological characteristics of a society or a group that are conducive to the emergence of terrorist groups. When a society or a group devalues another, the devalued other can be seen as a scapegoat or an ideological enemy and thus can become the target of terrorist attacks. Abortion providers became the targets of terrorist attacks because their activities were seen as morally bad. Symbols of power in the United States—the World Trade Center and the Pentagon—were attacked by al-Qaeda because the United States was seen as a dangerous enemy. Perceptions of inequity, relative deprivation, or injustice are also conducive to the emergence of terrorist groups. While most individuals and groups with these perceptions do not terrorize others, those who do terrorize often harbor those perceptions. Finally, the hierarchical command structure evident in many terrorist groups suggests that strong belief in authority and respect of a charismatic leader may facilitate terrorist activity, when the group is already predisposed to that type of action.

A type of terrorist who has received considerable attention in the literature is the lone wolf. This is the person who is self-radicalized and generally acts without support or direct order from more organized terrorist groups. The lone wolf is often sympathetic to the goals of terrorist organizations, however, and may obtain information and guidance from their publications, including increasingly more on-line sites. Their actions are premeditated and carefully planned, and these plans are rarely detected before the fact. Unlike many active shooters discussed in previous chapters, lone wolves do not usually signal to others their intentions to carry out their violent actions. Lone wolves are more likely than other terrorists to have mental disorders, although many do not. They are generally disaffected, alienated individuals who believe in the rightness of their beliefs and rarely express remorse for their crimes.

While there is no single motive for terrorism, most terrorist acts, because of their horrifying nature, involve some cognitive restructuring. As Bandura has observed, individuals who engage in terrorism justify their actions in a variety of ways. These include using techniques of moral justification, whereby they convince themselves that their actions are socially worthy and have an ultimate moral purpose—the ends justify the means. Terrorists also use euphemistic language and advantageous comparison to restructure their cognitions; thus, their own actions are seen as harmless compared with the actions of the targets of their activities. Finally, terrorists may dehumanize their targets and lose their own identities—and their individual responsibility—by deindividuating. It is the collective not the individual identity that is responsible. The disengagement tactics outlined by Bandura can also apply to criminal behavior in a variety of contexts, not just the violence exhibited by terrorist groups.

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How are terrorist groups classified by the FBI?
2. Compare and contrast Quest for Significance and Terror Management Theory.
3. What are the main characteristics of the lone wolf terrorist?
4. Define the following concepts and explain the role they may play in an individual becoming a terrorist: (a) moral justification; (b) cognitive restricting; (c) advantageous comparison; (d) dehumanization; (e) deindividuation.
5. What is domestic terrorism? Contrast it to international terrorism, and give examples of those who carry it out.

12

Sexual Assault

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Define rape and other sexual assault.
- Review sexual assault of dates and acquaintances, including campus assault.
- Discuss the psychological impact of sexual assault on survivors.
- Examine risk factors for sexual assault victimization.
- Describe risk factors that influence the development of sexually assaultive behavior.
- Review research relating to recidivism of sex offenders.
- Introduce the Knight and Sims-Knight three traits of sexual offending.
- Describe the Massachusetts Treatment Center's Classification Systems of rapists.
- Review principles of effective treatment for adult sex offenders.

Sexual behavior in many societies is a subject fraught with moral codes, taboos, norm expectations, religious injunctions, myths, and unscientific conclusions. In the mid-20th century, research published by Albert Kinsey and his colleagues (Kinsey, 1948, 1953) helped dispel myths and correct fallacies about sexual behavior in both men and women based on survey reports and interviews. Shortly thereafter, beginning about 1957, William Masters and Virginia Johnson conducted laboratory experiments during which they observed and recorded psychological and physiological sexual behavior in opposite sex couples. Despite these and other efforts to demystify sexual activity, myths and misconceptions still linger, including those about sex offenders, who are frequently viewed as a homogenous class of individuals.

There is no single profile that encompasses even a majority of sex offenders. Research shows that they differ in personal attributes such as age, background, personality, race, religion, beliefs, attitudes, and interpersonal skills (Knight, Rosenberg, & Schneider, 1985; Parent, Guay, & Knight, 2011; Seto, Kingston, & Stephens, 2015). The features of their crimes also differ markedly among offenders, including time and place, the gender and age of the victim, the degree of planning the offense, and the amount of violence used or intended (Knight et al., 1985). Nevertheless, there are continuing efforts to find a unifying theory of coercive sexual offending (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2011). Furthermore, whereas sex offending

has traditionally been viewed as a male undertaking, it is clear that female sex offending, though less prevalent, is not unusual. Finally, increasing attention has been given to juvenile sex offending. Both female and juvenile offending will be discussed in Chapter 13.

The research to be covered here focuses on known men who have been convicted and imprisoned. They may or may not be representative of sex offenders as a group, however. In recent years, sex offending has come to the forefront of public attention as prominent individuals have been accused of this behavior. Some have been convicted of rape and other sexual assaults, while others have lost positions of power after accusers have come forward describing incidents of victimization. A candidate for the U.S. presidency bragged on tape that he had fondled women against their will; a U.S. Senator resigned from office after accusations of unwanted sexual contact surfaced; the Senate confirmation hearings of a U.S. Supreme Court justice were dominated by the testimony of a woman who accused him of attempted rape during his high-school years; a prominent Hollywood director and several actors and media celebrities fell from grace after multiple women came forward with accounts of their sexual misdeeds; a wealthy financier with ties to famous politicians and celebrities apparently committed suicide in jail after being charged with sexual trafficking of minors; and an actor and television personality was convicted and sentenced to prison for rape. Many prominent women, including two U.S. Senators, have revealed that they have been sexually assaulted, without naming the perpetrators. Adult men have disclosed their victimizations as youths at the hands of priests, coaches, and community leaders. Readers are undoubtedly familiar with these and numerous other illustrations, indicating a growing awareness that sexual assaults are not uncommon. Rarely are they prosecuted.

Definitions and Statistics

Sexual assault
Term for any one of various behaviors that involve a sexual attack on the body of another person. It has replaced the term rape in many criminal statutes.

In recent years, the term **sexual assault** has often been preferred to the term rape in both research and law. Sexual assault is more inclusive, encompassing a variety of behaviors that may or may not include penetration. By the beginning of the 21st century, about half of the 50 states did not use the word *rape* in their penal code involving sexual assault or sex offenses (Langan, Schmitt, & Durose, 2003), and many contemporary researchers prefer to refer to sexual assault. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the FBI collects statistics on rape, a serious violent crime, and reports its findings in both the summary UCR and the NIBRS. In 2013, the FBI adopted a gender-neutral definition of rape, the penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a, p. 1). A significant change regards the sex of the victim, an acknowledgement that both females and males can be raped. In addition, it is clear from the new definition that the penetration of children as well as adolescents and adults qualifies as rape. In summary, then, the old definition (which the UCR refers to as the legacy definition) described rape as carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will. The revised definition expands rape to include both male and female victims and offenders, and reflects the various forms of sexual penetration, including nonconsenting acts of sodomy and sexual assaults with objects.

The revised definition further includes instances in which the victim is incapable of giving consent because of temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity, including due to the influence of drugs or alcohol. Thus, force is presumed, even if the individual does not resist. In essence, the revised definition provides a more accurate portrayal of the scope and volume of rape in the United States. It is important to emphasize that attempted rape is included in the government's rape data.

Sexual assaults that do not qualify as rape are listed as Part II offenses for which only arrest information is gathered. These other sexual offenses may range from fondling a

woman's breast or grabbing a man's genitals, to lewd and lascivious behavior, such as exposing one's sexual organs to passersby. Statutory rape, defined below, is also counted as a Part II offense, under the category sexual assaults.

As also noted in Chapter 1, the UCR program collects offense data through two systems: the Summary Reporting System (SRS) and National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). The definition change has affected only the SRS because the NIBRS already captures broader sex offense information, including the sex of the person assaulted. However, as we also noted in Chapter 1, the SRS will be retired in the year 2020, and the NIBRS will be the dominant method of gathering crime data from then on. Definitions in the NIBRS currently include rape, sexual assault with an object, sodomy, incest, and statutory rape. The NIBRS rape definition refers to the carnal knowledge of a person, without the consent of the victim, including instances where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of his or her age or because of temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity.

In the NIBRS, sexual assault with an object denotes the use of an object or instrument to unlawfully penetrate, however slightly, the genital or anal opening of the body of another person, without the consent of the victim, again including instances where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of age or temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity. **Sodomy** is defined as oral or anal sexual intercourse with another person, without the consent of victim, and again including instances where the victim is incapable of giving consent because of age or because of temporary or permanent mental or physical incapacity. **Incest** refers to nonforcible sexual intercourse between persons who are related to each other within the degrees wherein marriage is prohibited by law.

Sodomy
Nonconsensual oral or anal sexual intercourse with another, as defined in NIBRS.

Incest
In the NIBRS definition, the nonforcible sexual interaction between persons who are related to one another within degrees where marriage is prohibited by law.

The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) provides an invaluable source of information on sexual victimizations across the United States, and will be referred to frequently throughout the chapter. The NCVS defines rape as the unlawful penetration of a person against the will of the victim and includes penetration from any foreign object, such as a bottle. Sexual assault is defined as attacks or attempted attacks generally involving unwanted sexual contact between a victim and offender. Sexual assault may or may not involve force and includes grabbing or fondling. It may also include verbal threats. (See Table 12–1 for key points of definitions from the UCR's SRS, NIBRS, and NCVS.)

Much of our information about sexual assault comes from a large body of research conducted by behavioral and social scientists as well as medical practitioners and published in professional literature. As mentioned above, the trend is to move away from using the

TABLE 12–1 Key Components of Definitions of Sexual Crimes from SRS, NIBRS, and NCVS

Source	Crime	Key Components
SRS of UCR	Rape (new definition)	Penetration without consent by sex organ of another or by an object.
	Rape (legacy definition)	Carnal knowledge of a female against her will.
	Sexual assault	Variety of offenses of a sexual nature; includes statutory rape.
NIBRS	Rape	Carnal knowledge of a person without consent.
	Sexual assault with an object	Unlawful penetration of vaginal or anal opening.
	Sodomy	Oral or anal intercourse without consent.
	Incest	Nonforcible sexual intercourse between persons related to a degree that marriage would prohibit.
	Statutory rape	Consensual intercourse when one party is not of legal age as defined by statute.
NCVS	Rape	Unlawful penetration of a person against his or her will. Includes penetration from an object.
	Sexual assault	Attack involving unwanted sexual contact; may include fondling or grabbing

term "rape," in favor of the broader "sexual assault." However, when these researchers study sexual assault, they generally focus on its more extreme forms, particularly rape, attempted rape, and unsolicited sexual contact like forcible touching or fondling. Throughout the chapter, we will use the term sexual assault, but we will also use the term rape if it refers to the government's statistics or if the research we are discussing uses that term.

It is worthwhile to mention a few other terms that appear in the literature on sexual assault, specifically statutory rape, rape by fraud, and marital rape.

Statutory rape
Rape for which the age of the victim is the crucial distinction, on the premise that a victim below a certain age (usually 16) cannot validly consent to sexual intercourse with an adult.

Statutory rape is *nonforcible sexual intercourse* with a person who is under the statutory age of consent. In the UCR's SRS, statutory rapes are considered Part II crimes, not rapes, and like other Part II crimes only arrest data are collected. Put another way, a statutory rape will not appear in the summary statistics unless someone has been arrested for that crime. Statutory rape pertains exclusively to consensual intercourse, as opposed to other types of sexual contact (Langan et al., 2003). The critical factor is the age of the victim, an arbitrary legal cutoff point below which a person is believed not to have the maturity to consent to intercourse or understand the consequences.

All states prohibit sex with a minor, but the age of consent varies by state (Troup-Leasure & Snyder, 2005). Most set the limit at 16 or 18. Also, it is generally understood in many states that an age span must exist between the two individuals, typically 2 to 4 years. Thus, if an adult male engages in sexual relations with a minor female, he may be convicted of statutory rape, even if he argues that she "consented." Depending on the state, though, an 18-year-old male engaging in sexual relations with a 16-year-old female would not have the same problem.

In addition, some states do criminalize sex among peers (Pearlstein, 2010). For example, in New York the age of consent is 17. If a 16-year-old has sex with another 16-year-old, it is illegal—a fact that would surely surprise many adolescents. In California, the age of consent is 18. In March 2015, 12 teenage boys at one high school in that state were arrested for sexual assaults of two girls on school property. The incidents allegedly involved both forced and consensual sex, but all were criminal offenses. In other states, sex between consenting peers below the consenting age is not illegal, but someone above the age of consent may not engage in sexual intercourse with someone below the age of consent.

Critics of statutory rape laws suggest that they are outmoded and unenforceable. Indeed, most adolescent sexual activity that is criminalized by statutory rape laws is never brought to the attention of law enforcement, and that which is rarely results in an arrest (Chaffin, Chenoweth, & Letourneau, 2016). National surveys of youth estimate that one-third of 9th graders and two-thirds of 12th graders have had sexual intercourse (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2012). These prevalence rates have been stable for decades and signify that many statutory rape laws are often not enforced (Chaffin et al., 2016).

However, supporters of keeping statutory rape on the books point to law enforcement data indicating that at least half of the male offenders of female victims are 6 or more years older than their victims (Troup-Leasure & Snyder, 2005). The same data also show that more than 75% of female offenders with male victims are at least 6 years older than their victim. Those who advocate the retention of statutory rape laws believe that if states actively enforced them, predatory adults would be inclined not to prey on adolescents, and teenage pregnancy would begin to drop (Pearlstein, 2010). The potential punishments faced by those who commit statutory rape can be severe: "They include prison time and, in many states, lifetime sex offender registration" (Koon-Magnin & Ruback, 2013, p. 1919).

Rape by fraud
The act of having sexual relations with a supposedly consenting adult under fraudulent conditions, such as when a physician or psychotherapist has sexual intercourse with a patient under the guise of "effective treatment."

Rape by fraud is having sexual relations with a consenting adult female under fraudulent conditions. Among the most frequently cited examples is that of the psychotherapist who has sexual intercourse with a patient under the guise of offering treatment. Another rape category is **marital rape**, which is not ignored by criminologists who study IPV. Rape by fraud and marital rape are both counted as rape in the SRS of the UCR. During the

Marital rape
Sexual assault in which the perpetrator and victim are married.

past four decades, there have been dramatic changes in marital rape laws in the United States. In 1970, marital rape was essentially legal in all 50 states, but by 1993 all 50 states had passed laws criminalizing it (Martin, Taft, & Resick, 2007). It is estimated that about 10–14% of married women have experienced marital rape (Martin et al., 2007), but like all sexual assault statistics it is likely that much of it goes unreported. Moreover, sexual assault within an intimate partner relationship transcends the boundaries of marriage, and from a psychological perspective it might not be meaningful to maintain a distinction between women who are assaulted by a partner to whom they are legally married and those who are assaulted by an intimate partner to whom they are not, particularly if they are residing in the same domicile.

Sexual Assault in Date and Acquaintance Relationships

Date and acquaintance rapes and sexual assaults are far more common than generally realized, representing as high as 80% of all rapes and sexual assaults (Planty, Langton, Krebs, Berzofsky, & Smiley-McDonald, 2013). Put another way, it is estimated that strangers commit only about one-fifth of the reported sexual violence in the United States. **Date rape** refers specifically to a sexual assault that occurs within the context of a dating relationship. **Acquaintance rape** refers to sexual assaults in which the victim knows the assailant. The perpetrator could be a relative, neighbor, friend, or classmate. About one-third of these assaults are committed by an intimate partner (former or current spouse, girlfriend or boyfriend) (Planty et al., 2013).

Date rape
A sexual assault that occurs within the context of a dating relationship.

Acquaintance rape
Sexual assault in which the victim knows the assailant.

Most of the recent research on date and acquaintance rape and sexual assault has concentrated on college women. Female college students are the most extensively studied populations pertaining to sexual violence (Post et al., 2011), even though they may not be the most representative group of victims. Nonetheless, researchers also study college males, focusing not only on their offending patterns but also on their attitudes toward women and the extent to which they subscribe to rape myths. Brennan et al. (2018) studied self-reported sexual violence by close to 2,000 college men in five universities across the United States. The researchers found evidence of three groups: those unlikely to perpetrate any violence (88%); those likely to perpetrate sexual violence using coercive tactics or intoxication, but not force (9.8%); and those likely to use the full range of violence, including coercion, intoxication, and force (1.5%). Another relevant campus study is highlighted in Box 10–2 later in the chapter.

The Campus Climate Survey Validation Study

Research and general literature on sexual assault of college students often reports that one in four college women and 1 in 16 college men experience some form of sexual assault while in college (Zounlome & Wong, 2019). In an effort to establish a standardized method of defining and measuring sexual assault, the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) conducted an extensive pilot study, the **Campus Climate Survey Validation Study (CCSVS)** (Krebs et al., 2016). It was a survey of sexual victimization during the academic year 2014–2015 at nine different colleges. The nine colleges, representing different geographical regions in the United States, varied in size, public versus private status, and 2- versus 4-year status.

Campus Climate Survey Validation Study (CCSVS)
Survey of sexual victimization at nine U.S. colleges.

The survey was completed by more than 23,000 undergraduate students (approximately 15,000 women and 8,000 men) who were assured of confidentiality in their responses. Overall, they were diverse in terms of race and ethnicity, but a few of the colleges were

less so. Colleges were not identified. About 90% of the female sample and 91% of the male sample reported their sexual orientation as heterosexual.

The CCSVS divided sexual victimization into three categories: sexual battery, rape, and sexual assault. *Sexual battery* was defined as any unwanted and nonconsensual sexual contact that involved forced touching of a sexual nature not involving penetration. This behavior might include forced kissing, touching, grabbing, or fondling of sexual body parts. *Rape* was defined as any unwanted and nonconsensual sexual contact that involves a penetrative act, including oral sex, anal sex, sexual intercourse, or sexual penetration with an object or finger. Sexual battery and rape were considered mutually exclusive categories, meaning a sexual victimization incident would be counted as one or the other, not both. If a respondent reported unwanted and nonconsensual sexual contact but did not provide details specific enough to classify an incident as a sexual battery or a rape, it was classified as *sexual assault*. The CCSVS also inquired about sexual victimization since entering college—not just in academic year 2014–2015—as well as over the student's lifetime.

For all colleges, the sexual assault rate was higher than rates of either battery or rape. Across all colleges, the average rate for sexual assault experienced by undergraduate women during the academic year was 10.3%, while the average rate for men was 3.1%. As might be expected, school rates varied significantly, ranging from 4.2% at one school to 20.0% at another (see Table 12–2). At most of the schools, first-year undergraduate women experienced significantly higher rates of sexual assault, sexual battery, and rape than second-, third-, and fourth-year women.

Respondents also were surveyed about incidents of sexual assaults experienced since entering college as well as over their lifetime. On average, 21% of the undergraduate females and 7.0% of undergraduate males reported being victims of sexual assault while in college. With respect to lifetime victimization, 34% of women and 11.2% of men in the survey reported that they had experienced some form of sexual assault.

The CCSVS, which resulted in a comprehensive report (Krebs et al., 2016), gathered a wealth of data not reported here, including multiple incidents, location of the assaults, and features of the attack (e.g., pinned down, drugged, unconscious). Krebs et al. (2016) emphasized that the results should not be generalized to all colleges and students nationwide. Nevertheless, results of the survey are consistent with other research, and the project suggests a promising standardized method to use in measuring sexual assault among a broader, more randomized college and university sample.

According to other survey data (NCVS), about 8 out of 10 rape and other sexual victimizations go unreported to the police. The reasons for not reporting the assault are variable, but the most common are the survivor's belief that the assault was a personal matter or they feared reprisal. This is often an issue relating to sexual assault victimization in other settings, such as the high-profile incidents in the Catholic Church, the military, youth groups, and political and corporate settings have revealed. Self-blame is another common

TABLE 12–2 Rates of Sexual Victimization Across Nine Campuses, 2014–2015

	Females		Males	
	% Average	Range*	% Average	Range
Sexual battery	5.6	1.7–13.2	1.7	0.4–3.3
Rape	4.1	2.2–7.9	0.8	0.3–1.4
Sexual assault (not distinguished)	10.3	4.2–20.0	3.1	1.4–5.7
Total sexual victimization	20.0		5.6	

*Represents the colleges with the lowest and highest percentages reported. For example, 1.7% of undergraduate women at one college reported being victims of sexual battery, while 13.2% of women at another college reported this type of victimization.

Source: Author created table from Krebs et al. (2016, Janu-ary). Campus climate survey validation study: Final technical report. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justtice Statistics.

reaction. Furthermore, even when students report their victimization to campus officials such as campus police or counselors, they typically are not reported outside the campus community. "The actual rate of sexual assault is likely at least an estimated 44% higher than the numbers that universities submit in compliance with the Clery Act" (Yung, 2015, p. 7). The Clery Act requires higher education institutions to submit yearly data on designated campus crimes to the Department of Education. One reason for the underreporting stems from the belief that "if a school stands out as having a high rate of sexual assault versus peer schools, it risks attracting fewer students and suffering long-term reputational damage" (Yung, 2015, p. 6). For the CCSVS discussed above, cooperating colleges and universities did not want to be identified in the survey results. Moreover, though the researchers initially reached out to 24 two-year and four-year institutions across the United States, only nine agreed to participate. (See Box 12–1 for a recent issue relating to campus sexual harassment and assault.)

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 12–1 INVESTIGATING CAMPUS SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND ASSAULTS

Federal law—Title IX of the 1972 Civil Rights Act—bars sex discrimination at all educational institutions that receive federal funds. This is a wide-ranging law that applies to sex discrimination in all contexts, and has often been used to assure equality of treatment for girls and women in the sports arena. Here, we discuss how Title IX relates to sexual violence. The U.S. Department of Education (DOE) is charged with formulating the rules and guidelines for the enforcement of this law.

It is important to emphasize that sexual harassment is different from sexual assault. Harassment is a violation of one's civil rights; assault is a crime. Both behaviors are relevant to campus investigations, however. Both are typically investigated on campus, but in the case of sexual assault a victim may choose to report the assault to law enforcement. It is widely believed that most do not. Thus, accusations, when made, are more typically treated in a campus disciplinary proceeding rather than a court of law.

In 2017, the Department of Education (DOE) revoked the Obama-era policies offering guidance to schools for interpreting Title IX's provisions as they relate to sexual harassment and sexual assault. DOE noted that new policies would be announced. New rules were proposed in November 2018, and after a two-month period for public comment, the new rules were adopted in 2019. They have been controversial in several respects. They were promoted as bringing more balance to the investigation process, because the old rules were said to favor the accuser. Supporters of the new rules maintain that they give more rights to the person accused. Critics of the new rules say they will dissuade survivors of sexual assault and harassment from coming forward to report the harms allegedly done to them.

Following are a few of the policies, focusing particularly on those that relate specifically to sexual assault.

- The definition of sexual harassment is more restrictive, requiring unwelcome conduct to be severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive as to deny the victim's access to educational programs and activities. The former definition was much broader, defining harassment as unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature.
- Schools are required to investigate only incidents that were part of campus programs and activities.
- While the earlier standard of proof was preponderance of the evidence (slightly over 50%), schools may now choose a higher standard, such as clear and convincing evidence.
- If an alleged victim files a formal complaint, a hearing must be held, with due process protections for both parties (right to present evidence and witnesses, have advisor or attorney present)
- Lawyers for the accused are now allowed to cross-examine the accuser—such as would occur in a court of law.

(*continued*)

- In order to investigate, the incident must have been reported to a school official. The school is required to take the allegation seriously, but will not be punished unless its actions after that are clearly unreasonable.
- Even if accusers make no formal complaint, the accuser must be given support services.
- The final decision maker cannot be the same person(s) as the person(s) who investigated. That is, a neutral decision maker is required.

Questions for Discussion

1. Respond to the changed policies from the perspective of (a) a survivor of campus sexual assault and (b) a student accused of sexual assault.
2. At a college disciplinary hearing of this nature, should investigators and decision makers start by believing the accuser, as some have been advised to do, or start from a position of neutrality?
3. Under the new proposal, schools have no obligation to respond to allegations of sexual misconduct that occur outside their educational programs or activities. Is this a reasonable policy? What are its advantages, and what problems might be encountered as a result?
4. Obtain the Department of Education's new rules that are discussed here. Do they say anything about LGBTQ students? Should they? ■

The public attention to campus sexual assault is important, but attention should not be taken away from sexual assaults of adults who are not in college settings. (Sex offending against children is covered in the Chapter 13.) Dating patterns have changed dramatically with each generation. Many couples (or other groupings) today meet on the Internet, and both women and men initiate a first "date." Whereas men might feel less entitled to "payback" than before—when they paid expenses and provided transportation—other factors (e.g., alcohol, other drugs, sexual mores) can facilitate a sexual assault. However, as noted above, sexual assaults occur not only in the context of social encounters but also in workplace settings or settings in which someone with little power is particularly vulnerable—such as a school, a seminary, or a physician's office. People who are assaulted by acquaintances or supervisors still often blame themselves for the attack. If it was associated with a social situation, they may be blamed by others for placing themselves in vulnerable situations. Thus, the victim is less likely to be believed and more likely to be blamed (Ullman, 1999). As Ullman (2007, p. 412) observes, "These negative reactions are harmful to women's psychological functioning and may lead to or reinforce their own self-blame for being raped."

Incidence and Prevalence of Rape and Sexual Assault

In many parts of the globe, violence—including violence against women—is underplayed and underreported. Saudi Arabia, Syria, Afghanistan, Somalia, Chile, and India are only some countries where sexual abuse of women and girls may be rampant (UNFPA, 2009). In the United States, an estimated 135,755 rapes (revised definition) were reported to law enforcement agencies nationwide in 2017 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). Recall from an earlier chapter that the UCR's legacy definition—which among other things counted rapes only if the victim was female—was discontinued in 2017. The 2017 figure represents a rate of approximately 41.7 per 100,000 population.

It is obvious that official data underestimate the extent of the problem, regardless of the sex of the survivor. In addition to the campus sexual assaults discussed above, we have seen numerous examples of unreported assaults in recent years, including in the military (Carbon, 2010; U.S. Department of Defense, 2009; Pentagon Report, 2014); within organizations such as churches and scouting (Terry, 2008); and in prisons and juvenile facilities. Most recently, in 2019, sexual assaults of immigrant children in the custody of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) have come to public attention.

Research data also indicate that 18% of women in the United States have been raped at some point in their lifetimes (Kilpatrick, Resnick, Ruggerio, Conoscenti, & McCauley, 2007; Post, Biroscak, & Barboza, 2011; Wilson & Newins, 2018). In the United States, children, college students, persons with disabilities, and incarcerated individuals are the most vulnerable to be raped or otherwise sexually assaulted (Carbon, 2010). In addition, sexual minorities (e.g., LGBTQ individuals) are at higher risk of sexual assault than heterosexuals (Krebs et al., 2016; Wilson & Newins, 2018).

In summary, the actual rate of both rape and other sexual assault is greatly underestimated. Although earlier definitional problems have been addressed, survivors still face an ordeal in just reporting the incident. Victimization studies offer a revealing contrast to the police data. A study based on data collected in the National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS) estimates that the number of attempted or completed rapes and sexual assaults in general is at least four times greater than even the NCVS estimates (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006).

For the greater part of this chapter, we focus on the offenders: their characteristics, possible motivations, and risk factors associated with their behavior. Before this focus on the offender, it is important to consider the survivors of sexual assault, particularly the psychological effects they may experience as a result.

Impact of Sexual Assault on Survivors

As noted above, rape and other sexual assaults are most likely to be perpetrated against women and girls; male victims are fewer in number, but the psychological and physical injury they experience cannot be overlooked. Most of the research thus far has focused on female victims, however. Regardless of the gender of the victim, and regardless of the offender's characteristics, motivations, and method of attack or coercion, the social and psychological costs to victims and their loved ones are immeasurable and often devastating.

Having said this, it is important to note that persons who have been sexually assaulted, particularly as adults, prefer to refer to themselves as survivors rather than victims. Asserting that one is a survivor emphasizes one's strengths and resilience and deemphasizes one's victimhood status. Nevertheless, it is also important to recognize that negative psychological effects from a sexual assault are not uncommon and in some cases can be debilitating.

An early but often-cited survey of 3,132 households in the Los Angeles Epidemiologic Catchment Area (ECA) illustrates this very well. Researchers found that over 13% of the individuals interviewed had been victims of sexual assault at least once in their lifetimes (Burnam et al., 1988; Siegel, Sorenson, Golding, Burnam, & Stein, 1987; Sorenson, Stein, Siegel, Golding, & Burnam, 1987). Two-thirds of the sexually assaulted subjects reported two or more assaults. Moreover, lifetime sexual assault was more frequently reported by women (16.7%) than men (9.4%). In a sobering finding, 13% of the victims were first assaulted between the ages of 6 and 10, 19% between 11 and 15, 34% between 16 and 20, and 15% between 21 and 25. The experience of being sexually assaulted was associated with substantially higher risks for later onset of serious, self-destructive depression, substance abuse, numerous fears and inhibiting anxieties, and a variety of major interpersonal problems. Overall, the ECA project found that both male and female victims of sexual assault are two to four times more likely than nonvictims to develop serious psychological problems.

Psychological Effects

It is often said that victims of sexual assault are victimized twice, once by the perpetrator and again by the criminal justice system during the investigation of the crime and, if a

suspect is arrested, during the prosecution phase. They also may be subjected to scrutiny by the media and by a public that may question whether the incident happened, or denigrate the victims and attribute some blame to them. It is significant that, in incidents of campus sexual assault, the person assaulted is more likely than the perpetrator to withdraw from the college or university.

Self-blame is a not uncommon reaction, and it is a major contributing factor to the psychological damage done by the victimization. Survivors of rape and sexual assault often blame themselves as being responsible for the assault, and "negative reactions from others could strengthen that self-blame" (Sigurvinsdottir & Ullman, 2015, p. 192). Self-blame also plays a major role in the poor adjustment and psychological distress of many sexual assault survivors, and may be a significant factor in exaggerating symptoms of PTSD if it does occur. Recall that PTSD was covered in Chapter 8.

Upon reporting the assault, if it is reported, victims are expected to recall and describe personally stressful and humiliating events in vivid detail for law enforcement personnel. Today, increasingly more police departments take steps to ease the victim's ordeal. These include having victim advocates present, having women officers available for female rape victims, and/or providing rape sensitivity training for both male and female officers. In addition to the interview with representatives of law enforcement, the victim is required to undergo a medical examination to establish physical evidence of penetration, if it was a rape, and use of physical force. It is no wonder that many people who have been assaulted prefer the term survivor to victim because of its more positive connotation. To be a survivor suggests that one is in control and that the assaulter, the criminal justice system, and the public have not succeeded at totally demolishing one's self-concept.

If the person is able to withstand these stressful conditions, which are sometimes exacerbated by negative reactions from parents, spouses, partners, family members, friends, and even by threats from the assailant, the person must then prepare for the courtroom, where privacy is invaded and credibility may be attacked. Sexual assault trials are usually covered extensively by the press, although many news organizations do not reveal the victims' names. Traditionally, in criminal cases, victim credibility was so much at issue that defense lawyers concentrated on the prior sexual history of a victim. In one highly cited early study, 92% of the prosecutors asserted that victim credibility was one of the most important elements in convincing juries to convict for rape (Chappell, 1977b). The strategy of disparaging the victim came under attack in the 1970s and 1980s, and many states revised their evidentiary rules in an attempt to limit the use of a victim's sexual history. By the turn of the 21st century, virtually all states had enacted "rape shield" laws that restricted, to varying degrees, the admissibility of the victim's sexual history into the courtroom (Kilpatrick, Whalley, & Edmunds, 2000). However, rape shield laws do not always provide the protection for which they were designed (Ross & Bachar, 2002); they vary from state to state (Kinports, 2002). Consequently, many victims are surprised and dismayed when they are asked questions about their social and sexual histories during adjudication, something they believed would not happen (Ross & Bachar, 2002). Fortunately, The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), first passed in 1994, revised in 2000, and reauthorized in 2013, addressed many of these problems by encouraging more uniformity in rape shield laws and protecting victims of violence nationwide. The 2013 law also includes a number of provisions specifically intended to improve campus safety, and protections for gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals. As noted in Chapter 9 (see Box 9–1) the law came up for reauthorization once again in 2019 and was passed by the House of Representatives. However, it met with resistance in the Senate and as of early 2020 had yet to be reauthorized.

In sum, those who survive sexual assaults may suffer psychological consequences, probably most of which are never addressed in treatment settings. That is, survivors often do not seek psychological help or feel the need to do so, but research documents that the psychological

effects of sexual assault are very real. In fact, the psychological damage is usually longer lasting and more damaging than physical injury, resulting in serious depression, extensive fears, and problems of sexual adjustment. In cases where survivors have been severely physically injured, they experience both forms of agony. Women who have been sexually assaulted represent the largest proportion of PTSD sufferers in the United States (Leiner, Kearns, Jackson, Astin, & Rothbaum, 2012). In addition, rape victims are four times more likely than nonvictims to contemplate suicide, and 13% of them actually attempt suicide (Carbon, 2011).

Physical Injury

According to the NCVS, on average about 60% of the female survivors of sexual assault suffered a physical injury during the incident, such as cuts, bruises, internal injuries, broken bones, and gunshot wounds (Planty et al., 2013). About one-third said they received some form of treatment for their injuries, most of them (80%) in a hospital, doctor's office, or emergency room. The survey also revealed that about 1 in 10 rape or sexual assault victimizations involved a weapon, usually a firearm or a knife.

In the past, women were advised not to resist a rape attempt in order to minimize the risk of other physical harm, possibly even death. With growing evidence that passive resistance was not necessarily related to the amount of harm experienced, advice has changed (Ullman, 2007). Current research supports the use of self-protective measures taken by the victim, including physical resistance, such as yelling, biting, and attacking the attacker if possible. Resistance reduces the risk that the assault will be completed, and does not affect the risk of additional injury (Tark & Kleck, 2014). On the other hand, such strategies as pleading, crying, or trying to reason with the offender have been shown to be largely ineffective in avoiding a completed rape or physical injury (Rosenbaum, Lurigio, & Davis, 1998; Ullman, 2007). However, it should be emphasized that physical resistance is not *required* to demonstrate lack of consent (U.S. Department of Justice, 2012). Resistance may not be possible, and the survivor of a sexual assault should not be judged on the extent to which she attempted to resist the attack.

Sexual Assault Vulnerability Factors

Investigations examining the causes of sexual assault and general violence against women have focused on one of two issues: the behavior, cognitions, and the tactics of offenders, and the risk factors faced by the victims (Siegel & Williams, 2001). It should be emphasized at the onset that the responsibility for the violence clearly rests with the offenders. But it is also important to examine the vulnerability factors that put victims at risk so that prevention and intervention strategies can be implemented. "Vulnerability factors are those that increase women's risk of experiencing sexual assault" (Ullman & Najdowski, 2011, p. 152).

Situational Factors

"Certain places and situations may put women at a greater risk of rape and affect their ability to effectively resist an attacker" (Ullman, 2007, p. 416), and these may differ according to whether the perpetrator is a stranger or an acquaintance. Sexual assaults by acquaintances most often occur indoors or in isolated locations. With respect to strangers, bars are especially risky settings for women if drinking alone. On college campuses, fraternity parties and parties associated with major athletic events often put women at risk. In addition, use of alcohol or drugs by one or both parties, women initiating a date, or men paying expenses associated with a date all are contributing factors in developing a risky situation.

Location

Data from the NCVS indicate that most rape or sexual assault victimizations (55%) occurred at or near the victim's home (Planty et al., 2013). Some (12%) occurred at or near the home of a friend, relative, or acquaintance. Approximately 12% occurred while the victim was working, and 7% occurred while the victim was attending school. The remainder of the sexual violence occurred while the victim went to work or school, was shopping, or was involved in leisure activities away from home.

Age of Victims

As noted previously, for the period 1995–2013, women ages 18 to 24 experienced the highest rate of rape and sexual assault victimizations compared to women or girls in all other age groups (Sinozich & Langton, 2014). However, a significant portion of both girls and boys are sexually assaulted before the age of 18 (Finkelhor, Shattuck, Turner, & Hamby, 2014). Basile and Smith (2011) report that 71% of female victims were first raped before the age of 18 years. Over half of the victims were raped or sexually assaulted by acquaintance peers (Finklehor et al., 2014). Tjaden and Thoennes (2000) discovered that, of the 17.6% of all women surveyed who indicated they had been the victim of a completed or attempted rape at some time in their life, 21.6% said they were younger than age 12 when they were first raped. Another 32% said they were between the ages of 12 and 17 when first raped. These data are consistent with the ECA study described earlier in the chapter. As noted in Chapter 9, however, sexual assault of older individuals is underreported and understudied.

Relationship Factors

Kilpatrick et al. (2000, p. 12) report cogent evidence that most of those who rape adults are intimate partners and not strangers. They list the following victimization information on adult women gathered from the National Women's Survey:

- 24.4% of the assaulters were strangers.
- 21.9% were husbands or ex-husbands.
- 19.5% were boyfriends or ex-boyfriends.
- 9.8% were relatives.
- 14.6% were other nonrelatives, such as friends or neighbors.

Consumption of Alcohol

With reference to situational characteristics, alcohol plays a major role in both incapacitated and coerced sexual assaults. Incapacitated sexual assault is defined as "any unwanted sexual contact occurring when a victim is unable to provide consent or stop what is happening because she is passed out, drugged, drunk, incapacitated, or asleep, regardless of whether the perpetrator was responsible for the substance use or whether substances were administered without her knowledge" (Krebs et al., 2007, p. ix). The Campus Sexual Assault Study (Krebs et al., 2007) compared victims who were incapacitated to those who were physically forced but not incapacitated. The vast majority of incapacitated sexual assault victims (82%) reported drinking alcohol and being intoxicated prior to being victimized compared to physically forced victims who reported being intoxicated (13%). Drug use was relatively rare for either incapacitated victims or physically forced victims, at least among college students. Not surprisingly, a large number of incapacitated sexual assault victims said they were at a party when the incident happened.

Alcohol use also plays a significant, multifaceted role in sexually coercive behavior (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2011). The victim is especially vulnerable if she has been drinking heavily (Ullman & Najdowksi, 2011). It should be noted, though, that many researchers have questioned the assumption that *campus* sexual assault is the result of alcohol-fueled hookups. That is to say, survivors are also assaulted on their way to classes, in their residence halls, and other campus buildings, including libraries. Nevertheless, alcohol remains a major facilitator of sexual assault, at least in colleges. More than 1 in 10 college men have admitted to oral, anal, or vaginal penetration (e.g., rape) of someone who was unable or unwilling to give consent (Swartout, Thompson, Koss, & Su, 2015). Notably, college men use verbal coercive methods or victim intoxication to perpetrate sexual violence, rather than force or threats of physical harm (Brennan et al., 2018).

When alcohol is a factor in sexual assault, its effect is seen on the offender as well. Alcohol impairs self-control, contributes to communication misinterpretations, and disrupts decision-making ability. In one important study focusing on sexual assault and alcohol consumption, about half of the sexual offenders and one-half the victims had been drinking alcohol prior to the assault (Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton, & McAuslan, 2004). Alcohol also appears to affect the severity of the assault. Offender alcohol abuse is believed to increase the level of violence for both rapists and child molesters (Abbey, Clinton-Sherrod, McAuslan, Zawacki, & Buck, 2003; Knight & Sims-Knight, 2011).

History of Victimization

For some unexplained reason, having a history of victimization is associated with a woman's vulnerability to sexual assault (Testa, Hoffman, & Livingston, 2010; Ullman & Najdowksi, 2011). More specifically, "research suggests that child sexual abuse victims who are revictimized as adolescents are more likely that others to experience additional revictimization as adults" (Ullman & Najdowksi, 2011, p. 154). The reasons for this phenomenon appear to be highly complex and multifaceted, and despite the growing research literature on the topic we have yet to have answers about why it occurs. However, self-blame may be a contributing factor. As noted by Sigurvinsdottir and Ullman (2015), "Many survivors blame themselves in the aftermath of their victimization, and self-blame is related to greater psychological distress and increased risk of revictimization" (p. 193).

Risk-Taking Behaviors

The tendency to engage in risky or impulsive sexual behavior such as accepting a ride with a stranger, heavy drinking at parties, or hitchhiking by oneself increases the chance of being sexually assaulted. Risky sexual behavior appears to be especially prevalent at the time of high school graduation and during the first semester of college (Testa et al., 2010). As discussed in the delinquency chapter, adolescents (both males and females) are prone to take unnecessary risks in their daily lives, even though they cognitively know better. Having many prior sexual partners also seems to increase the risk of sexual assault (Testa, VanZile-Tamsen, & Livingston, 2007).

Closely related to risk-taking behavior are failures to perceive risk in a situation or the ability to detect danger cues associated with increased vulnerability to sexual assault (Ullman & Najdowski, 2011). Researchers have identified two kinds of risk recognition failure in vulnerable women: global and specific (Gidycz, McNamara, & Edwards, 2006; Nurius, 2000). In **global risk recognition failure**, women are aware of the prevalence of sexual assault, but they believe they are at a significantly lower risk to be victimized than their peers (Norris, Nurious, & Graham, 1999).

Global risk recognition failure
Term used in sexual assault literature, it refers to the belief that one is at lower risk of victimization than one's peers.

In **specific risk failure** (sometimes referred to as situational), some women, for a variety of reasons, do not recognize that the situation they are in poses a threat. Alcohol usually plays a prominent role in this form of risk-recognition failure. In addition, risk recognition is more difficult when the potential offender is an acquaintance or a presumed friend because the threat often emerges incrementally. Also, in these situations there is a high degree of ambiguity because the woman must decide between social, friendship concerns, and safety (Nurious, Norris, Young, Graham, & Gaylord, 2000). Training programs designed to help women identify risk factors and to better defend themselves are increasingly being developed, researched, and implemented (Gidycz et al., 2006). Nevertheless, despite the need to be alert to possible risks, the focus for preventing crimes should be on targeting the person who commits them. For the remainder of the chapter, we will discuss offender characteristics, recidivism, and treatment approaches.

Characteristics of Sexual Offenders: Who Offends?

The causes of sexual offending are neither simple nor straightforward. As the knowledge from systematic study accumulates, it is clear that this behavior is influenced by multiple, interactive factors. Past learning experiences, cognitive expectations and beliefs, conditioning, environmental stimuli, and reinforcement contingencies (both rewards and punishments) are all involved. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, "Sex offenders are a heterogeneous group, diverse in terms of individual demographics, traits, histories, motivations, and risk to reoffend" (Ennis, Buro, & Jung, 2016, p. 403). An individual's propensity to commit sex crimes involves experiencing multiple risk factors during childhood, adolescence, and beyond.

Some studies (e.g., Revitch & Schlesinger, 1988) reveal that many sex offenders are not prone to violence or physical cruelty, but rather are timid, shy, and socially inhibited. This is particularly correct for a large segment of child sex offenders, as will be discussed in the next chapter. It is far less likely to be correct with respect to rapists, whose attacks often have strong aggressive features in addition to the violence that defines the act itself. That is, by definition, rape is a violent, aggressive act, but it is often accompanied by additional violence, such as beating, choking, or stabbing the victim, harming a pet, or damaging personal property. Sexual sadism among sex offenders most likely exists on a continuum, with severe sadism at one pole and virtually none at the other pole (Mokros et al., 2014). In other words, serious sexual sadism is not usually a dominant feature of sexual assault.

Other sex offenders are exhibitionists and never physically touch their victims. Although not all sex offenders are alike, public approbation of sex crimes has produced many punitive laws aimed at deterring sexual offending, such as those limiting where convicted sex offenders can live or requiring them to register their whereabouts. Some of these laws apply to sex offenders as a group rather than to individual types, and sex offender researchers often emphasize that the dangerousness associated with these offenders is overpredicted (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Harris & Lurigio, 2010).

Instrumental sexual aggression
When the sexual offender uses just enough coercion to gain compliance from his victim.

Expressive sexual aggression
A rape situation in which the offender's primary goal is to gain some control over his life.

In this chapter we are most concerned with the crimes of rapists. Recall that rape involves penetration or attempted penetration of any body cavity with the rapist's own body part or an object. Sexual aggression can be divided into at least two major categories: instrumental and expressive. **Instrumental sexual aggression** is when the offender uses just enough coercion to gain compliance from his victim. In **expressive sexual aggression**, the offender's primary aim is to harm the victim physically as well as psychologically. In some cases, the expressive aggression is "eroticized" in that the offender becomes sexually aroused in the presence of physical or psychological brutality. As you will see later in the chapter,

these two simple categorizations are not sufficient for understanding the rapist, however, and a number of more complex typologies, some of which will be described below, have been proposed. Nevertheless, this dichotomy provides a good beginning for understanding the various types of rape.

What kind of a person rapes? How did he get that way? Why does he do it? Can the "rapist personality" be easily identified? Are rapists mentally disordered? Generally speaking, sexual socialization and social learning play a crucial role in the rapist's perceptions of what the rape accomplishes and what is "masculine" (in the case of a male perpetrator). It is important to realize that sexual socialization (or sexual training) is rarely acquired entirely from home or school; much of it comes from peers, friends, the entertainment and social media, and experimentation. Some of it may be due to biological factors interacting with developmental influences and the social environment. Most of us, even as children, were fed misconceptions, taboos, and strategies for dealing with others in a sexual manner. Boys often learn it is "manly" to take the sexual initiative and to persist, even against resistance.

In this section, we will cover what we know about men who rape, including risk factors. These are environmental, biological, psychological, and other characteristics associated with an increased probability or likelihood that a person will become sexually aggressive and ultimately sexually assaultive. Research in this area does not always distinguish rape from other sexual assaults, however.

Ages of Sex Offenders

The most consistent demographic finding is that rapists in particular tend to be young. According to UCR data, in 2017, 40% of those *arrested* for rape were under age 25, and 17% were under age 18 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). Seven percent of the total arrests for rape and 9% of the total arrests for other sex offenses were under age 15. In Canada, rates of sexual offending were highest among juveniles aged 12 and 17 (Worling & Langton, 2012). The percentage of juvenile arrests for rape has largely been the same for years.

Although the rape arrest patterns indicate that youths dominate the data, we should emphasize that there are many exceptions. For instance, some studies conclude that there are at least three distinct sexual arrest trajectories: one group of offenders peaking at age 25, a second group peaking around age 30, and a third group peaking at age 32 (Francis, Harris, Wallace, Knight, & Soothill, 2014; Freiburger, Marcum, Iannacchione, & Higgins, 2012). Another study (e.g., Lussier, Tzoumakis, Cale, & Amirault, 2010) reported that some sex offenders begin their sexual offending around their mid-40s, although many older offenders tend to be child sex offenders rather than rapists of adult women. Francis et al. (2014) uncovered as many as four trajectories of sexual offending, including one group who "started sexual offending in their teens and persisted at a steady rate of about one sexual offense a year up to age 58" (p. 325). Moreover, they were equally likely to commit rape as child molestation. The age of the victim did not matter. It should be noted that the studies cited and the research covered below often prefer the broad term "sex offender" to encompass the broad category of rape and sexual assault. In a vast majority of cases, the offender meets the criteria for rape, but as we will learn below, the offender who rapes often engages in a wide assortment of other criminal behavior.

Recidivism and Offending History

In general, the recorded recidivism rate of sex offenders is less than commonly believed, ranging from 10% to 15% over five years (Mann, Hanson, & Thornton, 2010; Zgoba, Miner, Levenson, Knight Letourneau, & Thornton, 2016) and between 10% and 25% after

five years (Hanson, Harris, Letourneau, Helmus, & Thornton, 2018). Of course, the sexual offense recidivism rate is probably higher because some simply have not been caught. However, some sex offenders who recidivate reoffend often and generally over a long period of time until they reach a certain age.

In a study of 3,115 rapists released from prison, 1.3% of the rapists were rearrested for a new sex crime within six months of release (Langan et al., 2003). At the end of three years after release, 5% of the rapists were rearrested for another sex crime (rape or sexual assault). Forty-one percent were arrested for another, nonsexual crime within three years after release. Fifteen percent were rearrested for a violent crime (other than rape or sexual assault). Thus, rapists in this large sample had a low recidivism rate for *sexual* offenses but a very high rate for criminal offenses *in general*.

Another key point concerning recidivism: if we look at recidivism rates, many studies conclude that the majority of those who do reoffend sexually do not restrict their criminal activities only to sexual offenses (Francis et al., 2014). Rapists in particular consistently commit a broad spectrum of crimes, including nonsexual violent ones. They tend to be criminal career generalists (Parent, Guay, & Knight, 2011). Many men accused and convicted of rape have been in perpetual conflict with society, long before the current rape offense. Some scholars refer to this broad offending tendency as **general criminality** (Babchishin, Hanson, & Blais, 2016). "General criminality includes a global propensity for rule violation, meanness, and impulsivity, and overlaps with the constructs of antisocial personality disorder, psychopathy, and antisocial personality pattern" (Babchishin et al., 2016, p. 190). General criminality is best understood as a dimension, with some offenders demonstrating greater criminality than others. In discussing the rapist trajectory across the life span, Francis et al. conclude: "those offenders who specialize in sexual offending are in the minority" (p. 323).

Child sex offenders, on the other hand, often reoffend, but they generally restrict their offending to sexual crimes and tend to be less violently aggressive (Hamdi & Knight, 2011). However, as a general rule, they tend to commit as many *sexual* offenses over their lifetimes as do rapists (Parent et al., 2011).

Different factors predict recidivism more for rapists than for child sex offenders (Parent, Guay, & Knight, 2012), who will be covered in detail in the next chapter. Antisocial and aggressive behaviors—such as anger, planning, sadism—predicts recidivism for rapists; whereas isolation, impulsive lifestyle, and intense sexual interests predict recidivism for child sex offenders. We will cover this in more detail in the next chapter.

In summary, general criminality offending is emerging as a critical issue in preventing recidivism. One measure that shows considerable promise for predicting future offending and general criminality is the Static 2002R developed by Hanson and Thornton (2000, 2003). The popularity of the instrument is probably due to its validity, reliability, cost-effectiveness, and its applicability to a wide range of sexual offenders. The Static-2002R has a general criminality subscale that contains five items related to criminal history (Babchishin et al., 2016). The general criminality subscale, along with the age of the offender, has been found to be an effective predictor of sexual recidivism.

Applying Crime Scene Analysis to Predictions of Recidivism

Some criminologists have taken a different approach to predicting recidivism, one which requires an analysis of the crime scene itself. Crime scene analysis (CSA)—a form of the criminal profiling discussed in Chapter 10— focuses on features of the crime that might help determine not only the identity of the offender but also whether the offender is likely to continue the criminal activity. Robert Lehmann and his colleagues (Lehmann, Goodwill,

Gallasch-Nemitz, Biedermann, & Dahle, 2013; Lehmann, Goodwill, Hanson, & Dahle, 2016) reasoned that certain characteristics of the rape provide valuable cues for estimating whether the offender will re-offend. In fact, Lehmann and his colleagues (Lehmann, Dahle, & Schmidt, 2018) recommend that the analysis of crime scene behavior "should routinely be included in forensic assessment of sexual offenders" (p. 162). CSA involves an examination of the behavioral patterns and qualities of the offender during the crime (the modus operandi), including how he interacts and treats the victim. In an effort to discover what aspects of the rape predict sexual recidivism, Lehmann et al. (2018) investigated stranger rape, acquaintance rape, and child molestation. We will cover the stranger and acquaintance rape studies in the section and present the child sex offender project in the next chapter.

In the stranger rape study, Lehmann et al. (2013) explored the recidivistic predictability of three themes: hostility, criminality, and sexual exploitation/involvement. According to previous studies, each theme has been associated with a string of sexual offenses and sexual recidivism. Hostility refers to whether the victim was used as a vehicle for venting the perpetrator's anger and frustration. Usually the attack is sudden and highly aggressive. The **hostility theme** includes verbal violence, insulting or demeaning language, tearing the victim's clothing, and a general tone of violence toward the victim.

Criminality denotes general criminality, discussed above. "For the criminal offender, the rape is one among many antisocial behaviors whereas here he steals sexual satisfaction rather than money or property and the victim is solely treated as an object" (Lehmann et al., 2013, p. 243). In the **criminality theme**, the offender regards the victim as an inanimate object that must be restrained and coerced, but the attacker's purpose is to incapacitate more than to demean the victim. Control is a key concept in this theme, and the method of control may include binding, blindfolding, or gagging the victim.

Criminality theme
In stranger rape, the victim is seen as an inanimate object to incapacitate.

The **sexual exploitation/involvement (also labelled pseudo-intimacy) theme** represents an attempt by the offender to bond with the victim by showing affection, making apologies, and/or living out some sexual fantasies. In this situation, the victim is treated as a reactive, living person rather than as merely a sexual object. The offender may kiss the victim and expect the victim to make sexual comments to him. He may also compliment the victim's appearance.

Sexual exploitation theme
In stranger rape, offenders attempt to bond with victims.

Lehmann et al.'s (2013) results revealed that the criminality theme was significantly predictive of sexual recidivism and was associated with an extensive prior nonsexual and sexual offending history. In addition, stranger rapists scoring high on the criminality theme revealed aspects of organization and planning in their offense. They commonly used weapons and took precautions to avoid being detected or identified. The other two themes—hostility and sexual exploitation—were not good predictors of sexual recidivism, but were associated with certain behavioral characteristics of stranger rapists. The sexual exploitation theme was linked to stranger rapists who applied a low level of aggression and did not have obvious intentions of harming the victim. The theme was also related to a variety of deviant sexual interests. As expected, the hostility theme was characteristic of offenders who were prone to utilize sexual sadism and extreme violence in their attack.

The second Lehmann et al. (2014) study utilized a sample of 247 male acquaintance rapists from Berlin, Germany. The study tested the usefulness of the three themes (criminality, hostility, and pseudo-intimacy) examined in the stranger rape project. The study revealed that the two themes of pseudo-intimacy and hostility "were significantly related to the persistence of sexual offending" (Lehmann et al., 2014, p. 16). Interestingly, these findings were in contrast to the results reported in the stranger rape study where only the criminality theme was predictive of sexual recidivism. According to the Lehmann et al. study, these differences suggest that stranger and acquaintance rape represent different contributing factors. Stranger rapists generally have a strong propensity for antisocial behavior and violent behavior, whereas acquaintance rapists may have "genuine difficulty recognizing their behavior is

TABLE 12–3 Themes Predictive of Recidivism in Stranger and Acquaintance Rapes*

Theme	Stranger	Acquaintance
Hostility	not predictive	predictive
Criminality	predictive	not predictive
Pseudo-intimacy	not predictive	predictive

*adapted from the research results of Lehmann et al., Lehmann, R. J. B., Goodwill, A. M., Gallasch-Nemitz, F., Biedermann, J., & Dahl, K- P. (2013). Applying crime scene analysis to the prediction of sexual recidivism in stranger rapes. Law and Human Behavior, 37, 241–254.

wrong, believing that their victims wanted or deserved what they got" (Lehmann et al., 2014, p. 16). (See Table 12–3 for a summary of the themes across stranger and acquaintance rapes.)

In another recent study (Almond, McManus, & Ward, 2014), the three sexual themes were again examined. However, the study focused on male-on-male sexual assault. The study did not investigate the power of the themes to predict sexual recidivism and did not distinguish stranger from acquaintance rapes. However, the researchers did find that a majority of male-on-male assaulters (74%) demonstrated a dominant theme. Specifically, 42% were classified as displaying hostility, 23% as criminality, and 9% as sexual exploitation/involvement. Overall, the study demonstrates that male-on-male sexual assaulters are a heterogeneous group reflecting different themes and reasons in their attacks. Almond et al. (2014) conclude: "There are those who gain intimacy and closeness for the offense, others who use the offense to vent misplaced anger and frustration and those that use the offense as an expression of social dominance" (p. 1293).

Attitudes and Myths That Support Rape and Other Sexual Assaults

Undoubtedly, a major explanatory factor for many sexual assaults of women is the attitudes held by the perpetrators. Some research indicates that these attitudes have been held by many individuals in the general population. Some time ago, Koss and Dinero (1988) surveyed approximately 3,000 male students at 32 U.S. colleges and universities. The students were asked questions about the extent of verbal coercion and physical force they had used to become sexually intimate with women without their consent. They were also questioned about attitudes and habits. The results indicated that highly sexually aggressive men expressed greater hostility toward women, frequently used alcohol, frequently viewed violent and degrading pornography, and were closely involved with peer groups that reinforce highly sexualized and dominating views of women. In addition, the more sexually aggressive the student, the more likely he was to believe that force and coercion are legitimate ways to gain compliance in sexual relationships. The researchers concluded, "In short, the results provided support for a developmental sequence for sexual aggression in which early experiences and psychological characteristics establish conditions for sexual violence" (p. 144).

Some research provides similar findings, suggesting that men who sexually assault women seem to subscribe to attitudes and ideology that encourage men to be dominant, controlling, and powerful, whereas women are expected to be submissive, permissive, and compliant. For example, one recent study found that rape-prone men strongly endorse rape-supportive statements, such as that most women like to be dominated, a woman cannot be raped unless she wants to be, or women who say no are usually lying (Blake & Gannon, 2010).

The role played by fantasy and imagination in the development of sexually aggressive behavior is becoming an increasingly important topic (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2011). Self-reports by sexual offenders find that frequent imagery and fantasy of sexually aggressive scenes is extremely important in motivating and guiding overt sexual aggression. Interestingly, in a self-report survey of 114 college men conducted by Greendlinger and

Byrne (1987), over one-third indicated they fantasize about aggressively raping a woman and 54% fantasize about "forcing a woman to have sex." Nevertheless, it cannot be concluded that having such fantasies will translate to assaultive behavior. Research documenting fantasies in actual offenders is more relevant. Likewise, it is sometimes asserted that many women report fantasies about being forcefully assaulted in a sexual manner; no one is suggesting that they actually want to be raped, however.

Rape Myths Rape myths have received considerable research attention during the past four decades. **Rape myths** are "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 134). Rape myths have been found to be associated with "sexual aggression, intentions of rape, victim blaming, social attitudes related to sexual role and behavior, and hostile sexual beliefs directed toward women" (Zounlome & Wong, 2019, p. 5). They stem from the traditional view of masculinity that men should be strong, assertive, sexually dominant, and heterosexual (Davies, 2002). Rape myths essentially are the false beliefs that women must be dominated and coerced into sexual activity. Note that research on rape myths refers to males as aggressors and females as victims, but individuals who identify themselves as sexual minorities are more likely to reject rape myths (Wilson & Newing, 2018).

Rape myths
A variety of mistaken beliefs about the crime of rape and its victims held by many men and women.

Rape myths and misogynistic (hatred of women) attitudes appear to play a major role in sexual assault of women. Many—but not all—rapists and violently sexually aggressive men tend to hold them. Research indicates that men who subscribe to rape myths are hostile toward women in general (Forbes, Adams-Curtis, & White, 2004; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010). Although much of the research cited in this section is older than many college students, both current research and anecdotal evidence of hostility toward women are not difficult to find.

In Spring 2015, a campus fraternity was suspended for a year because its Facebook page included photos depicting drugs and naked, unconscious women. Female political, celebrity, and media figures regularly receive hate-filled emails, and the blogosphere is notorious for its anonymous derisive comments directed toward specific women as well as women in general. Attitudes that promote the denigration of women may be widespread. There is distressing evidence that sex assaulters may reflect the explicit and implicit beliefs held by many others. Recall that in one study that received a lot of attention, 35% of male college students on several different campuses felt there was some likelihood that they would rape if they could be sure of getting away with it (Malamuth, 1981). In another study, 60% of a group of 352 male undergraduates indicated there was some likelihood they would rape or force a female to perform a sexual act against her will if given the opportunity (Briere, Malamuth, & Ceniti, 1981).

Malamuth (1989) cautions, however, that one should not conclude that subjects who indicate they would sexually force a woman are necessarily "potential rapists." The scale used in his research, *Attraction to Sexual Aggression* (ASA), was designed to measure the belief that actually engaging in sexual aggression would be an arousing, attractive experience. Whether they would act on that belief is dictated by myriad factors across a wide spectrum of influences, including the degree of motivation to commit the act, the internal and external inhibitions present, and the opportunity to commit the act. A more widely used scale today for the purposes of measuring sexual aggression is the revised *Sexual Experiences Survey* (SES; Koss et al., 2007). It asks specific questions to assess whether and how often a respondent committed a completed rape, attempted rape, sexual coercion, or unwanted sexual contact (Swartout, Thompson, Koss, & Su, 2014). Much of the recent research on sexual assault, particularly on college campuses, uses the SES to measure sexual assault.

There is some recent evidence that some false beliefs and rape myths are beginning to change—at least among college students—though incidents such as those cited above remind us that considerable change is still needed. For example, Ferro, Cermele, and Saltzman (2008) report that college students are less likely to hold false beliefs about sexual assault and are generally sympathetic toward survivors. However, the students in the Ferro et al. study still held rape myths concerning marital rape. The participants found it difficult to believe that sexual assault occurs in a marital relationship—at that time opposite-sex relationships—since a higher level of intimacy is expected between married couples. They were also reluctant to believe that the act was a violation of the woman's rights or that she would be psychologically damaged from the experience.

Cognitive-Perceptual Distortions in Communication

Some men have strong cognitive-perceptual biases that lead to misconceptions of women's verbal and nonverbal communications (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2003, 2011). Overall, a subgroup of men, those who are inclined to be sexually aggressive and coercive, perceive more sexual intent in women's behavior than women perceive in their own behavior or the behavior of other women (Farris, Treat, Viken, & McFall, 2008). For example, some men perceive friendly behavior (verbal and nonverbal) from a woman as seductive and assertive behavior as hostile and attacking. A simple touching of the arm may be interpreted as sexual interest. Furthermore, men who believe that sexual assault is justifiable in certain situations and who blame women for victimization appear to have considerable difficulty distinguishing between when a woman is sexually interested and when she is not (Farris, Viken, Treat, & McFall, 2006). Alcohol certainly compounds the situation by influencing judgment and perceptual processing.

According to Farris et al., these men appear to have particular difficulty decoding rejection when a woman is dressed provocatively—in their perceptions—and sexual interest when a woman is dressed more conservatively. For example, they may assume interest if she is dressed in a way they perceive is provocative and lack of interest if she is dressed more conservatively. The researchers also discovered that sexually aggressive men tend to have particular difficulty making snap judgments. "(I)t appears that provocative clothing was particularly distracting to aggressive men when judgments had to be made quickly" (Farris et al., 2006, p. 874). Using manner of dress to measure "provocativeness" and "conservativeness" presents a minefield for researchers today, however, because typical fashion styles of today lean toward what would have been provocative even a decade ago.

The Influence of Sexually Explicit Media

The relationship between rape and pornography has long been shrouded with confusion and surrounded by debate. In the late 20th century, two presidential commissions established to study the effect of pornography on crime and human behavior reached opposite conclusions. The first and most comprehensive, established in 1967, was directed not to issue recommendations unless the effects were clear-cut. Because of the complexity it uncovered, the commission could not conclude whether explicit sexual material contributed significantly to sex crimes, prompting then-President Richard M. Nixon to remark that the commission was "morally bankrupt." Many have used this conclusion to support their contention that pornography is not harmful. The second National Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, which issued a report in 1984, recommended widespread restrictions of pornographic material. This commission has been extensively criticized for its lack of scientific objectivity. Since then, of course, pornography—including violent and child pornography—has been widely available, including for downloading from the Internet.

Whether pornography contributes to sexual offending may depend both on the type of pornography and the characteristics of the offender. Some researchers also distinguish pornography from erotica, which refers to "sexually explicit material that depicts adult men and women consensually involved in pleasurable, nonviolent, nondegrading, sexual interactions" (Seto Maric, & Barbaree, 2001, p. 37). Pornography, on the other hand, may be described as depictions of sexual contact where one of the participants is portrayed as powerless or nonconsenting or is little more than an object for the pleasure of the other participant or participants. In these sexually explicit scenes, 88% contain some form of physical aggression toward women (Seabrook, Ward, & Giaccardi, 2018). In addition, some pornography depicts one or more persons in physically violent or degrading and humiliating situations. In each case, the pornography portrays sexual interactions as impersonal and without affection or consideration of the actors as individuals. Child pornography is a totally different situation because it involves the exploitation of children; possession and distribution of child pornography is illegal and carries prison penalties if convicted. Child pornography will be covered in the next chapter.

Some early research evidence indicated that under *certain* conditions, pornography facilitates aggressive, sexual behavior. Studies by Donnerstein (1983), Malamuth and Check (1981), Malamuth, Haber, and Feshbach (1980) and Malamuth, Heim, and Feshbach (1980) indicated, for example, that a general statement that pornography does not negatively influence people needs several qualifiers. In a series of ongoing experiments, Donnerstein found evidence that three factors influence the relationship between pornography and human aggression: (1) the level of arousal elicited by pornographic films; (2) the level of aggressive content; and (3) the reactions of the victims portrayed in these films and photographs. Donnerstein and others (e.g., Meyer, 1972; Zillman, 1971) angered male subjects in a variety of ways, and then found that pornography shown to these aroused subjects significantly increased their aggressive behavior toward others. Because of their arousing properties, the pornographic stimuli apparently may promote aggression under certain conditions. This finding accords with Berkowitz's theory (discussed in Chapter 5 on the relationship between arousal and aggression). Anything—sexual or not—that increases the arousal level of an already aroused subject will increase aggressive behavior in situations where aggression is the dominant behavior. The increased arousal may also draw the subject away from his own internal control or self-regulatory mechanisms, thereby allowing him to be less concerned about the consequences of his behavior.

Extremely violent stimuli, both pornographic and nonpornographic, can also facilitate aggression toward women, even in nonangered males, under certain conditions. The level of violence in the film appears significant. Portrayals of women being assaulted, even nonsexually, can increase subsequent aggressive behavior by men toward women, even when the men are not angry. Therefore, highly aggressive and violent acts depicted in the media may facilitate sexual assault in some men. Since many rapists regard their act as a direct aggressive attack on women, seeing films where women are physically abused may encourage and support their own violent inclinations. Seto et al. (2001) make the point, though, that individuals who are already predisposed to sexually offend are the most likely to demonstrate the strongest effects of pornographic materials on their sexual and aggressive behavior. Men who are not predisposed toward aggressive sexual behavior are unlikely to be affected by pornographic materials.

The reactions of the victims portrayed in films also seem crucial. Films or photographs that depict the female victim enjoying rape (common in pornography) encourage acceptance of rape myths and promote violence against women (Allen, Emmers, Gebhart, & Giery, 2001; Malamuth & Check, 1981; Seabrook et al., 2018). In fact, Allen and his colleagues (2001) found that as the level of coercion depicted in the pornographic material goes up, so does the acceptance of the rape myth. If, on the other hand, the victim finds the

rape both painful and abhorrent (negative aggressive pornography), male observers are disinclined to act aggressively. However, several qualifiers must be attached to this finding. If the male observer is already angered (aroused), seeing the victim suffer may make him more aggressive, since any arousal increase in an already aroused subject will increase subsequent aggressive behavior. The specific content of the film becomes irrelevant, as long as it meets the minimum criterion of being somehow arousing. On the other hand, men who are not upset or aroused before seeing a female victim suffer are less likely to aggress against women.

The above studies were conducted some time ago, but even today the relationship between violent pornography and sexual aggression remains complex and troubling. Some studies continue to indicate that there is a significant relationship between violent pornographic consumption and attitudes supporting violence against women (Hald, Malamuth, & Yuen, 2010). This relationship appears to be especially strong for men who are considered at high risk for sexual aggression and rape (Malamuth, Huppin, & Paul, 2005; Vega & Malamuth, 2007). Furthermore, the confluence of three factors—attitudes supportive of sexual assault (e.g., acceptance of rape myths), lack of self-control (e.g., through misuse of alcohol), and norms that are conveyed through pornography—has been linked to the likelihood of committing rape (Abbey, Jacques-Tiura, & LeBreton, 2011; Malamuth, Hald, & Koss, 2012; Tharp et al., 2013).

Contemporary researchers also have begun to look at not only pornography but also general mainstream media images that objectify women. **Objectification** is any depiction that dehumanizes women, deprives them of agency, or connotes that they are intellectually inferior or are valued only or primarily because of their physical attributes. Studies have associated objectification with greater acceptance of rape myths (Seabrook, Ward, & Giaccardi, 2018; Wright & Tokunaga, 2016) and a greater likelihood that men will sexually harass or sexually assault women (Rudman & Mescher, 2012). (See Box 12–2 for discussion of Seabrook et al.'s research.) Objectification contributes to attitudes supportive of rape myths and even to a tendency to be more forgiving of sexual aggressors. Seabrook

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 12–2 REALITY SHOWS, SPORTS, PORNOGRAPHY, AND OBJECTIFICATION

It is widely accepted that depictions of violence against women, children, and men in pornographic videos foster rape myths and facilitate attitudes supportive of sexual violence. Nonetheless, such depictions do not have a direct causal effect on sexual offending. That is, we cannot say that people who watch violent pornography commit violent crimes. Use of violent pornography is often found in the backgrounds of rapists and other sex offenders, however.

It is also widely accepted that women and adolescent girls are often treated as objects rather than as human agents. How does this objectification of women relate to media consumption and to attitudes toward sexual violence? A number of researchers have addressed this question, producing sobering findings. Among them are Seabrook, War, and Giaccardi (2018), who replicated and expanded upon a previous study (Wright & Tokunaga, 2016). That study had found that consumption of pornography, reality shows, and men's magazines was associated with the objectification of women, and that in turn was associated with attitudes accepting of sexual violence. Seabrook et al. expanded the inquiry to include a broader variety of TV shows, including not only reality shows but also sports, sitcoms, and drama shows, even though they did not depict sexual violence.

Participants were 283 male undergraduates who ranged in age from 17 to 27. The majority (71.4%) identified as white, and 13.4% identified as Asian/Asian American,

5.3% as multiracial, 3.5% as Middle Eastern, 2.8% as Latino, and 2.1% as black/African American. The researchers administered scales measuring acceptance of rape myths and acceptance of objectification of women. Participants were also asked whether they engaged in deceptive behaviors toward women (e.g., pretending to be an athlete, or telling someone they loved her in order to have sex), and they were asked to report on their exposure to pornography, sports, and several genres of TV shows. Among the large list of frequently watched shows were *Pawn Stars*, *Cops*, *Jersey Shore*, *Duck Dynasty*, *Big Bang Theory*, *Modern Family*, *Community*, *Breaking Bad*, and *NCIS*.

In the words of Seabrook et al., "Our results indicate that consumption of reality TV, sports programming, and pornography is *each* [emphasis added] associated with greater acceptance of objectification of women...which in turn is associated with greater rape myth acceptance and more frequent acts of sexual deception among undergraduate men" (p. 6). Researchers did not find a similar result for consumption of sitcoms or drama programs (e.g., NCIS). It should be noted, also, that they did not find a high degree of sexual deception by their participants.

Questions for Discussion

1. Note that acceptance of the objectification of women is a key factor in this study. Few would disagree that pornography objectifies women. Are you surprised at the findings that sports shows and reality shows objectify women?
2. The researchers acknowledged several limitations of their study. Based on the above admittedly brief description, what might those limitations be? Obtain the published study and discuss it in more depth.
3. What might explain the low levels of deception uncovered in the study?
4. The researchers advocate comprehensive sex education that includes media literacy (e.g., effects of pornography, media objectification of women). Was media literacy a component of a sex education program in your grade school, middle school, or high school? ■

et al. (2018) conclude that their research supports the viewpoint "that objectification contributes to sexual violence indirectly by changing cultural norms about how women should be treated" (p. 7). In the sexual assault literature, a renewed focus on objectification compliments the research on violent media content (Bernard, Loughnan, Marchal, Godart, & Klein, 2015; Galdi, Maas, & Cadinu, 2014; Gervais & Eagan, 2017). Even without violent content, media depictions can have a negative effect and facilitate sexually aggressive behavior.

Classification of Rape Patterns

Since such a wide variety of sexual offenders are involved in rape and sexual assault, several attempts have been made to categorize rapists according to their traits and behavioral-motivational patterns. These classification systems are often referred to as a typology, a key concept described in earlier chapters, where typologies of criminal homicide offenders and batterers were introduced. A typology is used to organize a wide assortment of observations or measurements for research and clinical diagnosis and treatment purposes. Typologies also may be used in creating "profiles" of certain offenders. The simplest typology used for sex offenders is based on the age of the victim or victims, thereby distinguishing between child sex offenders (often referred to as child molesters) and rapists (Ennis et al., 2016). For our purposes, we will use the child sex offender and rapist typology by covering the two types of sexual offenders in separate chapters. However, it should be emphasized that many sex offenders engage in **crossover offending**, meaning they offend against victims regardless of age or other characteristics. Crossover offending refers to the tendency for some offenders to sexually assault victims representing different ages, gender, and relationships, a pattern characteristic of some serial and opportunity offenders (Heil, Ahlmeyer, & Simons, 2003). An opportunity sex offender is one who does not necessarily plan his assault, but rather takes the occasion to sexually assault when a suitable victim is present. Depending on the opportunity, they may select male children or young or older women for sexual assault.

The two most extensively studied sex offender typologies were the ones developed by researchers at the Massachusetts (Bridgewater) Treatment Center (MTC) (Cohen, Garafalo, Boucher, & Seghorn, 1971; Cohen, Seghorn, & Calmas, 1969; Knight & Prentky, 1987; Prentky & Knight, 1986). One typology was developed for rapists, and the other for child molesters. The MTC typologies are considered among the most rigorously tested classification systems in sex offender research to date (Goodwill, Alison, & Beech, 2009; Knight & Guay, 2018). The original researchers recognized that sex offending involves both sexual and aggressive features and tried to formulate a behavioral classification system that takes these features into consideration. We believe it is important to go over them in some detail because they underscore the complexity of sexual offending.

The MTC typologies have undergone multiple revisions over the years and currently are in their fourth revision (Knight, 2010; Knight & Guay, 2018; Knight & King, 2012). As research develops, it is becoming increasingly clear that some sexual offenders do not fit neatly into the MTC typologies. (Recall from Chapter 9 that a prominent batterer typology was expanded from three to four subtypes for similar reasons.) For example, the usefulness of a typology for sex offenders is beginning to give way to a dimensional approach. That is, rather than placing sex offenders into a variety of pigeon-holes, it is becoming more realistic to place them along a variety of dimensions or continua (Guay, Ruscio, Knight, & Hare, 2007; Lehmann et al., 2013). Additionally, and as mentioned above, the MTC typologies disregard "contemporary research that indicates that a significant proportion of sex offenders engage in 'crossover offending' against victims of different ages" (Ennis et al., 2016, p. 3). Still, the MTC typologies are very useful for highlighting the multiple types of sex offenders based on the motivational and behavioral characteristics of the offenses. To that extent we will introduce some of the key offender categories of the MTC typologies. In this chapter we will focus on the typology developed for rapists, and in the next chapter the typology for child sex offenders.

Massachusetts Treatment Center Classification System

The Massachusetts Treatment Center (MTC) originally identified four major categories of rapists: (1) displaced aggression, (2) compensatory, (3) sexual aggressive, and (4) impulsive rapists. Although these major categories still exist—with slight changes in nomenclature—MTC researchers have refined the classification system to include various subcategories, as will be noted shortly. An extremely important point to keep in mind is the fact that this classification system was based on recognized, convicted offenders and is intended for use in sex offender treatment programs. These typologies may or may not apply to high-profile individuals or groups of individuals (e.g., actors, media personalities, priests) whose crimes have been uncovered in recent years but who have not been charged or prosecuted. (See Table 12–4.) **Displaced aggression rapists** (also called in other classification systems **displaced anger** or **anger-retaliation rapists**) are primarily violent and aggressive in their attack, displaying minimum or total absence of sexual feeling. These men use the act of rape to harm, humiliate, and degrade the woman. This rapist closely tracks the hostility theme discussed earlier in the sexual recidivism section of this chapter. The victim is brutally assaulted and subjected to sadistic acts like biting, cutting, or tearing. In most instances, the victim is a complete stranger who happens to be the best available object or stimulus for the violence, although she may possess characteristics that attract the assailant's attention. The assault is not sexually arousing for the displaced aggression rapist, and he often demands oral manipulation or masturbation from the victim to become tumescent.

Displaced aggression rapist
The rapist whose attack is violent and aggressive, displaying minimum or total absence of sexual feeling. Also called **displaced anger** or **anger-retaliation rapist.**

According to Knight and Prentky (1987), an offender must demonstrate the following characteristics during the attack in order to be assigned to the displaced aggression category:

1. The presence of a high degree of nonsexualized aggression or rage expressed either through verbal and/or physical assault that clearly exceeds what is necessary to force compliance of the victim.
2. Clear evidence, in verbalization or behavior, of the intent to demean, degrade, or humiliate the victim.
3. No evidence that the aggressive behavior is eroticized or that sexual pleasure is derived from the injurious acts.
4. The injurious acts are not focused on parts of the body that have sexual significance.

Although many of these rapists are married, they are usually ambivalent toward the women in their lives (Cohen et al., 1971), and their relationships with women are often characterized by frequent irritation and periodic violence. They perceive women as being hostile, demanding, and unfaithful. In addition, they often select as their targets for sexual assault women whom they consider active, assertive, and independent. The occupational history of these assailants is stable and often shows some level of success. Usually, the work is "masculine," such as truck driving, carpentry, construction, or mechanics. The attack typically follows an incident that has upset or angered the rapist, particularly about women and their behavior. The term *displaced aggression* is derived from the fact that the victim rarely has played any direct role in generating the aggression and arousal—in other words, the victim is not the one who may have angered him. This offender often attributes his offense to "uncontrollable impulses."

Compared with other rapists, the childhood of the displaced aggression offender was often chaotic and unstable. Many were physically and emotionally neglected. A large number were adopted or placed in foster homes. About 80% were brought up in single-parent homes.

Compensatory rapists rape in response to an intense sexual arousal initiated by stimuli in the environment, often quite specific stimuli. This type of rapist is sometimes referred to in the clinical and research literature as the "power-reassurance," "sexual aim," "ego dystonic," or "true" sex offender. Aggression is not a significant feature here; the basic motivation is a desire to prove sexual prowess and adequacy. In their day-to-day lives, compensatory rapists tend to be extremely passive, withdrawn, and socially inept. They live in a world of fantasy that centers on images of eagerly yielding victims who will submit to pleasurable intercourse and find the rapist's performance so outstanding that they will plead for a return engagement. The compensatory rapist's fantasies or personal versions of the world may so distort his view of the victim that he may seek further contact with her, even if she strongly resisted the sexual assault. In many respects, the compensatory rapist follows the pseudo-intimacy theme covered earlier in the chapter.

Compensatory rapist
An offender who rapes in response to an intense sexual arousal initiated by stimuli in the environment, often quite specific stimuli (e.g., dark-haired women). His main motive is to prove his sexual prowess.

Although his victim is usually a stranger, the compensatory rapist has probably seen her frequently, watched her, or followed her. Specific stimuli associated with her probably excite him. For example, he may be drawn to college women but may feel the attraction would not be mutual if he approached them via a socially accepted route. He cannot face the prospect of rejection. However, if he can prove his sexual prowess, the victim will appreciate his value. If the victim vigorously resists the compensatory rapist, he is likely to flee; if she submits passively, he will rape without much force or violence. This sexually aroused passive assailant will often ejaculate spontaneously, even on mere physical contact with the victim. In general, he does not demonstrate other kinds of antisocial behavior.

The compensatory rapist is often described by others as a quiet, shy, submissive, lonely, nice man. Although he is a reliable worker, his withdrawn, introverted behavior, lack of self-esteem, and low levels of need for achievement usually preclude academic, occupational, or social success. His rapes—or attempts at rape—are efforts to compensate for his sense of inadequacy, hence the category to which he is assigned. More recent research by

Knight and Prentky (1987) questions the incompetence issue. They found that, compared with the other rapist types, the compensatory rapist evidenced the best heterosexual adaptation and achieved the highest employment skill level. Consequently, the term *compensatory rapist* has been replaced with the term *sexual gratification*, nonsadistic type.

Sexual aggressive rapist
A rapist who demonstrates both sexual and aggressive features in his attack. In order for him to experience sexual arousal, it must be associated with violence and pain, which excite him. Also called **sadistic rapist.**

The **sexual aggressive** or **sadistic rapist** is the one in whom sexual and aggressive features seem to coexist at equal or near equal levels. In order for him to experience sexual arousal, it must be associated with violence and pain, which excite him. He rapes, therefore, because of the combination of violence and sexual features in the act. He is convinced that women enjoy being forcefully raped and being dominated and controlled by men. This, he believes, is part of women's nature. Anger and aggression are not always present during the early stages of the assault, which may actually begin as a seduction. In this sense, the sexual aggressive rapist considers the victim's resistance and struggle a game, a form of protesting too much; what she really wants is to be sexually assaulted and raped. This belief appears deeply ingrained and widely accepted in many Western societies (Edwards, 1983).

Sexual aggressive offenders are often married, but because they display little commitment or loyalty, they also often have a history of multiple marriages, separations, and divorces. They also may be frequently involved in domestic violence. In fact, their backgrounds include antisocial behaviors beginning during or before adolescence and ranging from truancy to rape-murder. They have been severe management problems in school. Throughout their childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, they exhibit poor behavior controls and a low frustration tolerance. Their childhoods are characterized by physical abuse and neglect.

In the extreme, these rapists engage in sexual sadism much like the displaced aggression rapists: Their victims may be viciously violated, beaten, and even killed. The difference between the two types is that the sexual aggressive rapist derives intense sexual satisfaction from aggression, pain, and violence. In order to qualify for assignment to this category, the offender needs to demonstrate (1) a level of aggression or violence that clearly exceeds what is necessary to force compliance of the victim, and (2) the explicit, unambiguous evidence that aggression is sexually exciting to him.

Impulsive rapist
A rapist who demonstrates neither strong sexual nor highly aggressive features, but engages in spontaneous rape when the opportunity presents itself. The rape is usually carried out in the context of another crime, such as robbery or burglary. Also called **exploitative rapist.**

A fourth type of rapist, the **impulsive or exploitative rapist**, demonstrates neither strong sexual nor aggressive features, but engages in spontaneous rape when the opportunity presents itself. The rape is usually carried out in the context of another crime, such as robbery or burglary. The victims simply happen to be available, and they are sexually assaulted with minimum extra-rape violence or sexual feeling. Generally, this offender has a long history of criminal offenses other than rape. In order to be assigned to this group, the offender must show (1) callous indifference to the welfare and comfort of victim, and (2) the presence of no more force than is necessary to gain the compliance of the victim. The exploitative rapist presents many similarities to the general criminality theme presented earlier in the chapter. We should be cautious in assuming that sexual assaults that accompany a burglary are impulsive, however. In recent years, researchers have begun to focus on **sexual burglary** as a crime that appears to be more than simply an opportunity that occurs as a result of a burglary (see Box 12–3).

Sexual burglary
A burglary committed with the primary motive of carrying out a sexual assault or obtaining objects supportive of a fetish.

The MTC:R3

The Massachusetts Treatment Classification scheme offers a rough framework for conceptualizing and simplifying the behaviors and motives involved in rape. However, it needs refinement and reconstruction, a process the group has been pursuing for a number of years (e.g., Knight, 1999, 2010; Knight & Prentky, 1990). In this section we compare the two latest versions.

After a series of analyses and further development of the classification scheme, Knight and his colleagues decided to classify rape offenders into *four* major types and *nine* subtypes. Although the basic four offender types discussed above—displaced aggression, sexual

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 12–3 SEXUAL BURGLARY

Burglary is typically defined in criminal statutes as the unlawful entry into a residence, commercial establishment, or other building for the purposes of committing a felony. When we think of burglary, we usually think of someone entering a home to steal, and most typically when residents are sleeping or are not at home. However, an unknown percentage of burglaries have sexual motives, and the crime the perpetrators intend to commit may range from sexual assault to theft of intimate apparel. In these situations, the burglars are referred to in the literature as sexual burglars.

It is difficult to obtain information about sexual burglaries from official crime statistics, because as noted in the chapter, sexual victimizations are not generally reported to police. In an unknown number of cases, the burglary may be reported but its sexual components not. For example, a victim may tell police someone entered her home and stole cash or jewelry but not add that she was sexually assaulted. With reference to victimization data (e.g., the NCVS), the emphasis will be on the sexual offense, and the burglary component might not be emphasized. Therefore, a very unique type of offense, the sexually motivated burglary, has been left largely unexplored until recently, with but few exceptions. Several studies on this topic have begun to emerge, however (e.g., Deslauriers-Varin & Beauregard, 2010; Harris et al., 2012; Pedneault, Harris, & Knight, 2012; Pedneault, Beauregard, Harris, & Knight, 2014).

Research on burglary in general views it as a rational crime, planned and undertaken by an offender to maximize the profits and minimize the risks (Cornish & Clarke, 1987; Nee & Taylor, 2000). In some cases, when a sexual assault accompanies the burglary, the assault has been regarded as opportunistic—that is, the offender burglarizes a residence and happens to find a victim (Scully & Marolla, 1985). In a recent study, though, Pedneault, Beauregard et al. (2014) did not find strong support for this. Rather, they found that those who committed sexual burglary made rational choices and had illegally entered premises with the *primary motivation of committing a sexual offense*.

The researchers reviewed 224 incidents of residential burglary from files of sex offenders, primarily persons convicted of rapes (71%). Their previous research (Pedneault, Harris, & Knight, 2012) had identified three different types of sexual burglars: (1) fetishistic noncontact; (2) versatile contact; and (3) sexually oriented contact. The *fetishistic noncontact burglary* is committed to access property that has a sexually arousing value for the burglar, such as underclothing or other personal items. Usually, these breaking and entering incidents do not involve the sexual assault of a victim. In most cases, the residence is unoccupied.

The *versatile contact burglary* has multiple motivations for entering a residence, and sexual behaviors are only part of the spectrum of motivations. The sexual assault is committed in combination with theft, violence, and the use of weapons.

The *sexually oriented contact* burglary occurs because the offender has the planned, specific goal of gaining access to a sexual victim, without any intent to steal possessions or commit theft or violence other than a sexual assault. Both the fetishistic noncontact and sexually oriented contact burglars were aiming primarily at sexual satisfaction. It should be noted that sexual satisfaction does not negate the probability that anger or hatred of women was also a factor. Further analysis of the 224 incidents (Pedneault, Beauregard et al., 2014) indicated that sexual motivation was predominant among all three groups and, as noted above, there was little support for an opportunistic effect. Moreover, even in the versatile contact burglary, where additional crimes were committed, sexual contact was the primary motivation. As a whole, sexually motivated burglaries took place in occupied residences when the victim was alone. A vast majority occurred at night, most often between midnight and 3 a.m., when the victim was sleeping. The sexual burglaries in the study targeted apartments. The researchers speculated that the preference for apartments might be a result of the burglars being more familiar with the layout of the apartment buildings compared to private residences or it being more likely that a victim is alone. Most of the offenders carried weapons, underscoring the fact that the burglars expected the residences to be occupied. The use of weapons, of course, increases the risks for all concerned.

(*continued*)

Questions for Discussion

1. Several research findings are different from what researchers have found about nonsexual residential burglaries. For example, nonsexual burglaries usually occur when no one is at home, and weapons are far less frequent. What other differences might be expected?
2. From a psychological perspective, what is the value, if any, in distinguishing contact sexual burglaries from other sexual assaults?
3. Is the sexual burglar likely to be different from the nonsexual burglar in personality characteristics? Is the sexual burglar likely to be different from someone who commits sexual assault on campus or in the community? ■

gratification (formerly compensatory), sexual aggressive, and impulsive—remained in the equation, the researchers discovered there were subtle differences within them. They then found that identifying four primary *motivations* for rape could improve the MTC's effectiveness significantly: *opportunity*, *pervasive anger*, *sexual gratification*, and *vindictiveness* (Knight, 1999; Knight, Warren, Reboussin, & Soley, 1998). Knight and his colleagues (Knight et al., 1998) concluded that these four motivations appeared to describe enduring behavioral patterns that distinguished most rapists. The **opportunistic types** (Types 1 and 2) are similar to the impulsive rapist described earlier. Their sexual assaults appear to be impulsive, predatory acts as a result of being in a situation where the opportunity for the sexual attack arises, and they are not primarily driven by sexual fantasy or explicit anger at women. However, analysis of offender data showed that the opportunistic type can be subdivided on the basis of their social competence (see Table 12–4). Type 1 offenders are higher in social competence and first exhibited their impulsive sexual tendencies in adulthood. Type 2 offenders, on the other hand, are lower in social competence and first demonstrated their impulsive sexual actions during adolescence.

Pervasive anger type
A rapist characterized by anger directed toward virtually everyone he knows.

Sexual gratification rapist
Rapist whose motivation is hypothesized to be sexual, marked by the presence of protracted sexual or sadistic fantasies that influence as well as sustain the rape. These offenders have in common some form of enduring sexual preoccupation.

Vindictive offender types
Refers to rapists of women whose attack is driven by their central and focused hatred of women.

The **pervasive anger type** (Type 3) is similar to displaced aggression rapists but with the difference that his generalized anger pervades all areas of his life. Their pervasive anger is not simply directed at women but at everyone. Consequently, they often have a long history of antisocial, violent behavior of all kinds, and they tend to inflict high levels of physical injury on their victims, especially their rape victims. In many ways, they manifest behaviors similar to the life-course-persistent offender. **Sexual gratification** motivations characterized four subtypes of rapists in the MTC:R3 classification scheme (Types 4, 5, 6, and 7; see Table 12–4). The sadistic rapists (Types 4 and 5) are subdivided into overt and muted types on the basis of whether their sexual-aggressive fantasies are directly expressed (overt) in violent attacks or are only fantasized (muted) (Knight et al., 1998). The nonsadistic sexual rapists (Types 6 and 7) are subdivided on the basis of their social competence; they are similar to the compensatory rapist described earlier in the chapter.

The MTC:R3 also includes **vindictive offender** types (Types 8 and 9), characterized by anger directed exclusively at women. These types are also highly similar to the displaced

TABLE 12–4 Breakdown of MTC:R3 Four Categorizations of Rapist Type into Subtypes based on Motivation

Opportunistic		Pervasively Angry	Sexual				Vindictive	
High social competence	Low social competence		Sadistic		Nonsadistic		Low social competence	Moderate social competence
			Overt	Muted	Low social competence	High social competence		
Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	Type 7	Type 8	Type 9

Source: Adapted from Knight et al. (1998). Predicting rapist type from crime-scene variables. Criminal Justice and Behavior, 25, 46–80.

aggressive type described in the original MTC. "The sexual assaults of these men are distinguished by behaviors that are explicitly intended to harm the woman physically, as well as to degrade and humiliate her" (Knight et al., 1998, p. 58). Like the opportunistic and nonsadistic rapists, the vindictive types can be subdivided into high social competence and low social competence people.

Knight et al. (1998) postulate that these nine rape-offender classifications can help substantially in providing additional clues in crime-scene investigations. With refinement and continuing research, the MTC:R3 should ultimately enable investigators to identify "type" based on parameters gathered at the crime scene. The MTC:R3 also underscores the multiple strategies and cognitive beliefs possessed by rapists and discourages dogmatic proclamations about why rape occurs. The MTC:R3 increases the understanding of the etiology of sexual offending and helps mental health professions predict recidivism. Knight (1999) cautions, though, that while the MTC:R3 provides a useful way of classifying the many motivations of rapists, it may need considerable refinement and research to establish its validity and ultimate utility. In one study, Goodwill, Alison, and Beech (2009) found that the MTC:R3 does appear to have considerable usefulness in criminal profiling or law enforcement solving of sexual crimes.

MTC Version 4

Knight (2010), in response to studies that have identified several problems with the MTC:R3, revised the typological model. In the newly developed MTC:R4 (version 4), Knight deleted subtype 5, the muted sadistic rapist, but all other MTC:R3 subtypes remain. (See Figure 12–1.)

However, based on previous research (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2003), Knight emphasizes the importance of three core personality traits that are believed to define paths that lead to sexual offending in both juveniles and adults: (1) callous unemotionality; (2) antisociality/impulsivity, and (3) hypersexuality/sexualization. These three core traits comprise the **three-path model**. Moreover, in developing version 4, it was discovered that individuals who score high on psychopathy are significantly overrepresented among sex offenders (Knight & Guay, 2018; Krstic et al., 2018).

Three-path model
Identifies three personality traits that are associated with sex offenders: sexual preoccupation, antisocial, and callous-unemotional.

As described in Chapter 7, callous unemotionality is demonstrated by such behaviors as pathological lying, grandiose sense of self-worth, superficial charm, little empathy or compassion for others, and a conning, manipulative behavioral pattern. Antisociality/

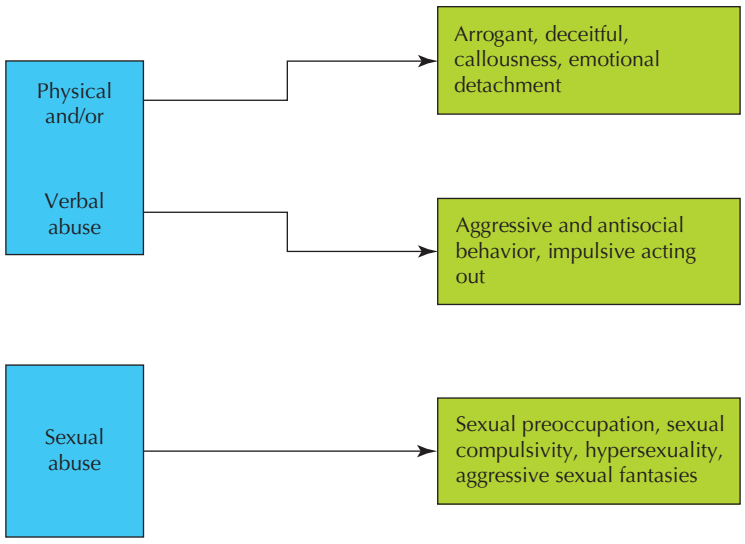
Physical and/or
Verbal abuse
Sexual abuse
Arrogant, deceitful, callousness, emotional detachment
Aggressive and antisocial behavior, impulsive acting out
Sexual preoccupation, sexual compulsivity, hypersexuality, aggressive sexual fantasies

FIGURE 12.1
Knight and Sims-Knight Three Path Model of Sexual Offending

impulsivity is characterized as exhibiting poor behavioral control, early behavioral problems, and general criminal behavior. This dimension reflects the research findings that many rapists are predominantly criminal generalists and do not specialize in sexual offenses. Hypersexuality/sexualization is represented by sexual preoccupation, sexual compulsivity, and sexually coerciveness. The first two traits are comparable to the two primary factors found in psychopathy. According to Knight and Sims-Knight (2004), the traits "play a critical role across the life span for sexually coercive males, are critical in assessing risk of recidivism, and should be targets of therapeutic intervention" (p. 49). Citing years of research on sex offenders, the researchers conclude that these traits are so consistently found across many samples of sex offenders that "a unified theory of sexual coercion can be generated" (Knight & Sims-Knight, 2011, p. 132).

Knight also views each of the three core personality traits as dimensions running from one extreme to another. This approach is in contrast to the strict typological model illustrated by the MTC:R3 model. Thus, a rapist might fall somewhere between hypersexuality and low sexualization and somewhere between high callousness and unemotionality. The rapist should also fall somewhere between high antisociality and low antisociality. Knight also introduced another twist to the MTC:R4. Rather than illustrating the model by a linear graph, he encompassed the components within a circle, which he calls a circumplex. In a circumplex model, factors that are close together in an area of a circle are more related than factors that fall further apart in the circle. Those factors furthest apart are opposites, such as psychopathic and nonpsychopathic. At this point, the MTC:R4 needs much more research, development, and refinement before it becomes useful for both researchers and clinicians, but the system holds considerable promise in becoming a unified theory for understanding sexual assault and providing a framework for intervention and treatment.

Treatment of Sex Offenders

Many sex offenders are highly resistant to changing their deviant behavioral patterns. A wide variety of treatment programs have been tried, but early reviews were not optimistic. As noted by Yates (2018), "various models of sex offender treatment have been proposed and implemented over time, including general psychotherapy, neurosurgery, physical castration, pharmacological interventions, behavioral reconditioning, cognitive-behavioral intervention, and relapse prevention" (p. 89). A 1994 survey of therapeutic services for sex offenders revealed that there were 710 adult and 684 juvenile treatment programs (Longo, Bird, Stevenson, & Fiske, 1995), compared with 297 adult and 346 juvenile treatment programs in 1985 (Knopp, Rosenberg, & Stevenson, 1986). Despite the increase in treatment programs, the success ratio remained disappointingly low for many years (Camilleri & Quinsey, 2008; Thakker, Collie, Gannon, & Ward, 2008). One of the most devastating early reviews was produced by Furby, Weinrott, and Blackshaw (1989, p. 27), who concluded, after assessing research on a range of therapeutic approaches, "There is as yet no evidence that clinical treatment reduces rates of sex reoffenses in general and no appropriate data for assessing whether it may be differentially effective for different types of offenders." However, and more optimistically, recent meta-analyses have demonstrated that treatment programs based on cognitive-behavioral approaches have shown more encouraging results.

Risk, Need, Responsivity (RNR)
Believed to be highly effective principles for the treatment of a wide range of criminal offenders.

Today, many clinicians believe that the most effective interventions or treatment methods for offenders are those that follow the three basic principles of **risk, need,** and **responsivity (RNR)** (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990; Bonta & Andrews, 2007) that are frequently cited in the psychological treatment literature. "It is generally accepted in the field of offender rehabilitation that treatment programs that adhere to the principles of effective rehabilitation are more effective for reducing criminal

recidivism than are programs that fail to adhere to those principles" (Ennis, Buro, & Jung, 2016, p. 404).

The first "R" in the RNR model refers to the **risk principle**. It denotes the importance of assessing what is the likelihood that an offender will reoffend. The major goal of treatment and rehabilitation of sex offenders is to eliminate—or at least significantly reduce—recidivism. The first step in treatment and rehabilitation is to assess the risk of reoffending, commonly referred to as risk assessment. Andrews and Bonta (2010) point out there are two aspects to the risk principle. The first aspect assumes that criminal behavior can be predicted. The second aspect involves the notion that the levels of treatment should match the risk level of the offender. Recall that we covered factors associated with recidivism earlier in the chapter.

A recent and clinically very useful assessment system for predicting recidivism and treatment needs has been proposed by Ennis et al. (2016). Using the Static-2002R, the researchers were able to identify three distinct groups of sex offenders prone to reoffend. The three groups were distinguished from one another by using statistically derived risk scores. Offenders with the highest risk of reoffending were labeled moderate to high risk offenders, abbreviated *Mod-Risk offenders*. This group was characterized by a wide range of problems associated with poor social adjustment and antisocial behavior during childhood and adolescence. Typically, they were exposed to high levels of cumulative risk factors during their development. That is, not only did they demonstrate a more severe criminal history (general criminality), but they also displayed considerable emotional neediness in childhood and adolescence. In addition, they demonstrated more planning in their sexual assaults. Ennis et al. (2016) write: "From the R-N-R perspective, the Mod-High Risk cluster requires the most intensive treatment programming and the most intensive management efforts in the community" (p. 420).

The second and third groups were termed the low to moderate risk and low risk, abbreviated Low-Mod Risk and Low Risk. The differences between the two groups were not large. Specifically, the Low-Mod Risk group was more than 20 years younger than the offenders in the Low Risk group, but they too reflected a more severe criminal history. The Low Risk cluster, compared to those offenders in Low-Mod Risk group, demonstrated more deviant sexual interests and began their criminal behavior later in their lives.

The "N" in the RNR model refers to need, which is essentially shorthand for criminogenic need. The **criminogenic need principle** encompasses dynamic risk factors that are likely to lead to criminal behavior. ("Criminogenic" means crime producing.) These risk factors are called "dynamic" because they are changeable, as opposed to static risk factors that cannot be changed. Examples of dynamic risk factors include interpersonal relationships at home, school, or work, or employment status. Associations with criminally prone others and substance abuse would represent other dynamic risk examples. Sexual attitudes and beliefs are additional exemplars. In contrast, examples of static risk factors would be crimes committed in the past or past exposure to sexual abuse while growing up. They occurred and remain in a person's background regardless of what happens, currently or in the future. The word "need" is used by Andrews and Bonta (2010) (in the term criminogenic need) for practical reasons, primarily because it "carries with it the hope that if criminogenic need factors are reduced, the chances of criminal involvement will decrease" (p. 28). Consequently, effective treatment is predicated on the assumption that the risk is dynamic (Olver et al., 2012). One important point that requires mentioning: age plays a role in the reduction of sexual crimes—with or without treatment. The research literature underscores the fact that increasing age is "associated with a decline in most, if not all, forms of antisocial activity, including sexual offending" (Olver et al., 2012, p. 399). Criminogenic needs change with age.

The last "R" in the RNR represents the responsivity principle. The **responsivity principle** involves delivering treatment services in a style and mode that is consistent with the

ability and learning style of the offender. "Offender characteristics such as interpersonal sensitivity, anxiety, verbal intelligence, and cognitive maturity speak to the appropriateness of different modes and styles of treatment service" (Andrews & Bonta, 2010, p. 50).

According to Andrews and Bonta, the most powerful influential approaches available to clinicians are cognitive-behavioral and cognitive social learning strategies. Cognitive behavioral programs have fared very well when measured against the responsibility principle because they seek to engage the offender actively in his or her own treatment. In a meta-analysis involving 69 studies and covering close to 10,000 sexual offenders, Lösel and Schmucker (2005) and Schmucker and Lösel (2008) found that treatment programs based on cognitive behavioral principles had positive effects. Likewise, Hanson, Bourgon, Helmus, and Hodgso (2009) and Olver et al. (2012) found that a program's faithfulness to RNR principles was consistently associated with significantly lower recidivism rates in sex offenders.

Other researchers agree: "A recent comprehensive survey of sex offender treatment programs in North America found that the majority of programs tended to be cognitive behavioral and social learning in orientation" (Olver, Nicholaichuk, Gu, & Wong, 2012, p. 397). Hanson et al. (2009) summarize the RNR approach: "[T]reatments are most likely to be effective when they treat offenders who are likely to reoffend (moderate or higher risk), target characteristics that are related to reoffending (criminogenic needs), and match treatment to the offenders' learning styles and abilities (responsivity; cognitive-behavioral interventions work best)" (p. 867).

Interestingly, offenders who are considered low risks of reoffending are not considered good targets for psychological treatment. This is both because they do not need the intensive attention and because scarce resources can best be applied to offenders who need them the most. Low-risk offenders can benefit from support services in the community (e.g., help with finding employment or improving social skills). Moderate and high-risk offenders, on the other hand, can benefit from psychological treatment that focuses on their criminogenic needs and matches the offenders' learning style and abilities (responsivity) (Hanson et al., 2009). In summary, we are beginning to turn the corner on effective treatment of adult sex offenders, and many therapists and researchers are more optimistic than they were in the past. In the next chapter, we will discuss the current status of research and treatment on child molesters, female sex offenders, and juvenile sex offenders.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Sexual assault—a broad term that encompasses rape as well as other sexual offenses—is widely believed to be the most underreported serious crime. When we consider the psychological toll it takes on its victims—or survivors—it is not surprising that the vast majority of sexual assaults never come to the attention of police.

Traditionally, both rape and other sexual assaults have been considered almost exclusively a male enterprise, both in their perpetration and in their victimization. Only in 2013 did the federal government in its UCR summary reports begin to include males as victims. Researchers, however, for some time have examined both female and male victimization, as well as sex offending by women and girls. However, most theory building and typologies have been developed on males.

We reviewed statistics on rape and other sexual assaults, as well as available demographic information about both offenders and victims. Reflecting recent research interest, we covered acquaintance rape and campus sexual assault in some detail. Research indicates that some individuals may be more vulnerable to being assaulted than others, either by nature of their demographic characteristics, such as age, or situational characteristics, such

as use of alcohol or victimization history. Despite some interest in studying victimization in this manner, researchers are quick to point out that the blame for sexual assault is on the perpetrator, not the victim.

With respect to offenders, they commit their crimes for a variety of reasons. A major motivation appears to be to harm, derogate, or embarrass the victim. Although sexual satisfaction is a component of the offense, attitudes about sex, rape myths, and the objectification of women play a major role in carrying out the crime. Some rapists—likely a minority—interpret their behavior as harmless, believing that victims enjoy being dominated. Nevertheless, the effect is invariably the opposite. The psychological and social damages to the victim are incalculable. Sexual assaults by husbands, dates, and acquaintances are more frequent than commonly supposed, and there is indication that the psychological damage may be even greater than in stranger rape.

Studies of convicted rapists often show a history of committing sexual assaults and other violent actions. Though recidivism is common, some research has found that repeat crimes are just as likely to be nonsexual offenses. General criminality is often found in their backgrounds. Rape and other sexual behavior appear to be due, in part, to the type of socialization experiences the offender has had. He has constructed, from information received from a variety of sources and models, a belief and value system that encourages and justifies the aggressive behavior. The combination of attitudes supportive of rape myths, norms obtained from peers or the media, and disinhibition enabled by the use of alcohol is often cited as the causal factor for many sexual assaults, particularly those committed by dates, acquaintances, or intimate partners.

Stranger rapes are believed to be the least common of all attacks, but they are most likely to involve weapons. Stranger rapists also are more likely than acquaintance rapists to have a history of general criminality.

Several rapist typologies or classification systems have been developed, the most notable being that proposed by the Massachusetts Treatment Center (MTC). Revisions of the MTC rape classification system (the latest being the MTC-R4) testify to its extensive use and continual research. The system encompasses both types of rapists (e.g., displaced aggression) and their motivations (e.g., vindictiveness). MTC researchers also have developed a three-path model of offending, which identifies personality traits that are associated with sex offenders: sexual preoccupation, antisocial, and callous-unemotional. The chapter ended with discussion of the treatment of sex offenders—a topic that will be continued in the next chapter where child molesters and juvenile and female offenders are covered. With increasing evidence that RNR principles are effective with sex offenders, treatment providers are more optimistic about the possibility of preventing future offending than in the past. Nevertheless, of all adult sex offenders, rapists are the most difficult to treat, primarily because their behavior is a reflection of both deeply held attitudes and antisocial, violent patterns of long standing.

KEY CONCEPTS

Campus Climate Survey Validation Study (CCSVS), 401

Compensatory rapist, 421

Criminality theme, 413

Date or acquaintance rape, 401

Displaced aggression rapists/displaced anger/anger retaliation rapists, 420

Expressive sexual aggression, 410

Global risk recognition failure, 409

Hostility theme, 413

Incest, 399

Impulsive rapist/exploitative rapist, 422

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Sexual exploitation/involvement theme (also pseudo-intimacy theme), 413
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Statutory rape, 400
Three-path model, 425
Vindictive offender types, 424

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between rape and sexual assault?
2. Review demographic and psychological factors associated with rapists.
3. Define and provide examples of rape myths.
4. Review and discuss vulnerability factors for sexual assault.
5. Does pornography play a crucial role in sex crimes? Briefly support your answer with reference to research findings.
6. Summarize Version 4 of the MTC classification model.
7. How do RNR principles apply in the treatment of sex offenders?

13

Sexual Assault of Children and Youth

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Define pedophilia, child sexual abuse, and child sex offending.
- Review the prevalence and forms of child sex abuse.
- Discuss psychological effects on victims.
- Describe the key characteristics of child sex offenders and those who offend against juveniles.
- Review the research literature on classification systems of child sex offenders.
- Review typologies of female child sex offenders.
- Summarize what is known about recidivism rates of adult and juvenile child sex offenders.
- Discuss contemporary research on online-facilitated child and adolescent sex abuse.
- Present what is known about current-day human trafficking.
- Identify some treatment approaches to reducing child sex offender recidivism.

In 2009, the world was shocked at the revelation that an Austrian citizen had held his daughter as a sexual captive in the basement of the family home for 24 years. She had borne seven children, who had apparently been raised as her younger brothers and sisters. Later that year, he confessed to a range of sexual crimes against his daughter and his other children. In the same year, a 28-year-old female Sunday-school teacher in California was arrested and charged in the abduction and death of an 8-year-old; shortly thereafter, child sexual abuse was added to the charges against her. From 2012 through to the present, reverberations from clergy-abuse scandals that were publicized in the 1990s continued, with victims coming forward and more claims made against adults, including prominent bishops and cardinals, who participated in or covered up the crimes. More recently, similar accusations have been made by young adults who attended summer camps run by mega-churches, and by men now in their 50s and 60s who have brought civil suits against former scout masters. In 2015, a nationally known high school debate coach was charged with possessing, receiving, and producing child pornography after he allegedly obtained nude photos of teenage boys via text messaging and the Internet. In 2018 a U.S. gymnastics doctor was sentenced to prison after being

convicted of multiple counts of sexual abuse of girls that spanned a period of many years. The following year, a wealthy financier was charged with sexual trafficking of youthful female victims. As these anecdotes illustrate, sex crimes against children or adolescents run the gamut from rape to solicitation of nude images.

Pedophilia
Clinical condition that involves intense sexual arousal fantasies and urges directed at children.

Pedophilia (from the Greek word for child lover) is the clinical term sometimes used interchangeably with crimes like child molestation and child sexual abuse. We must emphasize at the outset, however, that pedophilia is a clinical condition that is not necessarily accompanied by criminal action. When criminal action *is* involved, even though we may refer to the offender as a pedophile, this is not the official term. That is, the person is prosecuted for child sexual assault, child molestation, child sexual exploitation, distributing child pornography, or any one of a number of other sexual crimes against children. Essentially, "pedophilia" is a psychological or psychiatric condition that may require treatment. It is included in the DSM-5 as a lifelong mental disorder, though it may fluctuate, increase, or decrease with age (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

Pedophilia is defined in a variety of ways. The DSM-5 refers to it as a condition in which, "over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child or children (generally age 13 years or younger) occur" (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, p. 697). Note that the definition contains the terms "fantasies" and "urges," which—by themselves—are *not* criminal unless there is an accompanying action (behavior) that is against the law. The DSM-5 further specifies that some pedophiles are sexually attracted only to children (the exclusive type), whereas others are sexually attracted to both children and adults (nonexclusive type).

According to Finkelhor and Araji (1986), pedophilia is an adult's conscious sexual interest in prepubertal children. One of two behaviors signifies that interest. Either the adult has had some sexual contact with a child or the adult has masturbated to sexual fantasies or images involving children. Although the second behavior is not a crime, criminal behavior may have been involved in the procuring of the images, such as downloading pornography or soliciting the images from a child or adolescent. We will address these topics later in the chapter.

Hebephilia
The attraction to young adolescent girls or boys for sexual gratification by adults, usually males.

Researchers sometimes extend the definition of pedophilia to include ages 13 through 15, though much literature uses the term **hebephilia** for sexual interest in or sexual contact with young adolescents. However, the distinction between hebephilia and pedophilia does not seem to be clinically meaningful (Blanchard, Klassen, Dickey, Kuban, & Blak, 2001), and it is usually not considered a distinct, diagnostic category. Traditionally, nonclinical definitions of pedophilia were restricted to sexual interest in or sexual contact between an adult and child who are not closely related. Sexual acts between members of a family when at least one participant is a minor have traditionally been labeled incest or **intrafamilial** (within the family) **child molestation** and are most commonly perpetrated by men who molest their sexually immature daughters or stepdaughters (Rice & Harris, 2002). Sexual contact with immature family members by individuals from outside the family is called **extrafamilial child m`olestation**. See Table 13–1 for additional terms and definitions.

Extrafamilial child molestation
Sex abuse in which victims are outside the immediate or extended family.

Paraphilia
The clinical term for a sexual condition exhibited in fantasies, urges, or behaviors involving nonhuman objects, suffering or humiliation of oneself or one's partner, or children or other nonconsenting persons.

A closely related term is the more all-encompassing **paraphilia**, which covers other cognitions and behaviors in addition to those relating to children. Paraphilia denotes any intense and persistent sexual interests other than sexual interest in genital stimulation or preparatory fondling with consenting human partners (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Examples of paraphilic disorders include repetitive sexual activity involving real or simulated suffering or humiliation, such as bondage, domination, sadism, and masochism (often referred to as BDSM). Paraphilia also refers to strong sexual preferences for nonhuman objects, such as animals or clothes belonging to another person; touching or rubbing against a nonconsenting individual (frotteurism); exposing genitals to nonconsenting persons (exhibitionism); or spying on others engaging in private activities (voyeurism).

TABLE 13–1 Terms Used in Research on Child Sexual Abuse

Term	Definition
Extrafamilial child molestation	Sexual contact with a minor child by someone *outside* the immediate family.
Infrafamilial child molestation	Sexual contact with a minor child by someone *within* the immediate family.
Pedophilia	For some researchers and clinicians, the term refers to strong sexual *attraction* toward children. Others use the term to refer to sexual *contact* with children.
Pedophile	Someone with strong sexual attraction toward children; or someone who has frequent sexual contact with children.
Incest	Sexual activity between individuals of close blood relationship (e.g., brother and sister or parent and biological child) that is prohibited by law or custom.
Child sexual abuse	Refers to any sexual activity involving a child that provides gratification or stimulation to an adult or older adolescent.
Child molester	Largely accepted term for someone who has sexual contact or sexually abuses a minor child. In this context, it is used interchangeably with child sexual offender.
Hebephilia	Sexual interest in or contact by adults with young adolescents.
Paraphilia	Sexual disorders in which sexual arousal occurs almost exclusively in the presence of inappropriate objects or unusual sexual practices or fantasies.

*These terms are not necessarily used in statutes or other legal contexts.

In this chapter we will *not* use the clinical term **pedophilia** when referring to illegal sexual actions against children, ranging from sexual touching to penetration. Instead, we use "child sex offenses" or "child sexual abuse" for these actions. The perpetrator is referred to as a child sexual offender (CSO), a term increasingly used in the research literature. We also cover the exploitation of children and adolescents by persons who produce, distribute, and access child pornography. As emphasized above, it is not illegal to have the disorder that is pedophilia or to have pedophiliac fantasies and thoughts, and it cannot be assumed that persons with pedophilia act on these fantasies or urges. As Seto (2018) states, "neither pedophilia nor hebephilia is synonymous with sexual offending against children, although these terms are often used interchangeably" (p. 13). However, it is relevant that 40–50% of those who commit sex crimes against child victims have pedophilic interests (Seto, 2009; Sigre-Leirós, Carvalho, & Nobre, 2015). We will discuss this topic in more detail when we cover **emotional congruence with children** later in the chapter.

Incidence and Prevalence of Child Sex Abuse

As with sexual offenses in general, a strong caveat pertaining to the statistics is necessary. Data on child sexual abuse are difficult to obtain, because there are no central or national objective recording systems for tabulating sexual offenses against children. Sex crimes as a group have the lowest rates of reporting of all violent crimes (Terry & Tallon, 2004). Furthermore, similar to cases of elder abuse, the alleged sexual abuse of children is often referred to a human service agency and may never appear in official crime statistics.

According to the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) (2019), approximately 58,000 children who were believed to be sexually abused received child protective services in 2017. Among these victims, nearly 30% were abused at age 7 or younger. The DHHS defines sexual abuse as engaging a child in sexual acts that may include fondling, rape, and exposing the child to other sexual activities. The numbers reported by DHHS, however, certainly underestimate the actual number of sexually abused children in the United States.

According to Finkelhor, Shattuck, Turner, and Hamby (2014), "The experience of sexual abuse/assault in childhood and adolescence is very prevalent" (p. 332). (The terms abuse

and assault are used interchangeably.) The best data available indicate that one in four girls and 1 in 20 boys in the United States have been sexually abused by the time they reach their 17th birthday. Perhaps more striking is the finding that in most of these assaults, the perpetrators were not adults. Over half of the total estimate of sexual offenses on children and adolescents were at the hands of juvenile perpetrators, many of them acquaintance peers (Finkelhor et al. 2014). If only sexual assaults by adults are tabulated, the rate of sexual abuse/assault drops to one in nine girls and 1 in 53 boys.

From a national survey of about 1,200 American males (Finkelhor & Lewis, 1988), it was estimated that between 5 and 10% of the male population has engaged in or will engage in child sexual abuse at some time in their lives. In a more recent online survey of both men and women, Wurtele, Simons, and Moreno (2014) discovered that 6% of men and 2% of women indicated some likelihood of having sex with a child if they were guaranteed they would not be caught or punished. In another anonymous survey, about 4% of college-aged men admitted having sexual contact with a prepubescent girl (Ahlers, Schaefer, Mundt, Roll, Englert, Willich et al., 2011). It is important to note, however, that these figures may include a one-time incident that—although still to be condemned—may not represent the offender's usual behavior and would not qualify him as a child sex abuser for purposes of this chapter. For example, a 15-year-old male or female babysitter who sexually fondles a 3-year-old might never commit another similar offense but may later self-report that behavior to researchers, either out of guilt or just because anonymity is guaranteed. Nevertheless, these and other data indicate that children are sexually victimized at levels that far exceed those reported for adults in the United States and throughout the world (Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994; Finkelhor et al., 2014). Best estimates of global child abuse indicate that about 73 million boys and 150 million girls ages 17 and under have experienced various forms of sexual violence (Singh, Parsekar & Nair, 2014). Nearly 70% of all reported sexual assaults (including assaults against adults) involve children ages 17 and under (Snyder, 2000).

Nationwide tabulations of the number of victims are equally difficult to obtain. For example, the National Crime Victimization Survey only collects data from victims older than age 12, thus neglecting the victimization of young children. Moreover, only about one-third of the children who are sexually victimized report it to anyone (Finkelhor, 1979). In a nationally representative sample of 2,030 children ages 2–17 years, Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, and Hamby (2005) discovered that 1 in 12 children or youth had experienced a sexual victimization during the year of the survey (see Figure 13–1). And, in more recent surveys of juveniles held in public and private correctional facilities, approximately 9–12%

FIGURE 13–1

Age Distribution of Victims of Sexual Assault

who stayed in a facility from 7 to 12 months reported sexual victimization by peers or staff members (Beck, Cantor, Hartge, & Smith, 2013; Beck, Harrison, & Guerino, 2010) (see Box 13–1).

The National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) has the potential to provide better information on the prevalence of sexual assaults of young children and to describe the nature of these assaults (e.g., rape, fondling, incest, sexual assault with an object, statutory rape). Using NIBRS data between 1991 and 1996, Snyder (2006) found that 34% of

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 13–1 SEXUAL ABUSE: THE SHAME OF JUVENILE CORRECTIONS

Secure juvenile facilities should be safe harbors for juveniles, even if they were adjudicated for serious crimes. This is far from reality in some juvenile detention and treatment centers nationwide. Both anecdotal accounts and empirical research indicate that assaults, including sexual assaults, happen far too frequently in these institutional settings. Although sexual assaults may be perpetrated by other juveniles, they are also perpetrated by correctional staff.

Sexual contact between adults and juveniles in juvenile facilities is often portrayed as consensual. Whether the juvenile is male or female, he or she may be considered manipulative and eager to obtain favors from his or her captors and thus inclined to initiate the contact. However, in an uneven power relationship sexual contact between an adult and a confined youth is never truly consensual. In addition, the staff member may groom the adolescent, such as by promising desired items, providing drugs or alcohol, or offering protection from other juveniles.

The *National Survey of Youth in Custody* (Beck et al., 2013) produced disturbing findings on sexual victimization in state, local, and private juvenile facilities nationwide. As required by law, researchers from the Bureau of Justice Statistics obtained self-reports from 8,707 adjudicated offenders, 91% of whom were males.

Among the highlights from the report are the following:

- About 9.5% of the youth said they had experienced one or more incidents of sexual victimization by staff or another youth over the past 12 months, a decrease of about 2.5% from a similar 2008–2009 survey;
- Victimization by staff was higher than victimization by other youth;
- 8.2% of males and 2.8% of females reported sexual activity with staff;
- Youth-on-youth victimization was far greater (10.3%) for youth who identified as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or other than for heterosexual youth (1.5%);
- Of youth who reported victimization by staff, 89.1% were males reporting sexual activity with female staff; 3.0% were males reporting sexual activity with both male and female staff.
- Most victims of staff sexual misconduct reported more than one incident; nearly one in five reported 11 or more incidents.
- Of the victims of staff sexual misconduct, about one in five reported physical force or threat of force.
- Thirteen juvenile facilities were identified as high rate; these included facilities in Georgia, Ohio, South Carolina, Arizona, Texas, Iowa, and Illinois.

Questions for Discussion

1. The above figures represent just a small amount of data included in this important report. Obtain the public document and comment on any of its additional findings.
2. Comment on the finding that male youth reported a high amount of sexual activity with female staff.
3. Some allegations of youth may be untrue, but some youth may be reluctant to report sexual victimization. With this in mind, are the findings any more or less disturbing?
4. What might account for the decrease in victimization from the previous report? ■

the victims of sexual assault reported to law enforcement were under age 12. Most disturbing was the finding that one of seven victims of sexual assault (14% of the victims) was under age 6.

It is well recognized in the criminology literature that female adolescents with persistent antisocial behavior as well as adult female offenders have often experienced child sexual abuse (Ullman, 1999, 2007). Among nonoffenders as well the figures are sobering. Russell (1984) surveyed 930 randomly selected female residents of San Francisco in 1978. The purpose of the project was to obtain an estimate of the incidence and prevalence of rape and other forms of sexual assault, including the amount of sexual abuse respondents experienced as children. Twelve percent of the women said they had been sexually abused by a relative before the age of 14. Twenty-nine percent reported at least one experience of sexual abuse by a nonrelative before reaching the age of 14. Overall, 28% of the 930 women reported at least one incident of sexual abuse before reaching the age of 14.

Prison data also give us an indication of the extent of the problem. Two-thirds of all prisoners in state prisons convicted of rape or sexual assault had committed their crime against a child or adolescent, and in most cases the victim was female (Greenfeld, 1996). Approximately 60% of those convicted of child molestation had attacked victims younger than 13 years old.

Other data obtained from prisoners point to the extent of the problem and suggest that sex offenders have numerous victims. Some time ago, Abel, Becker, Murphy, and Flanagan (1981) reported that incarcerated homosexual child sex offenders (CSOs) had, on the average, 31 victims, while heterosexual CSOs had an average of 62 victims. As mentioned above, the acronym CSO will be used extensively in this chapter to designate child sex offender. A Dutch study (Bernard, 1975) reported that at least half of its respondents claimed sexual contacts with at least 10 or more children. Fourteen percent of the sample—which included both arrested and nonarrested CSOs—admitted to sexual contacts with more than 50 children, and 6% to contacts with between 100 and 300 children. Fifty-six percent of this sample indicated they had one or more "regular" sexual contacts with children. Fully 90% asserted that they did not want to stop their sexual activities against children.

While some of the above studies may appear very dated, nothing in the recent research literature suggests that this problem has been attenuated. In summary, the amount of sexual abuse and violence against children worldwide is staggering. The global prevalence of child sexual abuse is about 27% against girls and about 14% against boys (Garcia-Moreno, Guedes, & Knerr, 2012). In the United States, the prevalence of child sexual victimization is approximately 25–27% for girls and 16% for boys (Pérez-Fuentes et al., 2013).

It is important to stress, as we have elsewhere in this text, that most research reports sex from a binary perspective (e.g., girls, boys, men, women), and gives little attention to sexual preferences or gender neutrality. Persons who identify themselves as agender, androgyne, cisgender, or gender-fluid, for example, are very rarely reflected in contemporary research studies. In considering research findings, therefore, readers might want to consider that a modification of research design allowing some recognition of persons who might not fit neatly into the binary categories could produce different results, although they may not be significant.

Although child sex offending is primarily committed by males, it is by no means exclusively a male offense. In the United States, national arrest data report that women were involved in 2.8% of rape arrests (legacy definition) and 7.5% of coerced sexual offense arrests in 2017 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018). These data very likely underrepresent the "true" proportion and numbers of sexual assaults attributable to women. Although the above statistics refer to all offenses (against both adults and children), a significant number of victims of female offenders are children under age 12 (Johansson-Love & Fremouw,

2009). For example, Vandiver and Walker (2002) reported that 50% of the victims in their sample of female sex offenders were between the ages of 11 and 16, and 24% were in the 4 to 10 age range. In another study, Ferguson and Cricket Meehan (2005) discovered that 68% of the victims in their sample of female sex offenders were between 12 and 16 years of age, and 15% of the victims were under the age of 12. We will continue to include female CSOs with male CSOs throughout the next few sections of the chapter and highlight distinctions when they are relevant.

Situational and Victimization Characteristics

In a comprehensive study, Williams and Bierie (2015) examined approximately 20 years' worth of data derived from the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) that included several hundred thousand incidents from thousands of police departments across 37 states. They found that men who sexually abused child victims were more likely to target stepchildren or distant relatives, whereas women were more likely to target their own biological children or children for whom they provide care. Similar findings were also reported by Johansson and Fremouw (2009) and West et al. (2011). Cortoni (2015) notes that, according to stereotyped gender roles, a "normal" woman simply would not wish to hurt a child. The stereotype further assumes that child sexual abuse perpetrated by a woman is either the result of male coercion or severe mental health problems. "These type of explanations fit comfortably within early theories of female offending more generally that described criminalized women as either emotionally disturbed, maladapted to their feminine role, physiologically or psychologically abnormal, or as choosing to become masculine in rebellion against this 'natural' feminine role" (Cortoni, 2015, p. 232). Cortoni asserts that idea that sexual offending behavior by a woman is somehow "unnatural" or "worse" than the identical sexual offending committed by a man must be challenged.

Williams and Bierie (2015) also found that women appear to be far less discriminating in the gender of their victims; they commit sex offenses equally against both male and female victims. More specifically, the researchers found that males offended against females in nearly 90% of their incidents; whereas, for female sex offenders, half of the victims were female. However, the researchers believe that these findings could partly be explained by the fact that women in some instances are coerced to participate by male accomplices. That is, male accomplices frequently impose their own victim preference (females) on the women with whom they offend. Research is beginning to find support for these hypotheses.

For example, a study on solo and co-offending female sex offenders by Vandiver (2006) sheds some light on this topic. Vandiver noted that about half (46%) of female offenders arrested for a sex offense had male co-offenders. Her project included a cross-national sample of 123 female solo offenders and 104 women who were co-offenders. The co-offenders were significantly more likely than the solo offenders to have been arrested for nonsexual offenses prior to the sex offense, and they had sexually offended more than once. Co-offenders also were more likely to abuse female victims compared to male victims. Solo female offenders, on the other hand, were more likely to target male victims. It also appears that the co-offending female is often in an abusive relationship with the co-offender (either a spouse or other intimate partner). In many incidents, the male co-offender forces the woman to participate in the behavior, either through fear or threats to withdraw any form of intimacy with her.

Other researchers have found that about one-quarter of female sex offenders fall in this category of being co-offenders with males (Gannon et al., 2014). Wijkman, Bijleveld and Hendriks (2010, 2014) found that nearly two-thirds of juvenile female sex offenders in their sample were co-offenders. Although most co-offenders of adult female sex offenders are spouses or intimate partners, most co-offenders of the adolescent females were acquaintances or friends.

Still, there are a significant number of female sex offenders without accomplices who target both male and female victims (Gannon et al., 2014; West et al., 2011). One explanation is that solo female sex offenders tend to abuse those with whom they have regular contact (male and/or female) rather than specifically seek out their victims (West et al., 2011). The mixed-gender offending falls into the category of crossover offending, discussed in the previous chapter. Crossover, in offender research, denotes the extent the offender is consistent in selecting specific types of victims or targets. If the offender selects a wide range of victims or targets, he or she is demonstrating crossover.

Crossover offending
In sexual assault, offending against victims regardless of their age or other characteristics.

Researchers describe **crossover** as "engaging in more than one type of sex-offending behavior or victimizing individuals from different relationship categories, genders, or age groups" (Levenson, Becker, & Morin, 2008, p. 44). For example, in one early study (Abel, Becker, Cunningham-Rathner, Mittelman, & Rouleau, 1988) 20% of the offenders reported offending against both male and female victims, and 42% said they had victims from several age groups (under 14 years old, 14 to 17, and some more than 17). They also selected victims from inside and outside the family. Sim and Proeve (2010) found a considerable amount of crossover in their study of 128 adult male CSOs. More than half of the offenders exhibited crossover in at least one of three domains: victim age, gender, or relationship to the offender. Their data highlight the point that crossovers are not rare among adult offenders who sexually abuse children. The researchers discovered the highest degree of crossover (48%) occurred in the victim age domain, similar to the Abel et al. (1988) research. They also found 20% crossover for gender type and a 30% crossover for relationship to victim. Sim and Proeve conclude: "It is unclear whether crossover in victim type is consistent with offenders' sexual preferences, or that they crossover victim type because their preferred victim type is not available and another type of victim is available" (p. 411). It is clear that crossover research is one area that needs further investigation, as it has implications for understanding child sex offenders.

Gaining Access to Children Two important studies on how adult and juvenile CSOs gain access to child victims, arrange to be alone with them, and avoid interference from others were conducted by Wortley and Smallbone (2006) and more recently by Leclerc and Felson (2016). In the Wortley and Smallbone study, subjects were 169 convicted CSOs who admitted their crime and agreed to provide detailed self-report data on their psychosocial/psychosexual histories and their offending behavior. The researchers found that the vast majority of the CSOs (93.5%) sexually abused their own child (intrafamilial offender) or a child they knew (extrafamilial). Wortley and Smallbone identified several strategies adult extrafamilial CSOs used for gaining access to children for sexual contact. The most common approach was to make friends with the parent or caretaker of the child and then spend time with the child while the parent or caretaker was present. Many also volunteered to help the parent or caretaker around the house. Essentially, the CSOs tried to normalize their own presence and therefore disarm parental concern regarding their intentions (Leclerc & Felson, 2016). Eventually, they offered to babysit the child or take the child to a game or playground. Some extrafamilial offenders even tried to establish a romantic relationship with a single mother in an effort to gain access to the child. In the 1980s and 1990s, a parish priest befriended a woman with children and ultimately purchased a house where he kept his "secret family." Years later, the children—now adults—brought a civil suit alleging that they were physically and sexually abused by the priest during their childhood years. The man left the priesthood and died, but the civil suit maintained that the diocese was remiss by allowing this living arrangement to occur.

Wortley and Smallbone also discovered that adult CSOs most frequently used a "domestic setting" to commit their sexual abuse. They defined a domestic setting as either the home of both the victim and the offender, the home of the victim to which the offender

had access, or the home of the offender (or a friend) where the victim had been taken. The study revealed that a vast majority of all child sexual offenses (intrafamilial or extrafamilial) occurred in the home of the child or the offender. Public settings, such as parks, playgrounds, amusement parks, or malls, are rarely used by CSOs for their offending behavior, despite the usual concern of parents regarding predatory offenders.

LeClerc and Felson, in their study of adolescent CSOs, followed the model of the Wortley and Smallbone study of adult CSOs. Their sample consisted of 116 adolescent males (ages between 13 and 17) who had committed at least one sexual offense against a child (less than 12 years old) and a person at least 3 years younger than themselves. All participants were undergoing treatment for having committed a sexual offense and were told their participation was completely voluntary. Leclerc and Felson found considerable similarity between adolescent and adult CSOs in how they managed to set up the opportunity to sexually abuse the child victim. Adolescent CSOs found victims through babysitting or at a friend's home and began to spend time with the child through activities (watching TV, playing video games together, walking the child to school) while the parent or caretaker was present or aware of the activity. Similar to the adult offender, the adolescent offender volunteered to help the parent or caregiver around the house and made friends with the parent or caregiver. Adolescent CSOs used their own home or another home for sexual contact, probably taking advantage of parents working or away. As noted by the researchers, the findings emphasize the central role of parental awareness, monitoring, and supervision for preventing child sexual abuse.

Intrafamilial Child Sex Abuse (Incest)

Many parents believe that strangers (rather than family members) pose the greatest threat to their children, but in many cases the perpetrator is the adult male in their own family. As defined by Seto (2018), "Legally and socially *incest* refers to prohibited sexual contact between certain kinds of relatives" (p. 140). Incest (or intrafamilial child sex abuse) in this section refers to sexual contact with a close, genetically related child or with a close, social-legally related child, such as a stepdaughter or stepson (Seto, 2018). According to a study by Shevlin et al. (2018), fathers are the most commonly identified family perpetrator (30%), followed by siblings (16%), stepparents (15%), and mothers (4%). Mothers were "more likely to engage in noncontact sexual acts, such as pornography, rather than touching their child in a sexual manner" (Shevlin et al., 2018, p. 267). The majority of the sexual abuse victims in the Shevlin study experienced nonpenetrative acts, such as genital and nongenital fondling. About one-third of the victims (mostly female) experienced multiple sexual abuse acts, however.

Intrafamilial child molestation
Child sex abuse where victims are within the immediate or extended family.

According to Seto (2018), **intrafamilial child sexual abuse** accounts for a large proportion of total sexual abuse cases, especially for children aged 5 or younger. Intrafamilial child sexual abuse occurs so frequently because relatives have considerably more access to young victims compared to older ones, while older children are frequently off to school and also participating in routine activities outside the home, such as sports and other school-related activities. Older children also may be more likely to resist or reveal the victimization. "Comparative studies find that intrafamilial child sexual abuse cases involve younger victims, proportionally more girls, more psychological harm, and more incidents over a longer time span, again reflecting relative access and opportunity" (Seto, 2018, p. 141).

Stroebel and her associates (2013) examined the risk factors in father–daughter sex abuse. The study collected data from over 2,000 female participants via an anonymous-assisted self-interview. The research group was able to identify four potential risk factors that may lead to father–daughter sexual abuse. The strongest factor was a relationship between the two parents that is characterized by conflict and abusive behavior. This parental

relationship increased the likelihood of father–daughter sexual abuse by five times. Another risk factor was family-tolerated reciprocal father–daughter nudity. This behavior doubled the risk of father–daughter sexual abuse. Two additional risk factors were low maternal affection for the daughter and low parental affection for one another.

Sibling sexual abuse
Pertains to sexual abuse and assault when perpetrator and victim are siblings.

Very little empirical research has been conducted on **sibling sexual abuse** (Griffee et al., 2016). One thing is clear: it is the least reported child sexual abuse category. Part of the reason for its rarity is that many parents identify it as normal sexual curiosity or playacting between siblings (Tener et al., 2018). Self-disclosure of sibling sex abuse also is rare, whether the disclosure is to family members or to people outside the family.

Intrafamilial sexual abuse, especially if it pertains to father–daughter or sibling sexual abuse, appears to be different from **extrafamilial** (outside the family) **sexual abuse**. Some research indicates that fathers who offend against their own daughters or stepdaughters are less likely to engage in sexually abusive behavior with other children outside the family (Rice & Harris, 2002). Their own daughters are usually their only victims. As Rice and Harris indicated, however, this could be because of their availability, since their research also demonstrated that the men they studied had deviant sexual preferences—that is, preferences for sex with children. In sum, intrafamiliar sexual abuse is an important topic, and it is increasingly addressed in the research literature and in intervention programs with families. However, it rarely comes to attention as criminal behavior. Consequently, when discussing child sex offenders (CSOs) and juvenile sex offenders (JSOs) in the remainder of the chapter, we will be describing extrafamilial offenders. The acronym JSO will refer to those juveniles who may be classified as sex offenders. The acronym CSO will refer to young adult or older adult sex offenders against children.

Types of Sexual Contact

The behavior associated with child sex offending (for both male and female offenders) is usually limited to caressing the child's body, fondling the child's genitals, and/or inducing the child to manipulate the adult's genitals (Peter, 2009; Williams & Bierie, 2015). Penile or inanimate object penetration (vaginal or anal) is apparently involved in only a small proportion of the total number of offenses (Seto, 2008, 2018). The form of the sexual contact seems to depend on three factors: (1) the degree to which the offender had previous nonsexual interactions with children; (2) the nature of the relationship between the child and the offender; and (3) the age of each. Offenders who have had limited interaction with children are more likely to perform or to expect genital–genital and oral–genital contact rather than to indulge only in caressing or fondling. Furthermore, the more familiar the offender and the victim are with one another, the greater the tendency for genital–genital or oral–genital contact. In reference to age factors, sex offenders often discover their interest in young children during adolescence. Although it is normal for young children to be interested in seeing peers nude, pedophiles and sex offenders remain strongly attracted to young children long after their own childhood.

There is some disagreement about the extent to which CSOs harm the child physically or use physical force. According to most research, they do not usually use overt physical coercion. Male CSOs, for example, tend to use gifts as bribes (Williams & Bierie, 2015). They later justify their behavior by saying the victim did not resist. Female CSOs may take the opportunity to sexually abuse during normal activities of bathing, changing clothes, and other caregiving activities. McCaghy (1967) found no evidence of any kind of coercion, verbal or physical, in three-fourths of the child molestation cases he examined. Current research continues to support the view that, although child sexual abuse is usually not physically violent, the psychological scars often are deep and long lasting (Eisikovitz, Tener, & Lev-Wiesel, 2017; Seto, 2018; Tener et al., 2018). In civil suits brought against abusers and

institutions (e.g., churches, scout associations), survivors often reveal depression, fear of again encountering their abusers, problems they subsequently faced in relationships with intimate partners, and sometimes rage that no one believed them or that their abusers were not punished.

Psychological Effects of Child Sexual Victimization

As noted above, in civil suits, survivors of child sexual victimization often describe the psychological pain they have endured. Research evidence confirms this, indicating strongly that any form of sexual abuse in childhood produces long-term interpersonal, social, and psychological problems in many children, adolescents, and adults (Cantón-Cortés, Cortés, & Cantón, 2015; Domhardt, Münzer, Fegert, & Goldbeck, 2015; Eisikovits et al., 2018; Hillberg, Hamilton-Glachritsis, & Dixon, 2011). These effects can be seen both in the short term and over the years. Behavioral problems have been reported in preschoolers (Hébert, Langevin, & Bernier, 2013; Langevin, Hébert, & Cossette, 2015). "The children themselves report more sadness and feeling of isolation compared to non-abused children" (Langevin et al., 2015, p. 2). Some researchers have found that male victims may suffer more severe outcomes than do female victims (Hillberg et al., 2011; Putnam, 2003; Ullman, 2003). Overall, however, reports of depression, guilt, feelings of inferiority, substance abuse, suicidality, anxiety, chronic tension, sleep problems, and fears and phobias are common in both male and female victims. Depression and PTSD are the symptoms most commonly reported among adolescents and adults who were molested as children (Gospodarevskaya, 2013; Wherry, Baldwin, Junco, & Floyd, 2013). Some research data reveal, for instance, that 30–40% of individuals who experienced sexual abuse in childhood report a lifetime history of depression, compared with 10–20% of individuals with no history of child sexual abuse (Musliner & Singer, 2014).

Furthermore, many survivors of child sexual abuse will never tell their stories or will delay revealing the incident(s) (Eisikovits et al., 2018; Schönbucher, Maier, Mohler-Kuo, Schnyder, & Landolt, 2012; Tener & Murphy, 2015; Tener et al., 2018). Some research (Hébert, Tourigny, Cyr, McDuff, & Joly, 2009) suggests that one in five survivors never disclosed childhood sexual abuse, and approximately 60% delayed disclosure for over 5 years after the first episode.

There are many different reactions to sexual abuse, and some sexually abused individuals retain normal levels of functioning (Domhardt et al., 2015; Negriff, Schneiderman, Smith, Schreyer, & Trickett, 2014). Negriff et al. (2014) also emphasize that there is substantial variability in the sexual abuse experiences of the victims. Moreover, they write: "Clearly, combining all of the sexually abused youth into one group discounts the nuances of their experiences and the impact these different characteristics may have on the development of subsequent problems" (p. 269).

In a careful review of the research literature on child sexual abuse, Browne and Finkelhor (1986) concluded that (1) younger children appear to be somewhat more vulnerable to trauma than older children; (2) the closer the relationship between offender and victim, the greater the trauma; and (3) the greater the force used, the greater the trauma. They also maintained, however, that there is no conclusive support for the contention that the longer and more frequent the abuse, the greater the trauma. Nor is there any clear evidence that traumas are related to the type of sexual abuse (e.g., penetration, fondling, fellatio, cunnilingus). This suggests that "mild" abuse may be as traumatizing as penetration, especially if the victim is young and closely related to the offender. The Browne and Finkelhor review also suggests, based on numerous studies, that victims of child sexual abuse are more likely

than nonvictims to be sexually assaulted again as adults. These findings have not been explained.

Characteristics of Child Sex Offenders

Most estimates of the distribution of CSOs in the general population are derived from arrest or prison data, or from anonymous self-report data. In reference to arrest and prison data—and as noted at the beginning of the chapter—offenders may be arrested and prosecuted under a variety of statutes and for a variety of offenses, including child rape, aggravated assault, sodomy, incest, indecent exposure, or lewd and lascivious behavior. In the UCR summary report statistics (SRS), rape of children is now included under rape data, which includes the age of the victim. Other sex offenses against children (e.g., fondling) are counted only if someone is arrested. The NIBRS, however, includes more detailed information about all sex offenses against children (if they come to the attention of police).

Prentky, Knight, and Lee (1997) conclude from their extensive research on the subject that the classification and diagnosis of CSOs are complicated by a high degree of variability among individuals in reference to personal characteristics, life experiences, criminal histories, and reasons or motivations for offending. Some CSOs offend in a persistent and versatile fashion. That is, they offend frequently, and their offending careers extend over many years. Moreover, they may target victims of both genders across all ages. In many ways they may be similar to Moffitt's life-course-persistent offender. On the other hand, at the other end of the offending continuum there are some CSOs who offend infrequently, for brief periods during their offending history, and only target specific gender and age characteristics of their victims. Essentially, there is no single "profile" that accurately describes all CSOs or, for that matter, all sex offenders. In addition, we stress that no one single risk factor described below will necessarily lead to a person becoming a child sex offender. The best approach is to consider a combination of these factors—cumulative risk—as potentially leading to child sex offending.

Age and Gender

Although there is considerable age variability, it is well documented that adult male CSOs tend to be older, on average, than male rapists whose victims are adults (Hanson, 2001). Henceforth, when we use the term rapist it will refer to offenders of adult victims. It should be understood, though, that some CSOs also rape their victims. In their studies of male CSOs, Smallbone and Wortley (2000, 2001) found that the mean self-reported age of first sexual contact with a child was 32 years. By comparison, rapists tend to begin sexually assaulting in their early twenties or younger. Similarly, Francis and his associates (2014) found that CSOs had late adult onset of sexual offending, whereas early-onset sex offending was associated with rapists. One explanation for the late onset of adult male CSOs may be that the early thirties is the age when many men are assuming child care responsibilities and other supervisory roles with children, resulting in more opportunity to offend (Wortley & Smallbone, 2006).

Vandiver and Walker (2002) report the majority of female CSOs committed their first sexual offense at around age 31. Again, we stress that there are many exceptions concerning when CSOs begin offending, but, on average, the above data have been supported by the available research.

Juvenile sex offenders (JSOs) also represent a heterogeneous population and defy any unitary profile or simple description. They come from all ethnic, racial, religious, and socioeconomic groups. Juvenile sexual offenders (both male and female) mostly victimize

children. Several studies show that JSOs account for approximately 20% of all sexual assaults and possibly as much as 50% of all child sexual abuse cases (Barbaree & Marshall, 2006; Keelan & Fremouw, 2013; Leclerc & Felson, 2016). Research on female JSOs is rare. Existing studies have been limited by small sample sizes and other methodological shortcomings (Becker, Hall, & Stinson, 2001; Righthand & Welsh, 2001). According to the FBI UCR (2018a), female JSOs accounted for about 2% of all juveniles (under 18) arrested for sex offenses in 2017 (excluding rape and prostitution). Nongovernment studies report that anywhere between 1.2 and 5.8% of female adolescents have forced someone into unwanted sexual activities (Acbi et al., 2015; Barra et al., 2017; Williams et al., 2014). Female JSOs most frequently offend while babysitting or taking care of young children.

A number of studies have contrasted juvenile CSOs with juvenile rapists, or juveniles who rape older adolescents or adults. For example, Van Wijk, van Horn, Bullens, Bijleveld, and Doreleijers (2005) discovered that juvenile CSOs demonstrate significantly more social isolation than juvenile rapists because of poorly developed social skills and very limited interactions with peers. This and other research indicates that those youngsters who sexually assault children (individuals at least four or five years younger in age than the perpetrator) were introverted and rejected by peers from an early age. The majority of their victims (more than 60%) are younger than 12, and two-thirds of these young victims are younger than age 6 (Veneziano & Veneziano, 2002). Ryan, Miyoshi, Metzner, Krugman, and Fryer (1996) found that 63% of the victims of juvenile molesters were younger than age 9. Adolescent rapists, on the other hand, are more likely to select victims their own age or older (Veneziano & Veneziano, 2002).

A study by Daversa and Knight (2007) identified at least two major types of JSOs, which were primarily CSOs. One type denotes those sexually offending adolescents who are described as submissive, sexually inadequate, dependent, interpersonally inadequate, and socially isolated. They are also less aggressive in their sexual encounters with children. The second type refers to adolescent offenders who are coercive and aggressive and who sexually assault a cross section of children, peer-aged, and adult victims. In many ways, these aggressive, coercive offenders display the characteristics of psychopathy. These psychopathic CSOs tend to be quick-tempered and impulsive and are more likely to engage in a variety of antisocial behavior besides sexual offenses. Furthermore, they often have been the victims of far more childhood abuse than adolescent offenders who engage in fondling or nonpenetration sexual contact with children.

A majority of JSOs victimize children (Kemper & Kistner, 2007; Seto et al., 2015). Nevertheless, victims may be peers or adults. There is also evidence indicating that JSOs who sexually victimize peers or adults are more likely to have a more extensive criminal history compared to JSOs who victimize children (Seto et al., 2015). Therefore, peer-victimizing JSOs tend to be generalists in their offending careers.

Much contemporary research now focuses on these juvenile offenders, who may be processed either in criminal court or in juvenile delinquency proceedings. Psychologists have had considerable success with treatment programs designed for JSOs, but, unfortunately, few have received such treatment. (See Box 13–2 for discussion of a related topic.)

Selection of Victims

CSOs tend to be specialists, and rapists tend to be generalists (Seto, Kingston, & Stephens, 2015). In fact, most chronic criminal offenders are generalists rather than specialists (Wortley & Smallbone, 2014). Generalists engage in a variety of sexual and nonsexual crimes; specialists engage mostly in one type of crime. "Specialization in sexual offending refers to the presence of a sustained pattern of offending where sex offences are predominant" (Lussier, Van Den Berg, Bijleveld, & Hendriks, 2012, p. 1576). CSOs, as a group,

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 13–2 JUVENILE SEX OFFENDER REGISTRATION AND NOTIFICATION (JSORN)

As mandated by Congress in the 1990s, all the state governments and the federal government have in place sex offender registration and notification (SORN) procedures. Basically, registration requires convicted adult offenders to inform law enforcement officials of where they are living; notification refers to law enforcement informing the public when a sex offender is in the community. Today, this information is typically available online.

Laws in the federal government and in states often vary, and over the years many changes have been made—changes that are not reviewed here. Typically, though, offenders are placed in tiers or levels based on the nature of their offense, and requirements vary accordingly within these levels. For example, offenders may have to contact law enforcement or update their status every month, every few months, or every year, and some are required to register throughout life. Child sex offenders who are adults, for example, are required to register for life. In addition, restrictions may be placed on where sex offenders live and the types of work they seek.

Although federal law mandates that states establish registration and notification policies for juvenile sex offenders (JSORN) as well as adults, states differ widely in how or even whether this mandate is carried out. Currently, over half the states require registration, and in about half, the public is notified. In addition, courts in some states have struck down SORN procedures as they apply to juveniles.

Proponents of these JSORN policies maintain that they discourage juveniles from committing more crimes, including sex offenses, and also keep communities safe. Opponents maintain that registration and notification policies are punitive and are contrary to a rehabilitative approach that should be taken with juveniles.

Thus far, no research has found that juvenile sex offender registration and notification by itself reduces juvenile recidivism (Sandler, Letourneau, Vandiver, Shields, & Chaffin, 2017, and references therein). Sandler et al. also expanded existing research to address whether these policies affected reporting rates of juvenile sex crimes. Examining NIBRS rates across four states with very different JSORN rules, the researchers found no significant changes in juvenile sex offenses following the implementation of registration and notification. As Sandler et al. noted, by comparison there are effective intervention and treatment methods for juvenile sex offenders, but a very small percentage of juveniles receive them. Sandler et al. concluded that juveniles should be excluded from SORN policies. Rather, these policies should be replaced with empirically supported treatment and prevention approaches.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are ways in which JSORN requirements might be regarded as harmful or punitive? Are they contrary to a rehabilitative goal in working with juveniles?
2. Access the JSORN statute, along with any related appeals court decision, if relevant, in any one state. What specific provisions in the statute are reasonable, if any? What do you consider the major advantages and disadvantages of these laws?
3. Sandler et al. discuss a number of reasons why juveniles are unlikely to be deterred by JSORN policies. What might those reasons be? ■

tend to focus their offending on sexual abuse of children. Some adult sex offenders prefer victimizing adolescents rather than children. However, these offenders often demonstrate crossover sexual patterns. That is, the age of victim makes little difference in their offending patterns, but they still qualify as specialists because their offending is largely sexual in nature.

According to Mann, Hanson, and Thornton (2010), those children targeted by male CSOs do not show physical cues typically indicative of the biological ability to mate and

reproduce. "These include maturity in skin texture, degree of body and pubic hair, smell, body shape, musculature, and breast and genital development" (p. 99). Kanters et al. (2016) have proposed that CSOs are not only sexually attracted to the immature physical appearance of children, but they are also drawn to their submissive nature. That is, children are perceived by many CSOs as more reliable, accepting, compliant, and able to be trusted. Using a small sample of child sex abusers, rapists, and nonsexual offenders, the research discovered some support for their hypothesis: CSOs exhibited more sexual preference to submissiveness than did rapists. However, considerably more research is warranted before conclusions can be drawn.

Contrary to public belief, CSOs rarely seek children they do not know (Seto et al., 2015). A vast majority of CSOs prefer acquaintances or relatives. Stranger abductions of children for sexual purposes, though extremely frightening, are far less common than assumed.

Backgrounds

Many studies have indicated that rapists with adult victims and male CSOs have distinct developmental, criminal, and clinical histories (Hamdi & Knight, 2012). For example, a frequent finding is that rapists and violent sex offenders have been exposed to a cycle of violence (Harris, Rice, Quinsey, & Cormier, 2015). That is, violent sex offenders commit their offenses because they also have been victims of sexual abuse. Although this appears to be the case for rapists, the evidence confirming the fact that male CSOs were generally sexually abused remains inconclusive or debatable (Harris et al., 2015). Some were abused, many were not. It is probably safe to conclude, however, that sexual, emotional, and physical abuse probably play some role in the development of child sexual abusive behavior (especially if it is violent), but it may represent only some of the many cumulative risk factors that lead to CSO behavior.

Findings from other studies indicate that women who become sexual abusers may have experienced more physical, emotional, and sexual abuse than have female nonsexual offenders (Levenson, Willis, & Prescott, 2015; Strickland, 2008; van der Put, van Vugt, Stams, & Hendriks, 2014). Some studies have reported that from 70% to 100% of female sex offenders have experienced sexual abuse (van der Put et al., 2014). In addition, female sex offenders often come from severely deprived backgrounds, such as poor living conditions, food deprivation, and lack of medical care. Many also come from chaotic and disorganized families, have experienced poor parental supervision, and have exhibited serious school and mental health problems (Roe-Sepowitz & Krysik, 2008).

These conditions of extreme deprivation and abuse are likely to sharply affect appropriate coping and interpersonal skills, self-regulation skills, emotional maturity, and feelings of self-worth. As noted by Strickland (2008), women who experienced family violence, sexual abuse, and severe deprivation may have greater difficulty in developing and maintaining appropriate interpersonal relationships. Similar findings are found in the backgrounds of male child sex abusers (Simons, Wurtlele, & Durham, 2008). To a large extent, these forms of trauma may induce women who sexually abuse to find intimate relations with young children and adolescents.

Interpersonal and Intimacy Deficits

Prentky et al. (1997) assert that the more an offender's sexual preference is limited to children, the less socially competent the offender tends to be. In this context, social competence refers to the offender's social and sexual relationships with adults. Several early studies (e.g., Hunter, Figueredo, Malamuth, & Becker, 2003; Marshall, Barbaree, & Fernandez, 1995;

TABLE 13–2 General Comparisons between Adult Male Child Sex Offenders and Rapists on Risk Factors

Common Characteristic*	Child Sex Offenders	Rapists
Cognitive functioning	Poor or marginal	Average
Interpersonal skills	Below average	Average
Adult intimacy capacity	Low	Average
Callousness-unemotionality	Low	High
Sexual violence	Usually low	Usually high
Sexual self-control	Average	Low
Sexual recidivism	High	High
Offending history	Specialized	Generalized
Offending trajectory	Starts later in life	Begins early

* This table is intended to provide only the typical findings from the available research. It should be emphasized that there are many individual exceptions to these comparisons.

Marshall & Mazzucco, 1995) revealed that, on average, CSOs are inadequate socially, lack interpersonal skills, are unassertive, and have poor self-esteem. More recent studies have found that many CSOs are characterized by loneliness and fear of intimacy in adult relationships and display a number of inadequate strategies for obtaining emotional closeness (Sigre-Leirós et al., 2015). Researchers studying female sex offenders have found similar social, interpersonal, self-worth, and confidence factors (Strickland, 2008). Adolescent CSOs are also found to be significantly below average in social skills compared to other adolescent offenders (Seto & Lalumière, 2010). (See Table 13–2 for a comparison of CSOs and rapist characteristics.)

A term that has emerged in the research literature in recent years is **emotional congruence with children (ECWC)**. It was introduced to encompass the above-discussed interpersonal and intimacy deficits characteristic of CSOs. ECWC refers to the beliefs and attitudes of many CSOs that relationships with children are more emotionally and socially satisfying than relationships with adults (Mann et al., 2010). Basically, the offender who displays features of ECWC finds children easier to relate to than adults, especially concerning intimacy and sexual needs. They "may seek relationships with children in order to avoid discomfort in social interactions, reduce social and emotional loneliness, or achieve affection and positive self-regard" (McPhail, Hermann, & Nunes, 2013, p. 737). It is not uncommon for CSOs who illustrate features of ECWC to work at jobs or volunteer at activities that bring them into frequent contact with children, such as driving a school bus, coaching, or being a swimming instructor or a Boy Scout leader, although their victims are not necessarily obtained via these jobs and activities. McPhail et al. (2013) also note that CSOs may own a variety of children's recreational equipment and gaming entertainment technology. So far, the ECWC research pertaining to CSOs has focused almost exclusively on male offenders.

ECWC can be measured by self-report instruments, such as the *Emotional Congruence with Children* scale of the *Children and Sex Questionnaire* (CSQ; Beckett, 1987), or the *Child Identification Scale-Revised* (CIS-R; Wilson, 1999). These self-report inventories include questions concerning how strongly an individual emotionally, cognitively, and socially identifies with and relates to children. Interview data or archival research of case files may also be used.

A growing body of research has discovered that ECWC predicts child sexual recidivism in males and consequently is becoming a key concept in CSO risk assessment and treatment (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005; Mann et al., 2010; McPhail, Hermann, & Fernandez, 2014; McPhail et al., 2013). It apparently is not useful as a predictor for recidivism of rapists (Mann et al., 2010). In their study, McPhail and his colleagues (2013) discovered that

ECWC appears to be significantly associated with male CSOs who victimize extrafamilial (outside the family) *male* children. They did not find ECWC useful as a predictor for recidivism involving intrafamilial (within the family) child abuse. The researchers also reported that psychological treatment is effective in decreasing ECWC qualities in extrafamilial CSOs, thereby reducing recidivism of that form of sexual abuse.

Sexual self-control emerges as a critical variable in cognitions of CSOs. As outlined by Hanson (2001), low self-control refers to the tendency to respond impulsively to temptation, have little consideration of the consequences, and engage in high-risk behaviors. However, male CSOs appear to have significantly better self-control than rapists (Hanson, 2001), leading to the conclusion that the argument that CSOs who claim their behavior is outside of their control may have very little validity.

Cognitive Distortions

Theories and research that focus on cognitive aspects appear to be the most promising in explaining child sexual offending, just as treatment based on cognitive principles holds the most promise for preventing criminal recidivism as a whole. Nonetheless, as Walters, Deming, and Elliott (2009, p. 1025) observe, "Cognitive factors have not received the attention they deserve from researchers in the field of sex offending."

In recent years, though, more attention has been given to the cognitions and beliefs of CSOs, and especially to their cognitive distortions. These are similar to the rape myths discussed in Chapter 12. The cognitive distortion hypothesis states that CSOs hold "well-established and generalized offense-related beliefs that facilitate sexual offenses against children" (Gannon & Polaschek, 2006, p. 1001). Mann et al. (2010) refer to this characteristic as offense-supportive attitudes, which are defined as beliefs that justify or excuse sexual offending in general. Examples include beliefs that children are fundamentally sexual beings who seek out and enjoy sex; that adult–child sex relationships are instructive to the child; that they are simply demonstrating affection; or that children can be intentionally provocative.

Neurocognitive Functions

Emerging research suggests that problems in executive functioning and prefrontal processing may play a significant role in explaining the sexually deviant behavior of some CSOs (Eastvold, Suchy, & Strassberg, 2011; Kruger & Schiffer, 2011; Schiffer & Vonlaufen, 2011; Seto et al., 2015). These researchers speculate that neurodevelopmental damage may have occurred at some point early in a CSO's life. In other words, some offenders may commit their crimes against children partly because of poor judgment and sexual impulse control due to problems in brain functioning and cognitive processing. This does not excuse their behavior, but it may help to explain it. Alternatively, individuals with lower cognitive skills or brain deficits may be more likely to be rejected sexually by peers and consequently more likely to turn to children for sexual gratification (Seto & Lalumière, 2010). Lower or defective cognitive processing may prevent the individual from fully appreciating the nature of the sexual assault or its long-term consequences on the victims.

Recidivism and Risk Assessment

"Recidivism is one of the most important and most frequently studied aspects of sexual offending" (Harris, Knight, Smallbone, & Dennison, 2011, p. 243). It should be emphasized that factors that predict recidivism for rapists are generally not the same factors for

predicting recidivism for CSOs. For example, antisocial and aggressive behavior, such as anger, planning, and sadism, generally predicts reoffending for rapists (Parent et al., 2012). Social isolation, intense sexual fixation and interests, and the presence of paraphilias predict reoffending for CSOs (Parent et al., 2012). Moreover, research continually finds that, compared to other sex offenses, lifetime reoffending is highest overall for sex against children (Langevin & Curnoe, 2012). This reoffending statistic includes extrafamilial child sex abusers, incest offenders, and adult/child mixed offenders.

Sexual preoccupation appears to be a strong predictor for child molesters who are most prone to be repeat offenders (Knight & Thornton, 2007; Mann et al., 2010). "*Sexual preoccupation* refers to an abnormally intense interest in sex that dominates psychological functioning" (Mann et al., 2010, p. 198). Sex is engaged in for itself and defines the self. It is not related to romantic love or intense attraction to any specific person. Interestingly, though, this powerful predictor for child molester recidivism also appears to be a useful predictor of sexual, violent, and general recidivism of all sex offenders (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2004, 2005). Some researchers have concluded that excessive sexual drive and preoccupation are the core, underlying constructs that prompt a wide variety of sexual offending (Zakireh, Ronis, & Knight, 2008).

In some research, offenders who crossed gender lines by offending against both boys and girls had the highest reoffense frequency (Harris et al., 2011). In another study, Dahle et al. (2014) also found that penetration of the child victim predicted a higher incidence of recidivism than did other characteristics of the offending pattern. CSOs are more likely than rapists to reoffend sexually. On the other hand, rapists who tend to sexually assault both children and adults are more likely to reoffend by engaging in other criminal actions, often violently (Harris et al., 2011).

Multiple paraphilias also appear to predict recidivism in CSOs (Knight & Thornton, 2007; Mann et al., 2010). Multiple paraphilias refer to two or more "rare, unusual, or social deviant sexual interests in persons, objects, or activities" (Mann et al., 2010, p. 200). Examples include intense sexual interest in children (pedophilia), exhibitionism, transvestism, fetishisms, voyeurism, sexual bondage, and interest in sex that is associated with violence and sadism. The assumption is that CSOs with multiple paraphilias have a stronger propensity to commit further child sexual offenses, though research testing this assumption is sparse.

Like the national recidivism rates for most offenses, however, child sex offender recidivism rates are difficult to obtain. For example, less than half of the charges against a known sex offender are labeled as sex offenses (Langevin & Curnoe, 2012). The offender is often charged or bargains down to a nonsexual offense. Moreover, the second time around, the child sex offender is undoubtedly more careful and skillful about avoiding detection. On the other hand, he is also more closely monitored by the criminal justice system or may be in treatment. Interestingly, therefore, some research suggests low repeat offending, particularly for nonviolent CSOs. In general, though, research on recidivism must still be described as uncovering mixed results.

Hanson (2001) examined the recidivism rates of over 4,500 sexual offenders from diverse settings (Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom). The data revealed a 19% sexual recidivism rate for extrafamilial CSOs compared with a sexual recidivism rate of 17% for rapists during an average follow-up time of 5 years. These figures seem low compared with the findings of other researchers. For example, in a follow-up investigation of 4,295 CSOs released from prison in 1994, Langan, Schmitt, and Durose (2003) found that 39% were rearrested within 3 years after release. However, this figure represents rearrest for any type of offense, not just sexual offenses. If we examine rearrest data for sex crimes against a child, only 3.3% of the child molesters were rearrested within the 3-year follow-up. Thus, Langan's rates are actually lower than those of Hanson. In another study

conducted in the United Kingdom, it was found that 12% of 413 CSOs had recidivated within 2 to 4 years after treatment (Beech, Mandeville-Norden, & Goodwill, 2012). A majority (59%) of the repeat offenders committed sexual offenses, ranging from very serious offenses such as rape to less serious (noncontact) sexual offenses, such as indecent exposure. It is unclear, however, how many of the repeat offenders in the study actually had sexual contact with children.

There is also considerable evidence that juvenile sex offenders who are highly impulsive and demonstrate poor self-regulation are far more likely to reoffend than those juvenile sex offenders who are evaluated as less impulsive (Waite et al., 2005).

Repeat offending is especially troublesome when CSOs demonstrate not only deviant sexual interests involving children but also exhibit features of psychopathy (Seto, 2008; Strassberg, Eastvold, Kenny, & Suchy, 2012). Strassberg et al. (2012) make the case that their findings suggest two types of CSOs. One is the typical CSO whose main interest is sexual contacts with children, whereas the other is the psychopathic CSO whose main sexual interest is not children. "For those who are self-centered, impulsive, uncaring for others, manipulative, and free of conscience, all typical psychopathic qualities, many kinds of antisocial acts become more likely, including the sexual abuse of children" (Strassberg et al., 2011, p. 381).

Risk Assessment

The assessment of the risk of recidivism—which was discussed in Chapter 8—is an extremely important task for clinicians. It needs to be undertaken before treatment and before release into the community. Offenders who are assessed to be low risk can usually be treated and rehabilitated within their local community. Offenders who are assessed as being moderate to serious risk are best treated in an adult or juvenile correctional facility or kept under close supervision until the risk of recidivism is significantly reduced.

Research on sex offending has contributed to the development of several risk assessment instruments for adult and juvenile sex offenders. As noted above, research indicates that different factors predict recidivism for rapists and for CSOs (Parent et al., 2012). For example, CSOs tend to commit fewer nonsexual offenses than rapists but an equivalent number of sexual offenses (Parent, Guay, & Knight, 2011). Moreover, sexual deviancy measures appear to be more pertinent in measuring recidivism for CSOs, whereas violence measures appear to be more relevant for predicting rapist recidivism. Therefore, recidivism predictions require assessments of a different set of factors for CSOs than rapists.

Parent et al. (2011) ascertained that the *Rapid Risk Assessment for Sex Offender Recidivism* (RRASOR), the *Static-99*, and the *Static-2002* appear to predict recidivism quite well in adult CSOs. Risk assessment instruments designed for adolescents with a history of sexual offending are the *Estimate of Risk of Adolescent Sexual Offense Recidivism* (ERASOR) (Worling & Curwen, 2001) and the *Juvenile Sex Offender Assessment Protocol II* (J-SORRAT-II) (Prentky & Righthand, 2003). The RRASOR (Hanson, 1997) and the *Static-99* (Hanson & Thornton, 2000) are among the most popular recidivism risk assessment scales for adult sex offenders today. In developing the RRASOR, Hanson used data from a large collection of recidivism studies and a sample of 2,592 sex offenders. The instrument contains four items, and its total score ranges from 0 to 6. The four items are: (1) prior sexual arrests, (2) age, (3) ever targeted male victims, and (4) whether any victims were unrelated to the offender.

The *Static-99* is a 10-item risk assessment instrument. The items cover static, historical factors, such as the number of prior offenses, victim characteristics, and the offender's age. The items were selected strictly on the basis of empirical relationships with recidivism and

ease of administration (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2009). In order to improve upon the accuracy of the *Static-99*, Hanson and Thornton created the *Static-2002*. Research continues to indicate that the *Static-99* and *Static 2002-R* do improve accuracy in predicting recidivism in CSOs (Hanson, 2010; Hanson et al., 2016).

The *J-Soap II* is considered the pioneer of risk assessment tools for predicting reoffending in juvenile sex offenders (Bara, Bessler, Landolt, & Achi, 2018; Rasmussen, 2013). It is designed to be used for JSOs between the ages of 12 and 18 and can be used to predict both sexual and nonsexual reoffending. The ERASOR is also applicable to JSOs ages 12–18 and is also useful for prediction of both sexual and nonsexual reoffending. Both assessment instruments have been shown to be similar in the accuracy of their recidivism predictions (Barra et al., 2018).

Similar to other sexual offenders, the classification, diagnosis, and assessment of CSOs are complicated by a high degree of variability among individuals in reference to personal characteristics, life experiences, criminal histories, and motives for offending (Prentky et al., 1997). "There is no single 'profile' that accurately describes or accounts for all child molesters" (Prentky et al., 1997, p. v).

Classification of Child Sex Offender Patterns

The Massachusetts Treatment Center (MTC) (Cohen, Seghorn, & Calmas, 1969; Knight, 1988; Knight et al., 1985) developed a widely cited typology of child sex offender behavioral patterns, based on research with male offenders. It cannot be assumed that the typology should apply to female offenders, and as noted shortly, other researchers have addressed that issue. Four major patterns among male child sex offenders have been identified: (1) the fixated type, (2) the regressed type, (3) the exploitative type, and (4) the aggressive or sadistic type.

Fixated child sex offender
A child sex abuser who demonstrates a long-standing, exclusive preference for children as both sexual and social companions. Also called **immature child sex offender.**

The **fixated (or immature) child sex offender** demonstrates a long-standing, exclusive preference for children as both sexual and social companions. This offender has never been able to develop a mature relationship with adult peers, male or female, and he is considered socially immature, passive, timid, and dependent by most people who know him. This offender feels most comfortable relating to children, who are sought out as companions. Sexual contact usually occurs only after the adult and child have become well acquainted. Fixated offenders rarely marry, and their social background lacks much evidence of dating peers or even any sustained, long-term friendship with an adult (outside of relatives). This child sex offender wishes to touch, fondle, caress, and taste the child. He rarely expects genital intercourse, and very rarely uses physical force or aggression.

The fixated child sex offender generally has average intelligence. His work history is steady, although it is often work that is below his ability. His social skills are adequate for day-to-day functioning. Probably most troubling about the fixated or immature child sex offender is that this offender is not concerned or disturbed about his exclusive preference for children as companions, nor can he see why others are concerned. Therefore, the fixed child sex offender is difficult to treat and is most likely to recidivate.

Regressed child sex offender
One who had fairly normal relationships with adults but later reverted to children for sexual and social companionship because of feelings of inadequacy.

The **regressed child sex offender** had a fairly normal adolescence and good peer relationships and sexual experiences, but later developed feelings of masculine inadequacy and self-doubt. Problems in the individual's occupational, social, and sexual lives followed. The regressed child offender's background commonly includes alcohol abuse, divorce, and a poor employment record. Each sexual act is usually precipitated by a significant jolt to the offender's sexual adequacy, either by female or male peers. For example, the offender

may perceive other males as being more successful with women after a female acquaintance rejects him in favor of another man. Unlike the immature (or fixated) child offender, the regressed child offender usually prefers victims who are strangers and who live outside his neighborhood. The victims are nearly always female. Also unlike the fixated child offender, the regressed offender seeks genital sex with his victim. Because he feels remorseful and expresses disbelief after that act, clinicians usually find him a good prospect for rehabilitation. As long as stressful events are kept to a minimum and the person learns to cope adequately with those that occur, recidivism is unlikely.

Exploitative child sex offender
An adult who seeks children almost exclusively for sexual gratification.

The **exploitative child sex offender** seeks children primarily to satisfy his sexual needs. He is usually unknown to the child and commonly tries to get the child isolated from others and familiar surroundings, using aggression and physical force if necessary to get the child to comply with his wishes. The exploitative offender does not care about the emotional or physical well-being of the child but only sees the victim as a sexual object.

The exploitative offender exhibits a long history of criminal or antisocial conduct. Relationships with peers are unpredictable and stormy. He is unpleasant to be around and is often avoided by others who know him. He tends to be highly impulsive, irritable, and moody. These markedly defective interpersonal skills may be the principal reason that he chooses children as victims (Knight et al., 1985). Clinicians find the exploitative offender difficult to treat, as his deficiencies extend to all phases of his daily life.

Aggressive (sadistic) child sex offender
An adult who victimizes children for both sexual and aggressive purposes.

The **aggressive** (or **sadistic**) **child sex offender** is drawn to children for both sexual and aggressive reasons. Offenders in this group are apt to have a long history of antisocial behavior and poor adaptation to their environments. Since the primary aim is to obtain stimulation without consideration for the victim, this group often assaults the child viciously and sadistically. The more harm and pain inflicted, the more this offender becomes sexually excited. Aggressive or sadistic child sex offenders are most often responsible for child abductions and murders. Clinicians find this type not only dangerous to children, but also among the most difficult to treat. Fortunately, this type is rare, although it is frequently portrayed in the media and is most associated—though wrongfully so—with the image of the child molester.

An example of an aggressive CSO was Albert Fish (1870–1936), whose background is discussed by Nash (1975). Fish admitted sexually molesting more than 400 children over a span of 20 years. In addition, he confessed to six child murders and made vague reference to numerous others. He was eventually convicted of murdering a 12-year-old girl and was electrocuted in 1936. Another example is John Wayne Gacy Jr., who, between 1972 and 1978, sadistically murdered at least 33 teenage boys and young men and buried most of the bodies in the cellar of his suburban Chicago home. Gacy was executed by lethal injection in 1994.

These are two quite distant examples of the individuals who committed a multitude of heinous acts over periods of time. Both were subjected to sensational media coverage, as were the child abduction cases referred to in previous chapters. The more typical cases that receive little or no public attention may be less violent but are no less troubling. Persons familiar with court and social service records (e.g., lawyers, social workers, treatment providers, juvenile justice professionals) offer chilling information about the behaviors engaged in by those who sexually assault children and the effects on their victims. An 8-year-old girl told the court about the sexual game her stepfather played on the bed with her and her younger sister every Friday evening. In another incident, a teacher suspected a problem because a young child's leg jumped up and down with great anxiety as the end of the school day approached. It was learned that the child was being sexually abused by an after-school caretaker. Other children are forced to engage in sexual activities with their siblings or are threatened with death or grievous harm, or harm to others including cherished pets, if they reveal what is occurring.

The MTC:CM3

Like the Massachusetts Treatment Center classification scheme for rapists (MTC:R3), discussed in the previous chapter, the MTC classification system of CSOs has undergone some refinement in recent years. In an effort to depict more accurately the complexity involved in classifying CSOs, the MTC:CM3 (referring to Massachusetts Treatment Center: Child Molester, Version 3) includes tentative changes to the original scheme described earlier. Specifically, three significant changes are recommended: (1) Divide the regressed and fixated types into three separate factors—degree of fixation on children, the level of social competence achieved, and the amount of contact an offender has with children; (2) incorporate into the scheme a new narcissistic offender type; and (3) partition the violence of the sexual assault into physical injury and sadistic components (Knight, 1989).

The researchers discovered that, although the regressed offender classification is a valid one, it was also more complicated than originally supposed. Researchers found that the regression classification could be further subdivided into the CSO's style of offending, his interpersonal relationships with children, the intensity of the offender's interest, and the level of social competence achieved by the offender. For example, offenders could be classified according to their level of fixation and social competence. Level of fixation refers to the strength of an offender's sexual interest in children (Knight, Carter, & Prentky, 1989). In other words, to what extent are children the major focus of the offender's thought and attention? If children are the central focus of the offender's sexual and interpersonal fantasies and thoughts for more than 6 months, then the offender qualifies for high fixation. Social competence refers to the degree to which the offender can participate effectively in daily living. An offender would have high social competence if he has demonstrated at least two of the following behaviors: (1) has had a single job lasting three or more years; (2) has had a sexual relationship with an adult for at least one year; (3) has assumed responsibility in parenting a child for three or more years; (4) has been an active member in an adult-oriented organization (e.g., church group, business group) for one or more years; or (5) has had a social friendship with an adult for at least one year. The dimensions of fixation and social competence result in four types of child molesters: high fixation, low social competence (type 0); high fixation, high social competence (type 1); low fixation, low social competence (type 2); and low fixation, high social competence (type 3). (See Table 13–3.) The regressed type was dropped in MTC:CM3 in favor of the term "low fixation."

Research further revealed that male CSOs can also be distinguished on the basis of how much daily contact with children they seek (see Table 13–4). A high-contact offender demonstrates regular contact with children in both sexual and nonsexual contexts (Knight et al., 1989). Offenders of high contact often become involved in an occupation or recreation that brings them in considerable contact with children, such as bus drivers, schoolteachers, Boy Scout leaders, or Little League coaches. Research data revealed there are two kinds of offenders who seek more extensive involvement with children beyond their sexual offenses. The first high-contact type, the *interpersonal offender* (type 1), seeks the extensive company of children for both social and sexual needs (Table 13–4). He sees the child as an

TABLE 13–3 Illustration of the Degree of Fixation as a Function of Social Competence Level

Degree of Fixation			
High Fixation		**Low Fixation**	
Low social Competence (Type 0)	High social competence (Type 1)	Low social competence (Type 2)	High social competence (Type 3)

TABLE 13–4 Illustration of the Amount of Contact as a Function of Meaning of the Contact and Degree of Physical Injury Experienced by the Child Victim

Amount of Contact					
High Amount of Contact		Low Amount of Contact			
Meaning of contact: Interpersonal	Meaning of contact: Narcissistic	Low physical injury		High physical injury	
↓	↓	Nonsadistic	Sadistic	Nonsadistic	Sadistic
(Type 1)	(Type 2)	(Type 3)	(Type 4)	(Type 5)	(Type 6)

appropriate companion in a relationship and believes the friendship is mutually satisfying. The second type, the *narcissistic offender* (type 2), solicits the company of children only to increase his opportunities for sexual experiences. Like exploitative offenders, these offenders typically molest children they do not know, and their sexual acts with children are typically genitally oriented (Knight, 1989). Furthermore, there is little or no concern about the needs, comfort, or welfare of the child (Knight et al., 1989).

Another group of CSOs are low-contact seekers. Low-contact offenders' only contacts with children are in the context of sexual assault. Low-contact offenders are classified according to the amount of physical injury they administer to their victims. Two types of low-contact seekers tend to inflict very little physical injury on their victims: the exploitative type and the muted sadistic type. Low injury refers to the absence of physical injury to victim and the presence of such acts as pushing, shoving, slapping, holding, or verbal threats. None of the acts of low injury results in a lasting injury (e.g., cuts, bruises, contusions). The *exploitative, nonsadistic offender* (type 3) uses no more aggression or violence than is necessary to secure victim compliance. Furthermore, the assault does not reveal evidence that sadistic actions engender sexual arousal in the offender. The *muted* or *symbolic sadistic offender* (type 4) engages in a variety of distressing, painful, and threatening acts, none of which causes significant physical injury to the child.

Finally, the MTC:CM3 classifies two offenders who have often administered a high amount of physical injury to their victims: the aggressive offender and the sadistic offender. High injury is characterized by hitting, punching, choking, sodomy, or forcing the child to ingest urine or feces (Knight et al., 1989). The *aggressive, nonsadistic offender* (type 5) is similar to the aggressive child sex offender described earlier except that sadism is not a primary aim of the assault. This offender is extremely angry about all things in his life and is generally violent toward people in his life, including children. The *sadistic offender* (type 6) obtains sexual pleasure from the pain, fear, and physical harm he inflicts on the child.

The MTC:CM3 helps identify offender type based on crime scene information and perhaps presents a more refined classification system of child molester or predator types. However, research beyond the MTC population is needed before investigators feel comfortable about adopting this promising scheme. Looman, Gauthier, and Boer (2001) were able to replicate the MTC:CM3 Classification System with a Canadian sample of child molesters, suggesting that the system has applicability across cultures. In addition, the MTC:CM3 does not include incest offenders and therefore is applicable only to extrafamilial CSOs (Ennis et al., 2016). What's more, it does not include cross-over CSOs. However, a newly developed MTC:CM4 is currently under revision (Knight & King, 2012).

Female Sex Offender Typology

Vandiver and Kercher (2004) have proposed a clinically useful and research-meaningful typology of female sex offenders that is distinct from typologies and classifications of male

offenders discussed above. Utilizing 471 registered adult female sexual offenders in Texas, the researchers identified six types:

1. Heterosexual nurturers
2. Noncriminal homosexual offenders
3. Female sexual predators
4. Young adult child exploiters
5. Homosexual criminals
6. Aggressive homosexual offenders

Heterosexual nurturers were the largest group. This group victimized only males with an average age of 12. The offenders are generally in mentorship, care-taking, or teacher roles, such as the teacher-lover category in which a teacher engages in a "romantic" relationship with one of her students or a counselor with one of her clients. Many of the offenders in this group do not perceive the relationship as abusive or psychologically damaging to the child. These females appear to be motivated by a desire for intimacy to compensate for unmet emotional and social needs and may not recognize or want to recognize the inappropriateness of the relationship. This group had a low recidivism rate.

Noncriminal homosexual offenders represented the second largest group. This group primarily preferred early adolescent females as victims (average age of 13). This offender group appeared to have many of the same characteristics as heterosexual nurturers, but their victim preferences were females. Similar to heterosexual nurturers, these offenders were unlikely to have a criminal record or to recidivate.

Female sexual predators victimized both male (60%) and female children (40%) who averaged 11 years of age. This group resembled other female criminals, and their sexual offending may be an offshoot of other criminal activity. In other words, they are repeat offenders committing a variety of crimes. They also had a high probability of committing another sexual offense.

Young adult child exploiters most often committed sexual assault. Their victims were frequently young, with an average age of 7, and of both genders. The offenders themselves were the youngest of the six offender groups, with an average age of 28. About half of the victims were related to the offender, sometimes the offender's own child.

The fifth group, homosexual criminals, had an extensive history of antisocial behavior. Their victims were usually female, with an average age of 11. Their sexual crimes included indecency with a child and compelling the child into prostitution or child pornography. Most of these offenders are motivated by profit rather than sexual ambitions.

Aggressive homosexual offenders represent the smallest group and are also the oldest. Their victims are generally adult females, and therefore these offenders are not relevant to the topic of this chapter. They appeared to be representative of homosexual women involved in a domestically violent relationship.

In their sample of 390 female sex offenders in New York State, Sandler and Freeman (2007) also identified six categories. In addition, their sample was very similar to Vandiver and Kercher's on demographic variables, such as offender age and race. However, Sandler and Freeman did not entirely support some of the characteristics reported in the Vandiver and Kercher typology. This is to be expected, considering that typologies that attempt to classify female sex offenders are in early stages of development.

Sandler and Freeman did find support for the heterosexual nurturer and young adult child exploiter categories found by Vandiver and Kercher, but some characteristics of the four other categories were different. One of the major differences was the gender of the victims. Sandler and Freeman discovered that many of the female sex offenders did not *consistently* victimize one gender more than the other. Because the cluster analysis did not

highlight a strong victim preference as found in the Vandiver-Kercher analysis, Sandler and Freeman felt it was appropriate to label only one group as homosexual, which they called the homosexual child molester. This group, which emerged as the smallest, almost exclusively targeted female victims (91%).

Some of the differences in results of the two studies may be due to the substantially different criminal codes or registry requirements for sex offenders between states. In addition, the Vandiver and Kercher sample included females who may or may not have served time in prison, and their offenses were considered serious enough to warrant arrest and prosecution (Gannon & Rose, 2008). Although their sample was a forensic population, it represented a very wide range of female sexual offenders.

Although the two studies significantly advance our knowledge pertaining to female sex offenders, neither study was able to obtain additional data relating to co-offenders (Gannon & Rose, 2008). In other words, did the females offend alone or with a co-offender, such as a male partner? Gannon and Rose (2008) emphasize that this shortcoming limits strategies and programs for treating female sex offenders. Recall, however, that Vandiver (2006) conducted further research on female sex offenders as co-offenders, which we covered earlier in the chapter. That study did not focus on the typologies discussed above, however.

The typologies of female sex offenders thus far proposed do not examine psychological variables, such as mental health status or the victimization histories of the offenders themselves. In general, the research on female sexual offenders has focused on the demographics and the very basic details of their offending characteristics, which is extremely helpful. However, as Gannon and Rose (2008) note, there is very little research on the sexual interests, empathy, intimacy deficits, and self-regulation of female sex offenders. This research needs to be done if we are to get a better understanding of the female sex offender.

Online Facilitated Sexual Offending

In recent years, there has been increasing attention directed at online sexual offending, particularly child pornography offending. As noted by Babchishin, Hanson, and VanZuylen (2015), the Internet is commonly and frequently used for sexual purposes, and pornography is easily accessed. "Approximately three quarters of men and half of women have intentionally viewed pornography over the internet" (Babchishin et al., 2015, p. 44).

Online sexual offending refers to "the use of Internet and related digital technologies to obtain, distribute, or produce child pornography, or to contact potential child victims to create opportunities for sexual offending" (Seto, Hanson, & Babchishin, 2011, p. 125). Criminal sexual behaviors include downloading illegal pornography (such as child pornographic materials) and sexual solicitation of minors and prostitution (Babchishin et al., 2015). The possession, distribution, and production of child pornography is illegal under federal laws and laws in all 50 states (Wolak, Finkelhor, & Mitchell, 2005) and is subject to both criminal and civil penalties but prosecution for these offenses is rare.

Who Are the Offenders?

The producers of child pornography are often persons who have legitimate access to the child, such as parents/guardians (22%), relatives (10%), family friends (47%), babysitters, and coaches (U.S. Sentencing Commission, 2012). Two recent examples are described in U.S. Supreme Court cases (*U.S. v. Williams*, 2008; *Paroline v. U.S.*, 2014). In one example, a man offered photographs of men molesting his 4-year-old daughter (although he apparently did not deliver them) but did circulate pictures of other children engaging in sexually explicit conduct. A search of his computer yielded additional images, some of

which were sadomasochistic. In another case an 8-year-old girl was raped by her uncle, who videotaped the assault and circulated it on the Internet. Law enforcement officers uncovered more than 35,000 images of the rape in the United States alone.

One of the key goals of researchers in child pornography is to determine the risks that online offenders—those who access these images—pose to actual sexual contact with children. In other words, do those persons interested in child pornography online also seek physical sexual contact with children? Many studies indicate that the majority of online offenders have no prior *official* contact sexual offense history (Seto et al., 2011). Many do not even have any prior criminal history of any kind. However, one study discovered that a majority of online offenders (85%) admitted to contact crimes (unofficially) while undergoing treatment or during a polygraph examination (Bourke & Hernandez, 2009). That study has been criticized for having several serious methodological shortcomings. In a more comprehensive and methodologically sound study, conducted by Seto et al. (2011), the data revealed that approximately one in eight online offenders had a known contact sexual offense history, based on official records of arrests, charges, or convictions. The ratio was higher when self-report information (rather than official records) was used, revealing that about half of the online offenders admitted to a contact sexual offense. Seto and his colleagues conclude: "Many of the online offenders in our study are likely to be sexually interested in children, but only half are known to have acted on these sexual interests" (p. 140). However, the Seto et al. study did find that the recidivism rate for contact sexual offense was quite low (5%) for the majority of online sex offenders.

Although there is no typical profile of the child pornography offender, online offenders are likely to be non-Hispanic white, single, and unemployed (Babchishin, Hanson, & Hermann, 2011). They tend to be slightly younger than contact sex offenders (Babchishin et al., 2011). Moreover, online offenders, compared to contact sexual offenders, appear to have greater empathy for their victims, have greater ability to control acting on their child-oriented sexual interests, and usually restrict their sexual interests to online activity (Seto & Hanson, 2011).

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that downloading child pornography is a criminal act that causes harm to its victims. Images of children engaged in sexual activity are not only punishable by prison sentences but also subject to civil penalties under the Crime Victims' Rights Act of 2004. In the case of the 8-year-old girl mentioned above, numerous individuals were jailed and/or fined penalties, ranging from $100 to $3,000 (facts outlined in *U.S. v. Paroline*, 2014).

Who Are the Child Victims?

The emergence of Internet technology lowered the costs of producing commercially circulated pornographic material, substantially increased its availability, and reduced the risk of detection connected to production, distribution, and possession (Quayle & Jones, 2011). The Internet's rapid expansion also has meant more focus on the Internet sex offender (Quayle, 2009). The victims depicted in the commercial child pornographic media are typically white, prepubescent girls (ages 8–12 years) (Quayle & Jones, 2011). The second most often used child victim category was Asian prepubescent girls. Female children outnumber male children in the sexualized photographic media images by about four to one.

In an extensive study called the *National Juvenile Online Victimization* Study, Wolak et al. (2005) examined the information on Internet-related child pornography offenders who had been arrested over a 12-month period, beginning in July 1, 2000. Wolak et al. described 40% of offenders as "dual offenders" because they not only had child pornography in their possession but also had a history of sexually abusing minors. Relatively few of the offenders had prior arrests for nonsexual offending (22%). Ninety-one percent of those arrested were non-Hispanic whites.

Eighty-three percent of those arrested had sexual images of children between the ages of 6 and 12, and 39% had images of 3- to 5-year-old children. Nineteen percent had images of toddlers or infants younger than 3 years of age. Sixty-two percent had pictures of mostly girls, and 14% possessed pictures of mostly boys. Perhaps more revealing was the finding that 21% had images of children in violent scenes, such as bondage, rape, or torture. Most of these graphic photos involved images of children who were gagged, bound, blindfolded, or otherwise enduring some form of sadistic sex. Thirty-nine percent of the arrestees possessed moving images in digital or other videos formats. Considering that these images were discovered by investigators in 2000 and 2001, recent technological advances (e.g., smartphones, iPads, cloud computing, sophisticated encryption formats) making it easier for offenders to collect and store child pornography suggest this problem is far greater today. New technological tools also have enhanced offenders' ability to evade detection by law enforcement (Collins, 2012). In addition, advances in technological communication systems allow persons to find others who share their interests, which, in turn, encourages the development of peer, supportive communities.

Online Sex Predators

Although this section was primarily concerned with online child pornography offenders drawn to prepubescent children, we should describe online offenders who are interested in actual sexual encounters with teens. For example, in 2019 a 25-year-old man in Florida was arrested after he struck up a relationship with an adolescent girl on Instagram, lured her to Florida, and sexually assaulted her. Briggs, Simon, and Simonsen (2011) conducted an exploratory study designed to examine offender differences between noncontact online sexual offenders and those online offenders who actively seek out opportunities to have sex with adolescents. Some online offenders engage in the process of exploitation, luring, and enticement of the teenager to meet with them. The offender may communicate with several adolescents at once via various chat rooms or all forms of social media, thinking he is doing so anonymously. However, police officers have been active over the years in their attempt to apprehend online offenders by posing as juveniles online (Mitchell, Wolak, & Finkelhor, 2005).

Briggs and his colleagues identified two types of men who use online media to gain sexual gratification via adolescent victims. One type utilizes live online chat rooms to entice male or female teenagers into an offline sexual relationship. The other is the fantasy-driven offender who uses online media as "a sexual medium to connect with teens for the purpose of cybersex and masturbation" (Briggs et al., 2011, p. 87). For those latter, socially isolated adults (or adolescents) the online media provides an impersonal social and sexual outlet without the risk of face-to-face rejection. They usually have no interest in an actual physical contact with the teenager.

Research by Wolak et al. (2008) finds that the stereotypical aggressive sexual predator trying to set up meetings with unsuspecting underage teenagers for violent sexual encounters is rare. In their extensive reviews of the research, Wolak et al. (2008) conclude: "The research about Internet-initiated sex crimes makes it clear that the stereotype of the Internet child molester who uses trickery and violent to assault child is largely inaccurate" (p. 112). Media or Internet-initiated sex crimes consist of adult men who use the social media to meet and entice underage teenagers into sexual meetings. In most cases, the teenagers realize that they are communicating with an adult and generally what his intentions are. As described by Wolak et al. (2010) in another article, "Sex is usually broached online, and most victims who meet offenders face to face go to such meetings expecting to engage in sexual activity" (p. 16). A high percentage (73%) of victims continue to have face-to-face sexual encounters with offenders more than once. Most victims are between the ages of 13 and 17, and rarely

is a victim 12 or younger. The behavior of the perpetrator is still criminal, however, because even if a "consensual" sexual encounter occurs, he is committing statutory rape. In addition, he may be charged under "luring" statutes.

Most online sexual solicitors are not dangerous, as few (less than 5%) online solicitors are arrested for violent contact sexual offenses (Seto, Hanson, & Babchishin, 2011; Wolak et al., 2004, 2010). Abductions have occurred but are very unusual. Most of the offenders are not impulsive and often have technical skills, higher educations, and higher incomes (Tener, Wolak, & Finkelhor, 2015; Wolak et al., 2010). They may be calculating and pretending to be someone they are not, but they are most often not violent.

Sextortion
Emerging online threat to scare minors into providing updated images or payment to avoid disclosure of their past postings.

Sextortion recently has been identified as an emerging online threat to minors (Wolak, Finkelhor, Walsh, & Treitman, 2018). Sextortion involves threats to expose sexual images or other evidence of sexual activity to coerce victims to provide additional pictures, sex, money, or other favors. Threats of physical harm if the victim does not comply are not uncommon in these incidents. Sextortion incidents can be considered a form of serious victimization, leading not only to humiliation of the victim but sometimes to suicide. Moreover, persons who engage in sextortion may be charged with extortion, blackmail, bribery, cyberstalking, or child pornography if the crime involves a minor.

The use of social media and online communications specifically for the commercial sexual exploitation of children and youth is serious, especially producing and circulating pornographic images of children or children being sexually assaulted. Seriousness also extends to online communications for the purposes of sex trafficking involving minors. Increasingly, offenders and traffickers are using online communications to facilitate the sexual trafficking and exploitation of children. "The domain of technology-facilitated crimes against children has been characterized by two features: rapid growth and changing dynamics" (Mitchell, Jones, Finkelhor, & Wolak, 2011, p. 46). Online communications systems are an effective and efficient medium for reaching large and diverse audiences interested in the sexual exploitation of minors.

Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is the third leading criminal enterprise in the world and is notably one of the fastest growing and most lucrative criminal activities globally (Adams & Flynn, 2017; Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014; Rafferty, 2013; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2018; Volgin, Shakespeare-Finch, & Shochet, 2019). Different patterns of human trafficking are found in different parts of the world. As noted in the UNODC report, trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation prevails in North America, Europe, and East Asia and the Pacific region. Trafficking involving forced labor is most common in parts of Africa and the Middle East. Trafficking involving forced marriage is common in parts of southeast Asia. Trafficking of children for illegal adoptions is common in Central and South America. Trafficking for forced criminality and forced begging are frequently reported in Europe, and trafficking for organ removal is primarily found in North Africa and parts of Europe.

Although the term "trafficking" implies travel or movement from one location to another, victims do not have to be actually transported to be considered victims of human trafficking (Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017). Trafficking is defined primarily by exploitation rather than geographical movement. Human trafficking is the economic exploitation of an individual or individuals through force, fraud, or coercion (Task Force on Trafficking of Women and Girls, 2014; henceforth referred to as Task Force on Trafficking). The vast majority of those trafficked in the United States for labor or commercial sex are women and girls. Girls between the ages of 12 and 16 are heavily sought-after victims in the sex

TABLE 13–5 Human Trafficking Incidents Opened for Investigation between 2008 and 2010, by Type of Trafficking

	Total Incidents	
Type of Human Trafficking Incident	**Number**	**Percent**
All incidents	2,515	100.0
Sex trafficking	2,065	82.1
Adult prostitution	1,218	48.4
Child sex trafficking	1,016	40.4
Sexualized labor*	142	5.6
Other sex trafficking	61	2.4
Labor trafficking	350	13.9
Other/unknown	237	9.4

*Includes exotic dancing and unlicensed massage parlors.

Source: Banks, D., & Kyckelhahn, T. (2011, April). Characteristics of suspected human trafficking inci-dents, 2008-2010. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

trafficking trade. It has been reported that the average age of trafficked children has been getting younger, as young as 7–10 years of age (Wilson & Butler, 2014). In total, approximately 70% of human trafficking incidents involve sex exploitation in the United States such as forced prostitution and child sex trafficking (Kyckelhahn, Beck, & Cohen, 2009; UNODC, 2018). As such, it is referred to as commercial sexual exploitation (CSE). (See Table 13–5 for breakdown of types of trafficking.) It should be recognized that the psychological damage to children coerced into sexual exploitation is extensive and represents one of the most severe forms of child abuse possible (Volgin et al., 2019). As observed by Rafferty (2018), "In response, child victims may develop a range of mental health needs and interpersonal problems, including depression, hopelessness, anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder, hostility, and irritability" (p. 249).

The number of trafficked victims is difficult to estimate for a variety of reasons. One reason is that there is currently no uniform system for collecting the data (Miller-Perrin & Wurtele, 2017). Secondly, victims are generally fearful of retribution from their traffickers if they report their victimization. Thirdly, victims tend to be highly distrustful of authorities—such as law enforcement—because they may be runaways or undocumented immigrants. Despite these drawbacks, the best estimates indicate that roughly 20.9 million people across the world are victims, many of them children (Muraya & Fry, 2016; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2012).

Traffickers who recruit, transport, and exploit women and girls for sexual purposes span the continuum from a single individual to organized networks (Task Force on Trafficking, 2014). Interestingly, although organized crime is clearly tied in to human trafficking, it is believed that most traffickers are not members of an organized crime group; rather, most are one or two individuals working on their own (Small, Adams, Owen, & Roland, 2008). Most suspects arrested for commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) are male (97%), white (82%), not married (70%) (Adams & Flynn, 2017) and young (under age 35) (Motivans & Synder, 2018).

The methods used by traffickers are variable. "Traffickers use coercion and psychological abuse, deception and fraud, threats, physical and sexual violence, abuse work and living conditions, and coerced substance use to lure, manipulate, and control their victims" (Task Force on Trafficking, 2014, p. 3). In many instances, the trafficker offers false promises for a better life elsewhere (Rafferty, 2013). The typical prior life experiences for victims of CSE have been characterized by violence in various forms (including war), and that violence exposure follows them not only while in the trafficking trade but also afterwards (Wilson & Butler, 2014).

The most effective traffickers are those who can establish trusting relationships with potential victims. Many of the traffickers are women, including former victims who act as suppliers of children to those who will exploit them (Rafferty, 2013). The UNODC (2018) estimates that about 35% of traffickers across the globe are women. Female traffickers tend to be attractive, nicely dressed, and wear expensive jewelry. They gain the trust of potential victims while using false promises of a better life under their guidance and supervision.

According to some experts (e.g., Cecchet & Thoburn, 2014; Schauer & Wheaton, 2006), the United States ranks as the world's second largest destination country (after Germany) for women and children trafficked for purposes of sexual exploitation in the sex industry. Examples include women who agree to come to this country as food service workers, hotel employees, or exotic dancers, but then are forced into prostitution until they are able to pay off the debt incurred through a smuggling fee. In some countries, parents "sell" their children to traffickers who take them to other parts of the world, including the United States, and profit from their sexual exploitation.

The U.S. Department of Justice has successfully prosecuted human trafficking crimes in a variety of areas, including agriculture, sweatshops, suburban mansions, brothels, escort services, bars, and strip clubs. In recent years, because of enhanced victim-protection ovisions and public awareness programs introduced by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000, the number of trafficking investigations and prosecutions has increased dramatically (U.S. Department of Justice, 2019). The TVPA defines sex trafficking as the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, obtaining, patronizing, or soliciting of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act, in which the commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age (22 U.S.C. §7102). In 2007, the Civil Rights Division created the Human Trafficking Prosecution Unit (HTPU), designed to streamline investigations on human trafficking in the United States. In addition, 42 Human Trafficking Task Forces have been created in various states across the United States.

Treatment of Child Sex Offenders

Over the years, the research literature on the treatment of CSOs (and sex offending in general) has not been overwhelmingly positive about its overall effectiveness to reduce recidivism. For example, Furby, Weinroth, and Blackshaw (1989), after an extensive review of the psychological treatment on sex offenders, concluded: "There is as yet no evidence that clinical treatment reduces rates of sex reoffenses in general and no appropriate data for assessing whether it may be differentially effective for different types of offenders" (p. 27). The Furby et al. review included all types of therapeutic approaches used from the 1960s through the 1980s. In a more recent publication, Camilleri and Quinsey (2008) concluded from their comprehensive review of treatment for CSOs that treatment so far has been largely ineffective. Some scholars have noted that policy makers who lean toward a more punitive criminal justice system welcome research results concluding that treatment is not effective in reducing child sex offending (Grønnerød, Grønnerød, & Grøndahl, 2015).

One reason for these discouraging research results is that many of the evaluation studies have had methodological and design flaws, often due to difficulty in obtaining a cooperative sizeable treatment group. Even more difficult is trying to obtain a control group of CSOs who did not receive treatment to compare to the group that did. In addition, many studies are conducted within the confines of correctional institutions that may have stringent policies about what can and cannot be done by outside researchers. Another major reason for these disappointing treatment results lies in the fact that CSOs are a very heterogeneous

group who differ on a wide range of crucial factors, such as motivations, needs, abilities, cognitions, experiences, and backgrounds. CSOs also vary widely in the frequency and type of sexual activity they engaged in. Obviously, one psychological treatment approach does not fit all.

However, despite the many differences among CSOs, contemporary research has identified some key psychological factors that are important to change in order to reduce sexual reoffending. These are the dynamic risk factors, which we discussed in Chapter 12. The most notable dynamic risk factors of many CSOs are the following: (1) they have problems with emotional regulation when it comes to sexual arousal; (2) they have intimacy and social skill deficits; (3) they have distorted cognitive sexual scripts; and (4) they subscribe to a variety of cognitive distortions.

Contemporary research has also discovered that cognitive-behavioral approaches appear to be the most effective in changing the most relevant dynamic risk factors and thereby reducing recidivism. Cognitive behavior therapy is especially effective if it follows the principles of Risk, Need, and Responsivity, discussed in Chapter 12 (Bonta & Andrews, 2010; Hanson, Bourgon, Helmus, & Hodgson, 2009; Walton and Chou, 2015). **Cognitive behavior therapy** is a form of psychotherapy that focuses on changing beliefs, fantasies, attitudes, and rationalizations that justify and perpetuate antisocial or other problematic behavior. Currently, it is considered the most effective therapy for both adult and juvenile offenders. In line with the RNR principles, the clinician needs to work on reducing criminogenic needs in moderate-to-high-risk CSOs and in matching the treatment to the learning style of the offender. Deviant sexual interests and attitudes tolerant of sexually victimizing children are examples of criminogenic needs. The deviant attitudes allow the offender to deny, justify, minimize, and rationalize their actions (Eastman, 2004; Worling & Langton, 2012).

Cognitive behavior therapy
An approach to therapy that focuses on changing beliefs, fantasies, attitudes, and rationalizations that justify and perpetuate antisocial or other problematic behavior. It is often used in the treatment of sex offenders.

In cognitive behavior therapy, the behavioral component focuses on sexual preferences and relapses, while the cognitive component focuses on changing beliefs, fantasies, attitudes, and rationalizations that justify and perpetuate sexually violent behavior. CSOs appear to have far more cognitive distortions than do men who sexually assault adult women (Camilleri & Quinsey, 2008). Cognitive behavior therapy assumes that maladaptive sexual behaviors are learned according to the same rules as normal sexual behavior, by means of classical and/or instrumental conditioning, modeling, reinforcement, generalization, and punishment. They are, therefore, modifiable.

Currently, there is also considerable ongoing research evaluating treatment programs for juvenile sex offenders (Beck, Spruit, Kulper, Rijken, & Hencriks, 2018; Brusman, Yoder, & Berry, 2017; Kettrey & Lipsey, 2018; Memoko, 2017). These programs designed for JSOs are different from those that target adult sexual offenders, and on the whole, treatment of juvenile sex offenders receives positive results (Sandler et al., 2017). This is primarily because contemporary research suggests that juveniles are far more changeable than adults, are more influenced by the social and peer environments, and appear to be at lower risk for sexual recidivism. Consequently, multisystemic therapy has been shown to have good effects on reducing recidivism in JSOs, especially if it follows the RNR principles similar to cognitive behavior therapy (Hanson et al., 2009).

Worling and Langton (2012), in an article reviewing the assessment and treatment of juvenile sex offenders in residential settings, note that there have been few published studies in recent years in which researchers used a treatment and a comparison group. However, overall "there is a growing body of evidence that specialized treatment programs result in lower recidivism rates" (p. 827). "Unfortunately," they continue, "there is very little guidance from the published research at this time regarding which treatment components are effective for which youth" (p. 827). Worling and Langton summarize a number of treatment goals that are common to sex offender treatment programs in the United States and Canada. These include, among others, enhancing accountability for one's crimes;

enhancing healthy sexual interests, prosocial sexual attitudes, and awareness of victim impact; establishing plans to prevent future offending; and involving parents and caregivers.

Worling and Langton also observe that these confined settings very often produce sexual victimization of both sex offenders and nonsex offenders. They cite the sobering statistic reported by Beck, Harrison, and Guerino (2010) that 2% of youth in their survey reported victimization by youth and approximately 12% reported victimization by staff within the first year they were held in custody. An alarming 81% of the youth who were victimized reported being victimized more than once, and 43% had been victimized by more than one individual. The longer the youth was held in custody, the more likely was the sexual victimization. (Recall that the latest report on this issue is highlighted in Box 13–1 at the beginning of this chapter.)

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Following upon the chapter on sexual assaults of adults, the present chapter has focused on sexual offenses against children. We distinguished child sexual offending from pedophilia, a clinical term that refers to intense, recurring sexual fantasies and urges relating to children that may or may not be accompanied by comparable behaviors. By itself, pedophilia is a clinical condition, not a crime. However, if the condition leads to behavior involving child victims, the behavior becomes legally accountable. Despite this distinction, the psychological and criminal justice literatures as well as the media often use terms like pedophile and pedophilia to describe this group of sexual offenders. Legally, persons suspected of sexually abusing children may be charged with child molestation, child sexual assault, incest, child rape, or a variety of other offenses, depending upon the statutes in a given jurisdiction.

Sexual assaults against children—covering a range of offenses—are disturbingly too common, although accurate statistics are difficult to obtain. Much of our information is derived not only from arrest and conviction data but also from the reports of adults who say they were victimized as children and from the perpetrators themselves. Arrest data indicate that 34% of all victims of sexual assault reported to law enforcement in the early 1990s were under age 12. In a related finding, some research indicates that approximately two-thirds of convicted rapists in state prisons committed their crimes against children. By their own accounts, offenders admit to abusing not one but many children, sometimes over a period of years. Other research suggests that from a quarter to a third of all women and one-tenth of men say they were sexually abused during childhood. As we discussed in the chapter, the long-term psychological effects of this victimization are often, if not typically, devastating.

We reviewed a variety of offender characteristics, including both demographic and psychological features. Aggressive child sexual offenders—which not all are—show similarities to men who rape adults, including problems with alcohol, high school failure rates, unstable work history, and low socioeconomic status. As a group, CSOs tend to be older than rapists, although most by far apparently commit their first offense before age 30. Although increasingly more attention is being given to female CSOs, sexual offending against children is still predominantly a male phenomenon.

The cognitive skills of CSOs are typically lower than those of the general population. They often lack social skills and adequate self-control mechanisms, and they often have backgrounds that include sexual victimization by others. Emotional congruence with children—feeling more comfortable with children than adults, for example—is not uncommon. They rarely take responsibility for their offenses, preferring to attribute their behavior to external forces beyond their control. Interestingly, current research indicates that CSOs

actually have greater self-control than rapists. The Massachusetts Treatment Center has developed classification systems for the behavioral patterns of both rapists (discussed in the previous chapter) and child molesters. Both systems have undergone revision to further specify and refine some of their categories and to incorporate crime scene information. We reviewed the MTC systems in some detail, focusing on the MTC:CM3, the latest version. The MTC classification systems are widely used and have been submitted to empirical research, but they cannot be assumed to apply to female offenders. Some researchers, though, have proposed typologies of female sex offenders. Although many features were found to be similar to those of male offenders, there seems to be a greater proportion of nurturers in the female offending group. Not surprisingly, the victims of female sex offenders also tend to be children rather than adults. As noted in the previous chapter, when female sex offenders have adults as victims, they are most likely to be acting as coperpetrators with adult males.

We discussed some of the available research on juvenile sex offending, which is clearly a major challenge to the juvenile justice system. Distinctions are often made in the literature between juvenile molesters and juvenile rapists. For example, molesters almost invariably choose children younger than they are as victims, while rapists choose victims of about the same age or older. Juvenile molesters are also more likely than juvenile rapists to have been victims of child sexual abuse and to view themselves as socially inadequate. The topic of female juvenile sex offending is increasingly making an appearance in the literature. These offenders typically have been abused themselves and often commit their abuses while babysitting or otherwise caring for children.

In recent years much attention has been directed at sexual trafficking with children as victims and child sexual abuse facilitated by the Internet. Older children, preadolescents, and adolescents are the most likely victims of both of these offenses. Sexual trafficking may involve vulnerable children sold by their caretakers or naïve adolescents who are promised a better existence. Internet crimes involve primarily the downloading of child pornography or the luring of victims for sexual purposes. The production, distribution, downloading, and possession of child pornography is a federal offense, as is online solicitation of juveniles, but offenders in these category are not typically studied as child sex offenders.

The chapter ended with a discussion of treatment for CSOs. Although early reviews of the treatment literature were not encouraging, particularly programs aimed at the most serious offenders, there is evidence that treatment of sexual offending can be successful, particularly if the offenders are juveniles. Treatment strategies must focus not only on the cessation of the antisocial sexual conduct but also on maintenance of prosocial behaviors. Thus, continual monitoring or supervision should be a part of the treatment regimen. Recent meta-analyses indicate that cognitive behavior treatment based on risk, need, and responsivity (RNR) principles is most promising with respect to both sex offenders and offenders in general.

KEY CONCEPTS

Aggressive (sadistic), 451
Cognitive behavior therapy, 461
Crossover, 438
Exploitative child sex offender, 451
Extrafamilial child molestation, 432
Fixated (immature) child sex offender, 450
Hebephilia, 432
Intrafamilial child sexual abuse, 439
Paraphilia, 432
Pedophilia, 432
Regressed sex offender, 450
Sextortion, 458
Sibling sexual abuse, 440

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is the distinction between pedophilia and child sex offending?
2. What are the major differences between extrafamilial CSOs and intrafamilial CSOs?
3. Summarize demographic and psychological characteristics of extrafamilial CSOs.
4. Discuss research findings on juvenile child sex offenders.
5. Discuss research findings on female child sex offenders.

14

Burglary, Home Invasions, Thefts, and "White-Collar" Offenses

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Provide an overview of offenses that are generally not violent.
- Sketch burglary, including property cues, motives, demographics, and cognitive processes of burglars.
- Discuss the psychological effects of burglary on victims.
- Describe the nature of home invasions.
- Examine motor vehicle theft, including carjacking and the motives and decision making of offenders.
- Describe identity theft and its psychological consequences.
- Examine the prevalence of shoplifting along with motives and other psychological factors.
- Review the definitions and typologies of "white-collar crime," including Green's categories of occupational crime.

This chapter deals with a wide variety of criminal activity that at first glance would appear to have little in common. However, for the most part, the offenses in this chapter are radically different from the criminal behavior we have discussed up to this point. What they all have in common is a lack of physical aggression—or violence—in carrying out the act. In some cases, though, for example in some burglaries, carjackings, and home invasion, violence may be a by-product. In addition, corporate offenses may involve potential violence (e.g., when they violate safety standards) or violence to the environment.

The crimes discussed here will implicate psychological concepts we have not discussed extensively thus far. Whereas we have spent considerable time on learning, classical conditioning, self-esteem, frustration, and, of course, aggression in the previous chapters, we will see a deemphasis on these concepts in this chapter, despite the fact that they may still be relevant. Burglars and identity thieves still learn how to carry out their crimes. On the other hand, we will place more emphasis on such concepts as self-reinforcement, expectations, justifications, and motivations than was placed in previous chapters.

Property crimes
Generally involve the illegal acquisition of money and material goods, or the illegal destruction of property, typically but not necessarily for financial gain.

Most of the crimes discussed here are treated as **property crimes** in official statistics. Property crimes generally involve the illegal acquisition of money and material goods, or the illegal destruction of property for financial gain. According to the UCR, the four major property crimes are burglary, larceny/theft (which includes fraud), motor vehicle theft, and arson. Of the four, arson is the most complex to categorize. Although profit is not *always* the motive in the other property offenses, it is *often not* the motive in arson. For example, it may simply reflect the desire to destroy property, or it may be committed to cover up another crime, even murder. When children and juveniles commit arson, it is called fire-setting and may be considered a psychological disorder. For these reasons, we will discuss arson in the following chapter.

Dehumanization
Engaging in actions that obscure the identity of the victim, such as excessive facial battery, or treating victims like objects rather than human beings.

Although the crimes covered here do not typically involve physical aggression, they are similar to the violent offenses discussed in earlier chapters in one important psychological aspect. Most of them involve a dehumanization of the victim, albeit in a different sense from the dehumanization that often occurs in violence. As we have learned, **dehumanization** occurs when a person or group of persons see and treat others as objects rather than as human beings. When a person is not responding to the human qualities of other people, it becomes much more possible to act inhumanely toward them. In crimes like larceny, burglary, and identity theft, for example, the offenders avoid confronting their victims directly. Although there are exceptions, they usually do not directly observe or experience the economic, social, and psychological discomfort of their victims. In the victim's absence, internal values and social constraints are less effective, allowing the offender to repress, deny, or justify the crime more easily. As Gresham Sykes (1956) put it, the individual's internal sentiments are more easily neutralized by the physical absence of the victim. The offender does not have to think of the effects his or her actions have on the victim, because the offender often does not know the victim as a human being, only as a target. This is even more likely to be the case today, when so many fraudulent offenses are committed online. On the other hand, dehumanization is more difficult in carjacking or home invasion cases, particularly the latter.

Table 14–1 gives a percentage breakdown of the UCR property crimes for 2017. As you can see, larceny-theft accounted for about two-thirds of the property crime, followed by burglary at almost one-fifth of these offenses. Like the violent crime rate, the property crime rate has decreased over the past decade.

In addition to the traditional crimes of burglary, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft, the chapter will cover current, specific forms, such as identity theft and carjacking. Identity theft is one of the few official tabulated crimes that have increased in recent years, largely due to online access to data. Carjacking is a unique form of motor vehicle theft that—though relatively rare—has attracted contemporary research attention. We also cover "white-collar" offenses and discuss the difficulty of both defining that concept and estimating its prevalence.

Obviously, most offenders engage in property crime for the money or goods they obtain, or for other tangible rewards that meet biological, psychological, or social needs. Sykes (1956) noted long ago, however, that this does not tell us why some people commit these crimes under certain social conditions, while others do not. Explanations based strictly

TABLE 14–1 Property Crimes, 2017

Offense	Number of Offenses	Percent of Property Crimes
Total property	7,694,086	100.0
Larceny-theft	5,519,107	71.7
Burglary	1,401,840	18.2
Motor vehicle theft	773,139	10.1
Arson	41,171	0.5

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (2018a). *Crime in the United States, 2017*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice. Federal Bureau of Investigation.

on economic necessity and the satisfaction of basic human needs do not go far enough. Sykes proposed the concept of **relative deprivation** as an additional factor. To assess the economic want associated with property crimes, we should consider not what the person owns or is making in personal income, but rather how great the discrepancy is between what he or she has and what he or she would like to have. Specifically, relative deprivation is the psychological distance between what people perceive they have now and what they feel they can realistically attain. In another sense, relative deprivation refers to a pervasive sense of injustice that develops between the "haves" and "have nots." It also might apply to people who possess sufficient wealth but believe they still need more to maintain a lifestyle similar to others. Relative deprivation is an interesting concept, but it would require empirical documentation to make it a likely explanatory factor for criminal behavior.

Relative deprivation
A concept developed by Gresham Sykes for explaining economic crime. It refers to the perceived discrepancy between what an individual has and what he or she would like to have.

From a psychological perspective, the crimes discussed in this chapter cannot be simply explained by biological needs, material wants, or relative deprivation. Powerful cognitive motivators must also be considered. These cognitive factors are in the form of outcome expectations and the capacity to predict and appreciate future consequences of one's behavior. Furthermore, the cognitive forces may be relatively independent of external reinforcements like tangible rewards or even social and status rewards. Self-reinforcements, including self-rewards and self-punishments, may represent a major motivating factor in many of the crimes discussed in this chapter; that is, there may be intrinsic rewards and self-satisfaction in the successful completion of a crime. This is one reason contemporary researchers have begun to focus on expertise in committing certain crimes, such as burglary or carjacking (Nee, 2015).

Cognitive factors are also extremely important in another sense: They allow the offenders to justify their behavior. A strong theme of this chapter is the tendency of economic offenders—including corporate criminals—to minimize, distort, or deny misconduct or reprehensible behavior. The aforementioned psychological separation from the victim helps them to do this. We expand on these psychological issues of motivation and justification throughout the following pages.

Burglary

Burglary is a crime that often affects large segments of the population and can cause extensive economic and emotional distress to victims. Nevertheless, as noted above, official burglary rates have decreased in recent years. Burglary is defined as the unlawful entry of a structure, with or without force, with intent to commit a felony or theft. Recall that in Chapter 12 we covered the topic of sexual burglaries, which were illegal entries with the intent to commit a sexual crime, most notably rape. Because these offenses are better classified as sex crimes than property crimes for our purposes, they are not reintroduced here except as they apply to burglar typologies to be discussed later in the chapter.

Burglary
The unlawful entry of a structure, with or without force, with intent to commit a felony or minor theft.

The FBI classifies burglary into three categories: (1) forcible entry, (2) unlawful entry where no force is used, and (3) attempted forcible entry. Burglary accounted for 18% of all property crime in 2017 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). Fifty-eight percent of burglaries involved forcible entry, 36% were unlawful entry, and 6% were attempted forcible entry. Most of these (67.2%) were burglaries of residential properties. The average dollar loss per burglary offense was $2,322.

Characteristics of Burglary

As documented in the above data, about one-third of burglaries do *not* involve forced entry; that is, the offenders entered through an unlatched window or unlocked door or used a key

"hidden" in an obvious place, such as under a doormat. Fewer than 10% of the burglaries were *attempts* at forcible entry.

Consistently, year after year, and also as indicated in UCR data, most of the burglaries involve residential property rather than commercial establishments. Approximately two-thirds of all burglaries are residential (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). To be considered residential burglary, the structure entered need not be the house itself. Illegal entry of a garage, shed, or other structure on the premises also constitutes a residential burglary. Burglaries of residences occur more frequently during the daytime, whereas burglaries of businesses and nonresidential property occur mostly at night.

Burglaries are more likely to occur during the warmer months, especially July and August, apparently because people are more likely to be outdoors or away on vacation and are more likely to leave doors and windows open, making their residences vulnerable. Snow and cold weather are deterrents.

An early study by Langer and Miranksy (1983) reveals that a large segment of the population does not take responsibility for burglary prevention. Approximately half of New York City residents questioned admitted they did not lock all their doors when away from home, even if they had been burglarized before. Interestingly, while 66% believed that burglary could be prevented, 61% of these subjects did not use all their locks. They believed that it was the responsibility of others (e.g., the police, the landlord, the building superintendent) to guard the premises, rather than their own personal responsibility. We must be very careful not to blame victims for *any* criminal offenses, however. It is one thing to alert people and make them aware of steps they can take to protect themselves from crime; it is quite another to fault them for not taking the steps. In the above study, those who thought their neighborhoods were unsafe and burglary-prone were less likely to use locks than those who considered their neighborhoods safe and less burglary-prone. Possibly, people in burglary-prone areas are convinced that if someone decides to burglarize their homes, there is not much they can do about it, locks or no locks. Another factor, though, is that good locks and other security devices cost money. If one lives on a tight budget, buying a lock may be seen as a low priority. Even "high-tech" devices—such as home security apps available on cell phones and other electronic devices—do not come free.

Who Commits Burglary?

Like many other criminal offenses, burglary seems to be primarily a crime committed by the young. For example, taking just one year, about 41% of those arrested in 2017 were under 25, with the average age being about 22 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). Approximately 16% were under 18. To some extent, this arrest ratio may reflect the lack of sophistication of younger burglars who, because of their inexperience, are more likely to be detected. However, researchers have noted that, with increasing age, some burglars find they are not as nimble and athletic as they once were. Crawling through small open windows and climbing fences take their toll, and these strenuous activities become more burdensome with age. Thus, many older burglars turn to shoplifting (Cromwell, Olson, & Avary, 1991). Shoplifting—to be discussed again shortly—is considerably easier, less risky, and more cost efficient. Shoplifted items are more easily converted to cash. Furthermore, the criminal penalties are significantly less for shoplifting than they are for burglary.

Burglary is largely a male enterprise, with only 19% of those arrested being females in 2017. Although 67.5% of those arrested in 2017 were white, nonwhites were overrepresented in proportion to their numbers in the general population (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a).

In a study based on self-reported data from convicted burglars, DeLisi et al. (2018) found that they tended to demonstrate an unstable residency characterized by frequent moves.

The research literature in general has revealed that burglars may be classified on a continuum, running from versatility in their offending patterns to primarily a high degree of specialization. DeLisi et al. best sum up this offending continuum when they write: "As a whole, burglar offenders display behaviors consistent with both perspectives as they are more likely to use tobacco, to commit a serious violent offense, to be on probation or parole, and to commit robbery which are suggestive of versatility, and to steal something with a value more than US $50, commit motor vehicle theft, and commit larceny/theft which are suggestive of specialization" (p. 1119).

As noted earlier, about two of every three burglaries are residential, and burglary of residences usually occurs during the daytime and on weekdays. Daytime burglary by juveniles is closely associated with truancy (Scott, 2004). Commercial establishments are usually burglarized late at night and on weekends (Cromwell et al., 1991; Pope, 1977b). This is not surprising, since burglary is a passive crime; the offender selects times and places that will minimize the possibility of an encounter with victims. Almost all *experienced* burglars assert they will not even enter a residence when the occupants are believed to be at home (Cromwell et al., 1991; Nee, 2015). In addition, burglars know that occupants develop predictable patterns regarding the use of discretionary time for the purposes of shopping, errands, or visiting friends or relatives. Individuals who work outside the home during weekdays also show similar patterns on weekends. Parents also usually develop predictable patterns of taking children back and forth to school, nursery programs, and recreational activities.

Of all property crimes, burglary probably offers the greatest probability of success with the least amount of risk. Not only is it a crime without victim contact and probability of identification, but also it does not require weapons. Recall, however, that weapons are involved in most sexual burglaries. Furthermore, the penalties for burglary in which no one is physically harmed usually are less severe than those for robbery, to be covered in the following chapter.

Burglary Cues and Selected Targets

The identification of situational cues is especially important in successful burglary. Nee and Taylor (1988) found that there are at least four broad categories of relevant cues used by experienced residential burglars. They are as follows:

1. *Occupancy cues*, such as letters or newspapers visible in mailbox; motor vehicles present; windows, blinds, and curtains shut or open
2. *Wealth cues*, such as the appearance of the house, the neighborhood, the quality of the landscaping, the make(s) of car(s) driven, and visible furnishings
3. *Layout cues*, such as how easy it would be to gain access to the house or building, as well as escape
4. *Security cues*, such as alarm systems, window locks, and dead bolt locks

Taylor and Nee (1988) designed a classic study that tested the possible differences in identifying these cues between burglars and home owners. The burglars consisted of a group of 15 experienced burglars serving time in Cork Prison in Ireland, and the home owners consisted of 15 Irish home owners. Each subject was requested to explore a simulated environment made up of slides and maps of five different houses. The researchers found that burglars were better able to discern security provisions and were more concerned about escaping successfully from the scene than were home owners. Most surprising, however, was the high amount of agreement between burglars and home owners on which houses were most vulnerable to burglary.

Burglars tend to prefer single-family homes, primarily because they can be entered directly from the street, and because they often have multiple access and escape points (Bernasco, 2006).

Neighborhood residents who are not affiliated with or are isolated from their neighbors (called anonymous environments) are also preferred because the neighbors will less likely be alarmed by unusual or suspicious events (Bernasco, 2006). Corner homes offer an attractive target, as they often many escape routes, have fewer neighbors nearby, and are more difficult for neighbors to watch (Rengert & Groff, 2011). Not surprisingly, burglars are most attracted to homes that do not have a security system or visible security cameras.

Rengert and Groff (2011) note that antiques displayed in a window or somewhere outside are important cues for some burglars. Antiques indicate that the residents are probably collectors, and burglars often assume that they may find valuable coins, stamps, old guns, and other collectibles inside the house.

Table 14–2 provides NCVS data on burglary and occupied versus unoccupied homes at different times of the day. Unless they are entering the home to commit a violent crime or to intimidate their victims, burglars not surprisingly prefer to enter an unoccupied home. Still, as indicated in the table, nighttime burglaries occur with some regularity while victims are at home. Burglars have a number of strategies for determining if a targeted house is unoccupied. One strategy, for example, is surveying funeral notices published in newspapers (Rengert & Groff, 2011). "Burglars realize that this is a time when family and friends of the deceased are likely to be at the funeral" (Rengert & Groff, 2011, p. 161). Another method is gathering information about the targeted house while performing a legitimate occupation, such as landscaping and lawn care, sales, or cable television installation. Another method is for the burglar to check Facebook or other online networking portals. Many people post that they are on vacation or are planning to go on vacation, often listing the exact dates. (Interestingly, Facebook postings have worked in the other direction as well: a group of juveniles bragged about their burglarizing exploits on Facebook, and even began posting where they would strike next. Police were waiting for them and caught them in the act.)

Some burglars simply knock on the door. If someone answers the door, they use the excuse that they were looking for directions, were out of gas, or are having car problems. They may also glance around the inside of the house, given the opportunity, to assess whether there are likely to be items worth taking in the future. Leaving the garage door of an attached garage open with no vehicle in sight is a clear invitation to a burglar, but we stress that the burglary, if it occurs, in not the fault of the victim.

Repeat burglary
Refers to the observation that some burglars burglarize the same place repeatedly.

Some burglars may burglarize the very same place again, or even repeatedly, in a pattern called **repeat burglary**. Burglars who participate in repeat burglary do it because of the efficiency in time, planning, and risk involved (Farrell, Phillips, & Pease, 1995). Residential locations are especially vulnerable because residents do not necessarily change the layout or install protective electronic devices such as alarms or cameras to discourage burglars after being burglarized. In other words, the offender knows the layout of the target well, was successful the first time, recognizes no additional protective devices were added, and may even have seen valuables the first time around that prompted a return visit.

TABLE 14–2 Time of Occurrence of Household Burglaries, by Presence of Household Member, 2003–2007

	Household Member Not Present		Household Member Present	
Time of Day	**Average Annual Number**	**Percent**	**Average Annual Number**	**Percent**
Total	2,683,270	100.0	1,021,430	100.0
Daytime (6 a.m.–6 p.m.)	1,159,450	48.2	336,340	32.9
Nighttime (6 p.m.–6 a.m.)	697,940	26.0	626,150	61.3
Not Known	825,880	30.8	58,940	5.8

Source: Catalano, S. M. (2010). *Victimization during household burglary*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, p. 6.

Recent research is finding that many amateur burglars often select residences in locations *near* their previous successful burglary, commonly referred to as the **near-repeat burglary** (Nobles, Ward, & Tillyer, 2016). Interestingly, Nobles et al. note the near-repeat phenomenon has also been observed in other crimes, including motor vehicle theft (Lockwood, 2012), gun violence (Wells, Wu, & Ye, 2012), robbery (Youstin et al., 2011), and arson (Grubb & Nobles, 2016). Burglars—especially amateur ones—tend to limit themselves to targeting neighborhoods similar to their own (Chamberlain & Boggess, 2016). "Indeed, the broader context within which an offender's neighborhood is located both constrains and conditions offender decision-making, indicating that the *characteristics* of an offender's home neighborhood play a central role in determining which neighborhoods are ultimately targeted for crime" (Chamberlain & Boggess, 2016, p. 898). Furthermore, recent research by van Sleeuwen, Ruiter, and Menting (2018) suggests that near-repeat offenders not only return to the same location or general neighborhood but tend to target the area on the exact same weekend day or weekday "with only a zero- to two-hour difference between the offense time" (p. 559).

Near-repeat burglary
Tendency of some burglars to repeat their offenses close to but not in same locations where previous offenses occurred.

Burglars want to minimize the likelihood of detection and usually target neighborhoods where the composition of residents is ethnically diverse and economically disadvantaged, and residents are perceived to have lower levels of social cohesion (Chamberlain & Boggess, 2016; Nobles et al., 2016). The degree of diversity is important because the burglar is more likely to remain anonymous while moving around within the neighborhood. On the other hand, the offender is more likely to stand out in the wealthy, presumably socially cohesive, and ethnically homogenous neighborhoods. For example, a white burglar would stand out in a neighborhood comprised primarily of economically advantaged black residents. Some burglars select neighborhoods they believe to be disadvantaged, thinking that the residents in these neighborhoods cannot be assured of efficient law enforcement response or themselves take protective actions to limit future burglaries. As stated by Nobles and his colleagues (2016), "these neighborhoods may not only be marked as good opportunities for crime, but limited economic resources make forming community ties and effecting informal social control difficult" (p. 732). Burglars also take notice of the number of signs advertising places "for rent or "for sale" indicating there are fewer long-tenured residents to form community ties, intervene, or detect possible criminal actions.

Burglar Cognitive Processes

Bennett and Wright (1984) conducted an extensive three-year project involving convicted burglars confined in various prisons throughout southern England. The study is about 40 years old, but it is one of the few qualitative studies that focused on the cognitions of the burglars themselves through semistructured interviews. The researchers' primary interest was to learn the decision-making processes and perceptions of the residential burglars at the time of the crime. Although a majority of the burglars had committed a variety of other economic crimes, almost all of them considered burglary their main criminal activity. Therefore, most of them probably qualify as professionals rather than amateurs.

Bennett and Wright (1984) discovered that almost all the burglaries were planned. Many other studies have arrived at the same conclusion (Vaughn, DeLisi, Beaver, & Howard, 2008). Very few were the result of spur-of-the-moment decisions, nor were there any constant or irrepressible urges to burglarize. More than likely, though, even those burglaries that appeared to be impulsive or opportunity-driven are probably the result of well-learned cognitive scripts. As described in Chapter 5, **Cognitive scripts** are mental images and plans of how one will act and react in certain situations. The more one rehearses these scripts, behaviorally and mentally, the more habitual they become under similar conditions.

Cognitive scripts
Mental images of how one feels he or she should act in a variety of situations.

The two main aspects that went into the planning of burglars in the Bennett and Wright (1984) investigation were the situational cues of surveillability and occupancy. Surveillability cues were related to the amount of cover or openness around the house, whether it was overlooked by neighboring houses, the availability of access to the rear, and the presence or proximity of neighbors. Occupancy cues were similar to the ones reported by Nee and Taylor (1988), such as a car in the driveway, lights on in the house, the presence of mail, whether the walks were shoveled or the lawn was cut, and so forth. Experienced burglars said that "occupancy proxies" were the major deterrents in attempts to burglarize. Specifically, burglar alarms and dogs were extremely important in the prevention of burglary. This was also a consistent finding of Cromwell et al. (1991). In fact, Cromwell and colleagues found that the dog does not have to be a large one, and it does not have to be a terrifying breed. Any dog will do, since a large one poses a physical threat, and the small dog will be noisy. Cats do not seem to qualify as good property protectors.

Cromwell and his associates also found that dead bolts caused burglars considerable difficulty in entry, even though some of the experienced burglars claimed such locks would not be any problem. However, Cromwell and colleagues not only obtained self-report data from experienced burglars but also had them demonstrate their claims. Security locks and dead bolts caused all kinds of trouble, even for highly experienced burglars—and even though they had maintained that the locks would not be a deterrent. Much of the research on burglary, on the other hand, finds that increased police patrols and other such strategies have very little influence on decisions to burglarize, or on its success rate. This is primarily because the patrols cannot last indefinitely, and police cannot be everywhere at once. However, curious neighbors—those always peeking out their windows or finding yard chores to do when there is different activity next door—do tend to be strong deterrents for burglars. This observation is supported by both experienced burglars and crime statistics. Expensive electronic devices and cameras may discourage some burglars, but the more skillful ones often develop strategies that defeat these detection systems.

Research on Occupancy Cues Research data suggest that, although burglary is a "planned" behavior, burglars identify a large number of potential targets and then select the most vulnerable. Cromwell and his colleagues caution, however, that even though a high percentage of burglars make carefully planned, highly rational decisions based on a detailed evaluation of environmental cues, the critical factor seems to be finding the right opportunity from an array of potential targets. This is related to the expertise required to be a successful burglar (Nee, 2015). Burglary generally is not an impulsive crime, but it usually isn't planned to precise detail either. For example, an offender may target a specific house at a particular time. On the day of the planned burglary, the homeowner is unexpectedly home; the burglar then selects a different target. There is considerable research showing that cues indicating occupancy of the home often act as a deterrent, thus reducing the risk of burglary victimization (Snook, Dhami, & Kavanagh, 2011). There is also contemporary research evidence indicating that professional burglars use less, but more relevant information about their targets than do amateur or novice burglars, who are influenced by irrelevant information (Gracia-Retamero & Dhami, 2009); that is, professional burglars make their decisions to burglarize a residence on only one or two cues of occupancy based on their previous experience. For example, if no car is parked outside and the curtains are closed at ground level, these two cues would indicate to the professional the residence is unoccupied. In fact, Snook et al. (2011) found that "vehicle cue" was the most important for burglars in deciding occupancy. Essentially, it seems that professionals do not clutter their minds with complicated strategies compared to novices who tend to rely on more cognitively complex strategies. As emphasized by Snook et al. (2011), "this growing body of research on burglars' decision making appears to contradict criminological theories of

rational choice that portray offenders as employing compensatory decision strategies that weigh and integrate information" (p. 323). Skillful burglars apparently use simple, fast, and frugal decisions based on previous experiences.

Entry Strategies

Cromwell et al. (1991) found in their systematic study of experienced burglars that one of the most popular entry methods was through sliding glass patio doors. Burglars said that these doors are easily popped out of their sliding tracks by hand or with aid of a crowbar or screwdriver. Entry therefore is quick and noiseless. Another common method is to remove, cut, or gently break a windowpane and crawl through the open window. A skillful burglar will carefully remove the pane, crawl through, and then replace the pane in a professional manner. Other commonly preferred methods for residential burglary include forcing the rear door open with a pry tool or kicking it down, or opening the garage door and forcing open the door between the garage and the house.

A more modern entry method for professional burglars is to use a bump key. Most doors can be opened with a bump key—usually made of brass—which fits into the keyway of the lock. Bumping is a method of pin manipulation within the lock by using a key made specifically designed for most commonly used door locks; that is, one bump key is usually sufficient for unlocking a majority of the locks made by a certain manufacturer. Although bump keys are produced for certified locksmiths, a competent professional burglar can purchase online a set of eleven bump keys that fit most of all the commonly used locks. In some cases, a bump hammer must also be purchased. Bump keys allow burglars to enter a house without any signs of damage or signs of entry, and it may be days before anything is noticed missing. An electronic keypad would be one way to deter this method of illegal entry. Once in the house, burglars check easy escape routes in case someone arrives home. Then they usually go the master bedroom where many valuables are located. As pointed out by Rengert and Groff (2011), the master bedroom also provides a good container for carrying valuables—the pillowcase. After the bedroom, the burglar often turns his or her attention to the dining area, looking for silverware, candlesticks, and silver service. Kitchens are usually avoided. If available, a study or home office is a good place to locate stamp and coin collections as well as easily transported electronics.

How Far Do Burglars Travel?

National research data on arrested burglars in the United States indicate that a large proportion commit the offense near their own residence. Both classic and more recent research supports this. The Santa Clara Criminal Justice Pilot Program (1972) found that over one-half of the apprehended offenders traveled no more than a mile from their own home to commit the offenses. In a study of serial burglars who operated in a small town in southern England, Barker (2000) found that these offenders tended to live surprisingly close to the areas they burglarized. Barker discovered, however, that the mean home-to-offense distance increased during the later stages of burglary. For example, the average home-to-first-offense distance was 2.16 kilometers, the average distance from home to the middle offense in the series was 3.57 kilometers, and the average distance from home to the last offense in the series was 5.52 kilometers. It is difficult to generalize from these data, however, because apprehended burglars are presumably less skillful and thus more detectable than burglars who succeed. It is possible that successful burglars operate farther away from home. However, in general, burglars are probably less likely to travel distances because they are less familiar with unknown and uncharted territory. As pointed out previously, amateur burglars select neighborhoods similar to their own and do not usually travel far to reach their target.

Eskridge (1983) found that those who burglarized commercial establishments were more willing to travel much greater distances. Interestingly, Bennell and Jones (2005) found that both commercial and residential burglars select distinct geographical areas to commit their crimes, and they appear to return to those selected areas until they have exhausted the suitable targets. Examination of the geographical patterns of burglars is an important task undertaken by geographical profilers, discussed in Chapter 10, particularly in the case of multiple burglaries that occur in a given community.

Gender Differences in Methods and Patterns

Although approximately 20% of persons arrested for burglary in 2017 were female (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a), very few studies have examined the characteristics of female burglars. Sanders, Kuhns, and Blevins (2017) collected survey data from male and female inmates in state prisons in three states who were convicted of burglary. Overall, 1,513 inmates participated in the survey (1,140 men and 373 women). Based on answers to the survey, the researchers were able to divide the group into deliberate and impulsive burglars. The impulsive burglars indicated they usually acted on the spur of the moment when deciding to commit a burglary. The deliberate group, on the other hand, indicated they planned the burglary.

Sanders and her colleagues found that female burglars tended to be more impulsive and committed the crime primarily to support a drug habit. Deliberate burglars tended to be male and were focused on obtaining cash, primarily to pay living expenses or purchase items such as clothes or shoes. Sanders et al. (2017) also emphasize the point that "this study uses information collected from incarcerated burglars only; burglars who are not incarcerated, or who have not been caught, may have different motivations and/or different target selection and burglary techniques" (p. 1566).

In their early study of both male and female burglars, Decker, Wright, Redfern, and Smith (1993) found that the offending patterns of female burglars were very similar to those of males. One major exception was that the men often stole cars in addition to burglarizing residences or commercial establishments, whereas the women did not. Decker and his colleagues found that they could divide the female burglars into two major groups: accomplices and partners. Accomplices committed the burglary because of their subservience to others—usually men—during their burglaries. Partners, on the other hand, participated as equals in the commission of burglary. Although some of the women co-offended with men, they did not take orders from them.

Property Taken and Disposed

The items that burglars usually take from homes are jewelry, gold, valuable household ornaments, stamp and coin collections, and computers—now more likely to be laptops and I-phones—followed by tools (Schneider, 2005; Thompson, 2017; Walters et al., 2013). In recent years, the plethora of portable electronic devices, such as mobile phones, wireless headphones, air pods, laptops, and storage drives, which an offender can trade for cash or drugs, are popular in burglary and robbery. Electronic devices found in many homes have been attractive targets. Handbags and briefcases, purses/wallets, credit/debit cards, and cash are popular in burglary and robbery incidents (Thompson, 2017). In the United States, about 232,400 guns are stolen each year during residential burglaries (Langton, 2012). Approximately 80% of the stolen guns are never recovered. Non-garden-type power tools are especially popular, including cordless drills, saws, snap-on tools, and generators. Most recently, prescription medications and even diabetic test strips are in high demand. Burglars usually do not spend time looking for cash, unless they suspect that substantial

quantities are hidden somewhere in the house. Garden tools that are in good shape, such as mowers, trimmers, and hedge cutters, may be taken if the burglar has readily available transportation. Credit cards and wallets have not traditionally been sought by burglars, but some today intend to commit identity fraud or—more likely—sell these items to someone who plans to do. (See Table 14–3 for examples of property stolen in 2017.)

Being easy to sell is the most common reason provided for stealing certain items (Schneider, 2005). Some very expensive items, such as valuable paintings, may be avoided because they may be very difficult to sell. Ease in carrying or removing the item is the second reason for stealing it.

Amateur burglars usually take money or personal items that they need, whereas the professional takes items with excellent resale value (Nee, 2015; Vetter & Silverman, 1978). The professional usually has access to a **fence**, whereas the amateur rarely has that kind of contact. Amateurs usually sell their stolen items to pawn shops or friends. A fence, an integral component in the professional burglary cycle, is a person who knowingly buys stolen merchandise for the purpose of resale. As indicated above, wallets have become saleable items highly desired by identity thieves who do not themselves want to commit burglary (National Center for White Collar Crime, 2015).

Fence
An individual who accepts stolen goods and resells them.

Cromwell et al.'s (1991) research raises serious questions about the extent to which professional fences are used today, however. In their investigation of experienced burglars operating in an urban Texas metropolitan area of 250,000, they found considerable diversity in the channels through which stolen property was distributed. Some burglars sold their knowingly stolen property to pawnshops, others to friends and acquaintances, and still others traded their property for drugs. Some resold the merchandise to legitimate businesses or strangers. The researchers, therefore, suggest that the "professional fence may have been displaced by a more diverse and readily accessed market for stolen property" (p. 73). Stolen property today, for example, is often disposed of via Internet sites, and purchasers are often not aware that the items were obtained illegally. It is not unusual for persons reporting theft of jewelry to police to be told to check pawnshops, flea markets, and garage sales in their vicinity.

Schneider (2005) suggests that selling stolen property to handlers or fences is still the preferred method for disposing of merchandise acquired through burglary, especially by persistent or professional burglars. After fences, the second choice was to sell to friends or trade the stolen items for drugs. In some instances, the burglar keeps the stolen property for himself or herself, but this choice increases the chances of being detected.

TABLE 14–3 Value of Property Stolen and Recovered, 2017

	Value of Property		
Type of Property	**Stolen (In Dollars)**	**Recovered (In Dollars)**	**Percent Recovered**
Total	13,505,933,310	3,938,510,699	29.2
Currency, notes, and so on	1,366,020,962	26,879,881	2.0
Jewelry and precious metals	1,213,092,966	43,196,761	3.6
Clothing and furs	376,921,356	37,029,432	9.8
Locally stolen motor vehicles	5,582,733,246	3,289,374,602	59.1
Office equipment	451,608,653	24,186,462	5.4
Televisions, radios, stereos, and so on	394,508,873	24,585,471	6.2
Firearms	151,910,488	22,230,568	14.6
Household goods	266,677,409	10,389,743	3.9
Consumable goods	134,259,875	13,123,523	9.8
Livestock	18,251,205	2,755,916	15.1
Miscellaneous	3,569,940,275	444,753,345	12.5

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (2018a). *Crime in the United States, 2017*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Motives

As you might expect, the motives for burglary are varied, but the primary factor for professionals is undoubtedly monetary gain. When performed competently, burglary is a lucrative business with low risks and with monetary rewards far surpassing those the burglar might earn at legitimate work. In addition, burglars make a rough estimation on whether the expected financial gain outweighs the effort and the risk of detection (Bernasco, 2006; Nee, 2015). As noted earlier, however, other researchers indicate that the rational choice argument relative to burglary is overstated (Snook et al., 2011). It appears that, with respect to this issue, far more research is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

David (1974) learned that a husband-and-wife team he interviewed made, on the average, $400 to $500 a day; a solitary offender in his sample made about $500 per week. These figures will obviously be substantially higher in today's market. Many professionals also conceive of their behavior as a challenging skill to be continually developed and refined. Some even said they get a "rush" of excitement during the planning and commission of the crime, especially if they are good at it (Cromwell et al., 1991). In this sense, burglary is highly adaptive and represents an instrumental behavior supported by strong reinforcement. For many burglars, however, a simple conclusion that they participate in their crimes as their sole profession or lucrative business may be unwarranted. A vast majority of burglary is committed not out of necessity but rather to supplement the offenders' incomes and to improve their quality of life (Rengert & Wasilchick, 1985). The income gained from burglary enables the offender to buy drugs, alcohol, expensive goods, and, more broadly, to be able "to party." Alternatively, it may be used, like the profits from other economic crimes, to finance a college education. Subsistence needs are often met through other sources of income, such as a regular job.

The professional burglar, then, is primarily motivated by money but also by self-satisfaction and accomplishment. When self-satisfaction and self-reinforcement are conditioned on certain accomplishments, people are motivated to expend the effort needed to attain the desired goal, perhaps even independently of monetary gain. Walsh (1980), for example, emphasized the expressive and psychological components of burglary. He posited that, for some burglars, the challenge of the crime is far more rewarding than the material reward. Based on interviews with victims and offenders, Walsh identified three kinds of burglars for whom the material reward was not dominant, calling them **expressive burglars**: (1) *the feral threat*, (2) *the riddlesmith*, and (3) *the dominator*. Feral burglars engage in destructive, malicious vandalism during the break-in by spilling things, breaking glass, smashing objects, and urinating and defecating in various areas throughout the house. These burglars may slash the clothing in the closets and vandalize vehicles in the garage. Riddlesmiths, on the other hand, try to demonstrate their technical skill to the victims and investigators by setting up puzzles, mysteries, and booby traps throughout the house. Riddlesmiths are inventive in the way they cause damage, and messages may be left on walls, floors, and mirrors. Dominators enjoy threatening or frightening victims and therefore break into homes that are occupied.

Expressive burglars
Burglars who take considerable pride in developing ingenious techniques and skills for successful burglary.

Most burglars are not expressive burglars. For those who are, all three types identified by Walsh are interested in communicating to burglarized victims through a particular style or method of operating. Thus, a burglar who takes great pride in developing ingenious techniques and stumping police is even more likely to continue the illegal conduct. While external reinforcements (tangible rewards) are important, internal reinforcement may be a very powerful motivating and regulating factor. Walsh's study represents an early attempt at formulating a burglar typology. Below are more contemporary approaches.

Burglar Typologies

As mentioned in earlier chapters, researchers often propose typologies of various offenders both for purposes of preventing and solving crimes and for purposes of treating offenders. In previous chapters we covered typologies of batterers, serial murderers, mass murderers, rapists, and child sex offenders. Although typologies have limitations (e.g., offenders rarely fit neatly into one category), they can offer insight into offending behaviors as well as possible traits shared by offenders.

Vaughn et al. (2008), using a sample of 456 adult career criminals, have empirically identified four classes of burglars: (1) young versatile, (2) vagrant, (3) drug-oriented, and (4) sexual predators. This classification system reveals the underlying motives and behaviors of burglars, some of whom may be considered dangerous. The first group, by far the most common (60%), was young and had committed a variety of offenses. They appear to represent the types of burglars we have described thus far, such as by planning their offenses and having specific ways to dispose of the stolen property. The second type, the vagrant, made up 22% of the sample; they were often charged with various offenses primarily stemming from their transient, vagabond status. They appeared to burglarize primarily for material gain, especially during the winter months. The researchers speculated that many of these burglars may have mental disorders and lack social skills for gaining employment. The drug-oriented group, consisting of 15% of the sample, had numerous drug possession and drug-trafficking offenses. They also were likely to carry weapons for protection. In most instances, these offenders tended to burglarize to support their drug habit.

The fourth group, the sexual predator burglars, comprises the sexual burglars discussed in Chapter 12. (See Box 12–3 on that topic.) In Vaughn et al.'s study they constituted 6% of the sample, and they were the most violent. This group had a long criminal career, committing an assortment of offenses, including aggravated assault, robbery, rape, and prostitution/solicitation. According to Vaughn et al. (2008), the burglaries committed by this group were at least partially motivated by sexual compulsion and thrills associated with entering dwellings of strangers. In some cases, these offenders were also motivated to sexually assault a person they had been stalking. Although this group represented only a small portion of the total sample, they also accounted for a large majority of the violence reported in burglary, and probably many of the reported home invasions. We will cover home invasions shortly.

Fox and Farrington (2012) developed a typology for burglary that was based on analyzing the crime scene more than the motivations of the offenders, although motivations were sometimes inferred. To conduct their research, they examined files of 405 solved burglary cases in one county of Florida between 2008 and 2009. Their subsequent Statistical Patterns of Offending Typology (SPOT) for burglary identified four offense styles: the opportunistic, the organized, disorganized, and the interpersonal. Each style was accompanied by a description of the offender most likely to characterize it. In the opportunistic style, the crime was not planned, whereas in the organized style the perpetrator came equipped with tools and appeared to be very systematic in his or her approach. The burglary scene was left clean. In the disorganized style, entry was forced and the scene was in disarray. The interpersonal style involved harming or trying to harm someone in an occupied home. In later research, Fox and Harrington (2015) evaluated the usefulness of this four-category profile in a careful experimental study comparing one police agency that used the profile to solve burglaries with three police agencies that did not. During a one-year follow-up, the agency using the profile had a significant increase in burglary arrests compared with departments that did not use the profile. Table 14–4 summarizes key features of the Fox and Harrington and Vaughn et al. typologies.

These two research-based typologies will likely stimulate considerable research on types of burglary and burglars in the future. Vaughn et al.'s (2008) approach offers a sound

TABLE 14–4 Key Features of Two Different Burglar Typologies

Vaughn et al. (2008)
• Sample: 456 adult career criminals, self-reporting their criminal history.
• Young versatile; vagrant; drug-oriented; sexual predator.
• Focused on motivations for each type (e.g., excitement, material gain, support drug habit, sexual satisfaction).
• Most useful for psychological treatment of burglars, but not sufficiently tested.
Fox and Farrington (2012, 2015)
• Sample: 405 files of convicted burglars.
• Opportunistic, organized, disorganized, interpersonal.
• Focused on analysis of behaviors and information from crime scene.
• Most useful for offender profiling to aid law enforcement, but results are preliminary.

explanation for the various motivations for some forms of burglary. Fox and Farrington's (2015) approach relies less on motivations, but it can offer insight on the offender's behavior and possible traits from analysis of the crime scene itself. Their contribution is more pertinent to offender profiling to solve crimes than to psychological treatment of offenders. Both groups of researchers were careful about noting limitations of their work. Vaughn et al. emphasized that their sample was characterized by extensive criminal careers and may not be entirely representative of professional or amateur burglars who restrict their criminal activity to burglary as a way of financial survival. Fox and Farrington (2015) observed that factors other than the profile they tested may have accounted for the higher arrest rates in the police department trained in SPOT. Nevertheless, the findings suggest that future research on the validity of burglar typologies is warranted.

Psychological Impact of Burglary

The home is a sanctuary: "It is a special place that is central to our daily lives, a place that is at the beginning and end of most of our journeys; it is chosen and personalized" (Merry & Hansent, 2000, p. 36). The manner in which homes are decorated and arranged and the objects within them represent important aspects of our lives and personalities. When our homes are burglarized, therefore, it is an invasion of our intimate space and an attack on our identity, physically and symbolically. Thus, though we may chuckle at the image of the burglar who fell asleep in the home he was burglarizing—an image widely circulated on the Internet—we know that the experience was unsettling for the homeowners.

Some victims describe burglary as a rape of their home, especially when the burglar has disturbed personal photographs, letters, and diaries, leaving the feeling of having been violated or at least "touched" by the intruder (Merry & Hansent, 2000). The distress levels experienced by victims are often more pronounced when the invasion extends to private areas, such as bedrooms, closets, chests-of-drawers, bathrooms, and desks. In addition, cell phones, tablets, laptops, and other electronic devices often contain a wealth of information, including data (photos) that have sentimental value (Thompson, 2017). "Misuse of confidential data may also mean the victim experiences further crime as a result of the initial incident, for example, identity theft" (Thompson, 2017, p. 280).

The invasion also endangers the victims' sense of control and threatens their ability to protect their own personal territory. Many victims, after being burglarized, install security systems such as video cameras, increase and improve the locks, buy dogs, or even move to new homes if they are able to do so. Wollinger (2017) found that nearly 60% of burglary victims did invest in security equipment after the incident. Others, though, no less traumatized, are unable to afford these changes. Overall, the psychological fallout from a burglary can be substantial for many victims and can continue for many years. In a study of psychological reactions of burglary victims, Chung et al. (2014) discovered that nearly half the

victims showed behavioral characteristics of posttraumatic stress disorder that lasted more than a year.

For some burglars (e.g., the expressive burglars described by Walsh, 1980), their actions are intended to produce some response from the victim. In other words, they specifically tailor their styles (or signatures) to convey messages to victims and investigators, hoping to induce strong emotional reactions from the victims. The emotional reactions of burglarized victims often run the gamut from anger and depression to fear and anxiety (Brown & Harris, 1989). In addition, the individual style used by the offender probably reflects something about his character and personality. According to Merry and Hansent (2000), this aspect is referred to as the interpersonal dimension of the crime. It is suggested, therefore, that the victim's feelings of fear and vulnerability are psychological losses that are translated into gains for the offender. In this sense, the burglar gains materially and psychologically from the crime. The interpersonal aspects of the burglary are areas that provide considerable potential for burglary profiling in future research. As noted above, Fox and Farrington (2012) identified the interpersonal style with burglars who caused direct harm to their victims.

Home Invasions

In about 28% of residential burglaries, a member of the household is present (Catalano, 2010). These cases are often called **home invasions**, which refers to any crime committed by an individual unlawfully entering a residence while someone is home. It should be noted that home invasion is not a separate crime category in the UCR. In that database, a home invasion would be counted as a burglary or, more likely, as one of the four violent crimes, depending upon which was the most serious. For example, if a home invader enters the home while everyone is asleep and departs with electronic equipment, this would be a burglary in the UCR. If the home invader entered the home and seriously assaulted the home owner, it would be counted as an aggravated assault. It should be emphasized, though, that even when someone is home, physical harm occurs in about 20% of the situations, and it is typically in the form of simple, not aggravated assault (Catalano, 2010). A study by Gordon et al. (2007) found that the most frequently reported nighttime fear of children and adolescents was a home invasion or night intruder.

Home invasions
Crimes committed by someone illegally entering a residence while someone is at home.

Home invasion has also been used to "describe a situation where an offender forcibly enters an occupied residence with the specific intent of robbing or harming those inside" (Catalano, 2010, p. 2). In some situations, a household member may become a target either to "settle a score" or because the offender knows the person is vulnerable, such as persons with disabilities or older adults. The two most common home invasions in which a homicide results involve drug rip-offs and robberies of older adults for money and property (Sorensen, Bonner, Visconte, Vigen, & Woods, 2015). In other cases, the offender enters the residence mistakenly believing no one is home, or the household member returns home while a burglary is in process. It is perhaps misleading to refer to these last cases as home invasions, because the perpetrators did not enter the premises with the intent to do harm to the residents.

As noted above, roughly 20% of household burglaries result in violent victimization when the resident was at home, and simple assault was the most common form of violence in these cases. In many of these victimization cases, the burglar was a relative or intimate (current or former) (Catalano, 2010). About a third of the time, the offender was a stranger. Research to date has not allowed us to provide detailed information about the motivations of the burglars whose crimes qualify as home invasions. This is because data on home invasions have been gathered from the National Crime Victimization Survey, which interviews victims about their experiences and is not designed to determine offender motivation or intent for entering an occupied household.

Larceny and Motor Vehicle Theft

McCaghy (1980) refers to the larceny-theft category as a "garbage can" because it is heterogeneous and hard to classify. Larceny-theft is defined as the "unlawful taking, carrying, leading, or riding away of property from the possession or constructive possession of another" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1997, p. 430). It differs from burglary in that it does not involve unlawful entry. Larceny includes pickpocketing, purse snatching, shoplifting (which is discussed in a separate section), stealing from vending machines or from motor vehicles, and theft of property left outdoors (bicycles, pedigreed dogs, lawn mowers), and so on. The larceny-theft category does not include identity theft or fraud, each of which is discussed in a separate section later in the chapter. The larceny-theft offenses in the United States during 2017 accounted for 71.7% of the property crime total (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). Almost 27% of larceny-thefts were thefts from motor vehicles. (See Figure 14–1.)

Motor Vehicle Theft

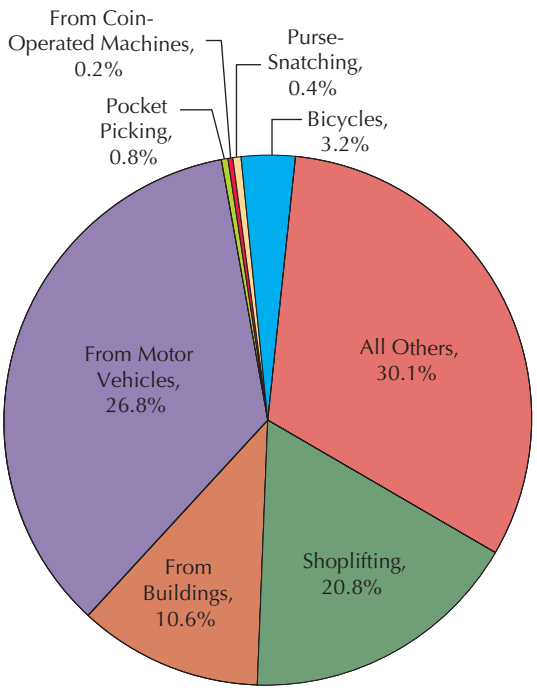
Motor vehicle theft is defined as the theft or attempted theft of a motor vehicle, including the stealing of automobiles, trucks, buses, motorcycles, motor scooters, and snowmobiles. The taking of a motor vehicle for temporary use by persons having lawful access is excluded from the definition (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a).

Motor vehicle manufacturers have developed effective and highly sophisticated ways of preventing theft in recent years, making it increasingly difficult for thieves to steal the vehicle by traditional means. Offenders have adapted to these changes by seeking out more effective ways of obtaining keys for the vehicles (Copes & Cherbonneau, 2006). Consequently, there has been a growth in the prevalence of auto theft involving keys (Copes & Cherbonneau, 2006). In addition, obtaining keys minimizes damage done to the vehicle, which will ultimately increase its resale value. Some offenders go to great lengths to steal, find, or manipulate the keys from owners. Others are becoming skillful at manufacturing matching keys themselves. In recent years, most car manufacturers have developed electronic "key" devices for opening and starting cars.

FIGURE 14–1

Larceny-Theft Percent Distribution, 2017

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (2018a). *Crime in the United States, 2017*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.



Jacobs and Cherbonneau (2017) conducted an informative study on the decision-making processes of car thieves. The researchers focused on how the thieves managed their "nerves" before and during the crime. According to Jacobs and Cherbonneau, "Nervousness...affects cognition, judgment, and performance and must be managed for crime to succeed" (p. 630). Data were collected through in-depth, semistructured interviews with 35 active car thieves recruited from the streets of a large midwestern U.S. city. The recruitment was accomplished through a chain-referral method spearheaded by an indigenous fieldworker who was adept at identifying respondents who would be suitable for the study. Respondents must have "(1) committed at least one auto theft in the month prior to be being interviewed, (2) committed five or more auto thefts in their lives, and (3) considered themselves to be actively involved in auto theft" (p. 621).

Jacobs and Cherbonneau discovered that the cognitive tactics of "nerve management" most often used by auto thieves fell into five categories: (1) self-medication, (2) shunting, (3) fatalism, (4) smoothness, and (5) lens widening. In reference to **self-medication**, the respondents indicated that alcohol and marijuana was most commonly used to fortify their nerves. Harder drugs, such as cocaine, amphetamines, heroin, or phencyclidine (PCPs), were not commonly used as a tactic for nerve management, as they often produced the opposite effects of what was needed to commit the crime successfully. **Shunting** refers to pushing out of one's mind fear and the possibility of failure. In other words, you don't think about how things could go wrong. You convince yourself that things are going to be fine. **Fatalism** is a tactic where the offender fully realizes that something may go wrong but—with a deep sigh—takes the risk anyway, because it needs to get done in order to have things you don't have. The offender embraces "whatever will be, will be," during the commission of the theft. The tactic **smoothness** is based on the degree of skill and experience the offender has. The offender who has considerable experience in stealing cars might say to himself, "I've been doing this all my life. Why would I be nervous or scared now?" **Lens widening** refers to planning before the theft, such as planning escape routes, what happens if the police notice the incident, or how they plan to deal with victim resistance.

Jacobs and Cherbonneau conclude that these offender tactics indicate that motor vehicle theft is often not an impulsive act for most professional car thieves. Rather, it is a conscious, intentional, and controlled act that includes considerable nerve management.

CARJACKING. A distinct form of motor vehicle theft is **carjacking**, the completed or attempted theft in which a motor vehicle is taken by force or threat of force (Klaus, 1999). This form of car theft certainly requires lots of nerve management. Other motor vehicle theft does not involve the use of force or threat of force against the occupants of the vehicle. The intent of most carjackers is not to harm the occupant, however, and they typically choose individuals who are unlikely to put up a fight. It is believed that most carjackings are done to obtain the vehicle and sell it as quickly as possible—therefore, selecting the target involves judging its potential value and disposability (Topalli, Jacques, & Wright, 2015). Sometimes, carjacking is done to enable the perpetrator to obtain transportation, and the driver is released. At other times the driver is forced to remain in the car, in which case the person becomes a hostage. A recent example of the latter situation is the infamous Boston Marathon bombing discussed in Chapter 11, which was perpetrated by the Tsarnaev brothers in 2013. After the bombs were detonated and the brothers were eluding police, they took a vehicle with the driver still in it. The driver testified at trial that he spent a harrowing 90 minutes before seeing a chance to escape while one brother had entered a convenience store.

Carjacking
The completed or attempted theft in which a motor vehicle is taken by force or threat of force.

On average, roughly 38,000 carjacking incidents occur each year in the United States (Klaus, 2004; Lersch, 2017). Approximately a dozen homicides are associated with these carjackings each year; in other words, the driver or a passenger is killed. Though such murders

are very rare, in about three-fourths of carjackings the occupants face an armed offender or offenders (Klaus, 2004). In most instances, the carjacker uses a firearm. Victimization surveys indicate that the victim resisted the carjacker in two-thirds of the incidents, which resulted in about 9% of the victims receiving serious injury (e.g., gunshot or knife wounds, broken bones, or internal injuries).

Some research suggests that men tend to be victims of carjacking more than women, blacks more than whites, and Hispanics more than non-Hispanics (Klaus, 2004). This may be because carjackings are highly concentrated in particular areas and at particular times. Victimization rates are highest in urban areas, and most incidents occur between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. (Lersch, 2017). Similar to burglary, motor vehicle theft and carjackings are facilitated by social disorganization factors, such as economic deprivation, low social cohesiveness, instability, and residents who do not enact social control measures (Suresh & Tewksbury, 2013). They occur in parking lots and garages (24%) or in an open area, such as on the street or near public transportation (bus, subway, train station, or airport) (44%). Males committed 93% of the carjackings, while groups involving both males and females committed 3%. Females committed about 3% of the incidents.

Although the offense is violent, it appears to contain some elements of short-term planning and decision making and often is directed more at the object (the vehicle) than the person (Jacobs, Topalli, & Wright, 2003). After extensively reviewing literature on this crime, Topalli et al. (2015) concluded that successful carjacking required considerable skill on the part of the offender. They noted that perceptual skills were needed in selecting the appropriate target and procedural skills needed in commandeering the vehicle with minimum of physical force. However, they also note that these skills may be affected by pressures under which the carjackers operate. For example, offenders desperate for money may not use their skills effectively.

Jacobs et al. (2003) interviewed 28 active carjackers who had committed two or more carjackings in the previous year. The researchers discovered that the active carjackers remain in permanent state of "alert opportunism," ready to commit the offense if the chance came their way. Many had gotten away with carjackings in the past and therefore believed they would succeed when the need for quick cash or quick transportation arose again. In other words, most had developed well-learned cognitive scripts or strategies for how to proceed with their offense, similar to the tactics discussed by Jacobs and Cherbonneau (2017). Moreover, each had a preference for the vehicle they sought (gold-spoked wheels, a high-performance engine, or a booming sound system), features that bring a good price on the streets.

Fraud and Identity Theft

Crimes of fraud involve deception used for the purpose of obtaining illegal financial gain. They often involve the misrepresentation of facts and the deliberate intent to deceive with the promise of goods, services, or other benefits that either do not exist or that were never intended to be provided (Deem & Murray, 2000). Examples of fraud include fraud associated with identity theft, elder financial abuse, counterfeiting, mail fraud, bank fraud, and various corporate or organizational wrongdoings. In 2009, Bernard "Bernie" Madoff was convicted of operating a Ponzi scheme that has been called the largest investor fraud ever committed by a single person (Bray, 2009). The "Ponzi scheme" pulled in thousands of investors who lost an estimated $65 billion. Madoff remains in prison today, serving a sentence of 150 years.

Over the last two decades, fraud has increased in awareness with other high-profile cases, such as the savings and loan debacle of the 1980s and the massive Enron and Tyco

cases of the early 2000s. In the economic crisis of 2009, corporate practices of banks, credit card companies, and other organizations were scrutinized for possible fraudulent activities. Although many of these practices were questionable and often unethical, they were not always illegal. This is an important distinction from the legal perspective, but from a psychological perspective it still raises questions about the motives of those responsible. We discuss these issues again later in the chapter.

Identity theft occurs when one individual or a group of individuals misappropriate another person's personal identification information, such as name, social security number, date of birth, or mother's maiden name, and uses the information to take over existing credit card or bank accounts, apply for a mortgage or car loan, make large purchases, or apply for insurance (Deem & Murray, 2000). (See Box 14–1 for an illustration of identity theft.) In addition, armed with passwords they may have appropriated, identity thieves can obtain sensitive health information, collect benefits, or even apply to and get accepted into colleges and universities. Two separate elements are involved in this crime: theft occurs when the information is stolen, and fraud occurs when the data are used for illegitimate purposes.

Identity theft
The fraudulent use of another person's personal identification information—such as social security number, date of birth, or mother's maiden name—without that person's knowledge or permission.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 14–1 IDENTITY THEFT—ANYONE CAN BE VICTIMIZED

Identity theft often occurs without its victims being aware of it, and once they do become aware, putting things to right may involve a long, frustrating, and complicated process. As noted in the chapter, victims of this crime may be children, vulnerable older adults living alone or under the care of guardians, individuals with intellectual or developmental disabilities, even college students. No one is immune to the possibility of this victimization.

A recent media account (Grondahl, 2015) related the story of a couple who tried to file a 2014 joint tax return electronically—as more and more of us are encouraged to do. When their federal and state tax returns were rejected, they learned they had been scammed. An identity thief apparently had appropriated their identification data, filed a false claim before they themselves filed, and obtained more than $3,000 in federal tax refunds. As the media article illustrated, it is relatively easy for someone to file false claims through popular filing programs on the market—all one needs is social security numbers and birthdates. In addition, although the IRS has stopped millions of suspicious tax returns over the past few years, it has also paid out $5.8 billion in fraudulent refunds (Grondahl, 2015).

In the above case, the couple turned to the media after a long saga that included frustrating visits to tax preparers, IRS offices, and some law enforcement agencies. Local police were sympathetic and helpful but noted that they could do little in light of the fact that this was an IRS matter, and getting investigatory help from the IRS was like hitting a brick wall. When the couple approached the FBI, they were told the crime did not rise to the level of crime that was actionable—in other words, it appears that the small amount of money involved was not a high priority for investigation. It is understandable that each of these agencies might not respond as one would hope, facing a deluge of concerns and complaints that may seem more serious. Nevertheless, for the victims this was likely of little comfort.

As indicated in the chapter, the National White Collar Crime Center (NW3C, 2015) tries to keep track of identity fraud, and it publishes information on how to be avoid being a victim. Still, personal data have been compromised through sources that were totally out of control of victims. Though victims can file identity theft reports with various agencies, it is unlikely that their cases will be resolved to their satisfaction. If they are resolved, this may take a long

(*continued*)

time. Furthermore, as also indicated in the chapter, the perpetrators of identity fraud often are never identified.

Questions for Discussion

1. What techniques of neutralization were likely used by the scammer in the above-described case as well as similar cases?
2. Assuming that law enforcement agencies must prioritize cases because of resources, is any of the following fraud cases more or less deserving of investigation: (a) theft of a young child's birth and social security data; (b) filing a false income tax return and obtaining a refund; (c) cashing benefit checks of someone who is deceased? ■

The National White Collar Crime Center (NW3C, 2015) publishes information on the extent of identity theft along with tips on how to avoid being a victim. The NW3C (2015) reported that from 2005 to 2014, government agencies and other sources had tracked 5,029 data breaches exposing more than 677 million records. By the end of February 2015, 115 breaches affecting more than 88 million personal records had occurred—in just under two months. This does not mean that fraudulent activity necessarily followed. Though identity fraud cannot occur without identity theft, identity theft is not always followed by fraud (Vieraitis, Copes, Powell, & Pike, 2015). Theft, of course, makes personal data vulnerable to such fraud. Furthermore, the person or persons stealing the identity may then sell it to a third person or group, who then engage in fraud.

Vieraitis and her colleagues (Copes & Vieraitis, 2009; Vieraitis et al., 2015) detail the multiple avenues offenders use to obtain information. These range from simple techniques like stealing wallets and purses from homes, cars, and offices, to sophisticated data mining operations involving online hacking or redirecting victims to fraudulent websites. Many identity thieves have become highly skilled at these activities. "Offenders are seemingly adept at developing new methods as they adapt to target hardening by consumers and businesses and as they identify new sources of data containing valuable information" (Vieraitis & Shuryadi, 2014, p. 12). In many instances, unsuspecting victims have no idea that anything is amiss until they receive phone calls from creditors or have difficulty applying for a job, loan, or mortgage.

In 2016, approximately 26 million persons, or about 10% of all U.S. residents, age 16 or older, reported that they had been victims of identity theft during the past 12 months (Harrell, 2019). More women (13.5 million) were subjected to identity thefts than men (12.5 million). Usually, only one account is involved in the identity theft (85.5% of victims). Nearly one in five persons have experienced identity theft in their lifetimes (Harrell, 2019). Credit card theft is the most common type of identity theft. In most cases, persons discover the theft by noticing unfamiliar charges on accounts, or they are contacted by a credit card bureau. The second most common type of identity theft involves the unauthorized use or attempted use of checking or debit bank accounts, or cell phone accounts (Harrell, 2019; Langton & Baum, 2010). The average amount of money lost in identity theft in 2016 was $850, with a median loss of $300. Smartphones, new mobile technologies, and social media have probably played a major role in the increase in identity theft in recent years. (See Table 14–5 for more information.) For example, 68% of people with public social media profiles shared their birthday information (with 45% revealing month, date, and year), 63% revealed their high school name, 18% showed their phone number, and 12% divulged their pet's name (Javelin Strategy & Research, 2012). These all represent prime examples of personal information that financial institutions use to authenticate a person's identity.

Within the past five years, numerous consumers were notified that their personal information had been compromised as a result of data theft. No category of business seems to be immune from hacking. Among the major companies whose computers were breached were Target Corporation, Anthem, Inc., Home Depot, Neiman Marcus, Michaels, PF Chang's China Bistro, UPS, Community Health Systems, Goodwill Industries, JP Morgan Chase,

TABLE 14–5 The Most Recent Incidents of Identity Theft, by Type of Theft, 2016

Type of Identity Theft	Number of Victims	Percentage of All Persons	Percentage of All Victims
Total	25,952,400	10.2%	100%
Only one type of existing account	22,179,200	8.7%	85.5%
Credit card	11,077,600	4.3%	42.7%
Bank	9,828,600	3.9%	37.9%
Other	1,272,900	0.5%	4.9%
Opened new account only	873,400	0.3%	3.4%
Misused personal information only	838,600	0.3%	3.2%
Multiple types	2,061,300	0.8%	7.9%
Existing account1	1,441,000	0.6%	5.6%
Other2	620,300	0.2%	2.4%

Source: Harrell, E. (2019, January). *Victims of identity theft, 2016*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

1 Includes victims who experienced two or more of the following: misuse of a credit card, bank account, or other existing account.

2 Includes victims who experienced two or more of the following: misuse of existing account, personal information to open a new account, or personal information for other fraudulent purposes.

Staples, K-Mart, and SONY. In addition, smaller organizations, such as employee credit unions, community hospitals, or medical practices have reported breaches to their customers and patients. It is important to stress that breaches do not mean that fraud will follow, but it is important for consumers to monitor their credit card activity and health records on a regular basis.

Surprisingly, identity theft is known to victimize the deceased and children, two populations that may not come immediately to mind. A local news story recently reported that a woman had kept the body of her deceased relative in an apartment while she cashed the woman's social security checks. According to the NW3C (2015), stealing the identity of a dead person is not unusual. Access to social security numbers facilitates the process. Some thieves are acquaintances of the dead person and, like the woman mentioned above, continue receiving their benefits or using their credit cards. Others peruse obituaries and are able to get information, such as where the person worked. They sometimes call relatives of the deceased, pretending they are former co-workers. Provided with enough information, they can make credit card purchases or online purchases, which may not be discovered for months. The victim is deceased and cannot monitor these fraudulent activities, and surviving relatives may not notice changes in the various account balances.

The NW3C has also reported that—in research involving more than 40,000 children—it was discovered that Social Security numbers of approximately 10.2% had been used for a range of purposes, including obtaining loans or opening credit accounts. Sometimes, the fraudulent transactions are perpetrated by parents or relatives in dire economic straits, but at other times the Social Security numbers have been accessed by strangers. Children, the NW3C notes, have a blank slate, with no history of credit defaults. They have no credit file, thus transactions with their information do not lead to "fraud alerts." Children in foster care are often the targets of identity theft, because their information is broadly shared among various social service and educational institutions. Child identity theft may seem to be a mild form of victimization in comparison to the child abuse victimizations discussed in earlier chapters. Nevertheless, it can have repercussions many years down the line, when adolescents and young adults seek employment or apply for college and other loans. It is likely the most underanalyzed form of identity theft.

Information on identity thieves is limited at this time, but some studies have begun to emerge. Copes and Vieraitis (2007, 2009) interviewed 59 identity thieves incarcerated in federal prisons with respect to their backgrounds, methods, and motivations. They were a diverse group. The majority of them were between the ages of 25 and 44 years, had at least

some college, and were employed in a wide spectrum of occupations. They were motivated by the quick need for cash and perceived "identity theft as an easy, relatively risk-free way to get it" (Copes & Vieraitis, 2007, p. 2). Approximately a third of the offenders used their employment to carry out their crimes. For example, they worked for mortgage agencies, government agencies, or businesses that have access to credit card numbers and/or social security numbers. Many of the thieves possessed considerable knowledge about how banks and credit agencies operate. About two-thirds had prior arrests for such crimes as identity theft, drug use/sales, and property crimes.

Most of the thieves used neutralization or moral disengagement techniques to explain their crimes, which also encouraged them to continue offending. For instance, some denied that they caused any real harm to their victims. Others justified their crimes by claiming their actions were done to help others. Considering the fact that the thief assumes someone else's identity, it is likely that dehumanization or denial of the victim is involved. The perpetrator does not have to see what the victim looks like, experience the victim's stress, or know anything about the victim's life, with the exception of financial data.

Viereaitis et al. (2015) also note that developing expertise in identity theft—which is crucial to continuing at this criminal career—help offenders develop a sense of professionalism. "(A)s offenders gain a sense of professionalism and develop expertise they are better able to make sense of their crimes, which makes the commission of crime more palatable due to the reduction in fear and anxiety that often accompany felonious activities" (p. 13).

Identity thieves usually gain considerable satisfaction from overcoming challenging barriers that are put in their way. From a psychological perspective, then, it is difficult to persuade identity thieves to desist from their fraudulent activity, particularly if they have become experts at beating the system and are able to gain both extrinsic and intrinsic rewards as a result.

Though we know little about the offenders, we do know that the emotional impact of identity theft—and fraud in general—on victims is substantial and should not be underestimated. In addition to having strong feelings of being victimized, feelings emerge that one should blame oneself, can no longer trust one's own ability to handle financial matters, or can no longer trust people. The experience is often described as an emotional roller-coaster, especially involving the long drawn-out ordeal of dealing with challenged credibility, damaged credit, and the feelings of powerlessness and personal vulnerability. According to Harrell (2019), approximately 10% of identity-theft victims said they experienced severe emotional distress as a result of the incident. According to NW3C (2015), an annual survey of victims of identity theft indicated that half of victims surveyed had not yet seen their cases resolved. Almost one-third said their cases were cleared up (e.g., credit reestablished) within six months, but 10% said it took up to a year and nearly 3% said it took over five years.

Shoplifting

Shoplifting, a form of larceny-theft, is a frequent and costly type of crime. Although shoplifting typically comprises 20.8% of all larceny-theft (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a), it is obviously very much underreported. In a face-to-face survey of more than 43,000 adults across the nation, Blanco et al. (2008) found that 1 in 10 Americans admitted to shoplifting at some point in their lives. The survey also found that shoplifting occurs across all sociodemographic levels. In fact, it was more common among those with higher education and income, indicating that financial considerations are unlikely to be the main motivator for shoplifting.

These data are surprising in light of the rapid improvement in security measures designed to discourage and prevent the crime. For example, most sizeable retail establishments have

private security officers on the premises. Furthermore, cameras now are ubiquitous in large retail stores, hidden in clocks, smoke alarms, and pushbars on fire-exit doors (Adler, 2002). In addition, valuable goods are locked in impenetrable cases, and clothing is often accompanied with electronic surveillance devices that need to be scanned or with ink tags that can be removed only by store clerks at the time of payment (Eck, 2000). Failure to scan an item sets off an alarm at the door as the customer leaves the store. Ink tags deface the merchandise unless they are removed by the store, thereby destroying the value of the stolen goods. In his review of the research literature, Eck reports that electronic surveillance measures can reduce shoplifting 32–80%, and are found to be more effective than either security guards or store redesign. However, shoplifting methods have become more sophisticated in recent years. For example, some shoplifters use "tag bags," which are hand baggage filled with materials like polyurethane and aluminum that incapacitate the electronic detection devices located at store entrances and exits (Caputo, 2004). Like identity thieves, many professional shoplifters delight in trying to outfox security measures.

Comprehensive data on all economic crimes are difficult to obtain, but data acquisition for shoplifting offenses is especially difficult, since store personnel exercise wide discretion in reporting offenses. Many years ago, Hindelang (1974) found that whether charges were filed depended on the retail value of the stolen object, what was stolen, and the manner in which it was taken rather than demographic and personality characteristics of the shoplifter. Specifically, the offender's race did not seem to matter nor whether the offender was male or female, perceived poor, middle class, or wealthy. What determined referral for arrest was whether the item was expensive, had resale value, or was stolen in a professional, skillful manner.

Later research by Davis, Lundman, and Martinez (1991) found that shoplifters were more likely to be arrested not only when they take expensive items, but also when they resisted being apprehended, have no local address, and/or lived in poor neighborhoods. In England, on the other hand, store managers consider the age of the shoplifter as well as the value of the stolen item (Farrington & Burrows, 1993). The British study found that, generally, store managers did not report to the police the very young (under age 17) or very old (over 60), the mentally impaired, or shoplifters in an advanced stage of pregnancy, unless they were caught repeatedly. In a series of observational studies (also in England) by Buckle and Farrington (1984), random samples of customers were followed by trained observers as they shopped. Approximately 1 in 50 was observed to steal. The amount of shoplifting, however, differed dramatically from store to store. Shoplifting characteristics in supermarkets are likely to differ significantly from those exhibited in retail department stores or hardware stores.

Buckle and Farrington (1994) conducted a replication of their 1984 study. Again, trained observers randomly followed approximately 500 customers in a small department store located in another city. The proportion of customers who shoplifted was between 1 and 2%, and a majority was male. Most of the shoplifters also purchased goods as they checked out of the store, probably to allay suspicion. In general, the items stolen were small, low-cost items. In contrast to the original study, where there was a preponderance of older shoplifters (age 55 or over), Buckle and Farrington found that most of the shoplifters were young (age 25 or less). These studies underscore the warning that estimations concerning the incidence of shoplifting must be placed within a situational, cultural, and historical context.

Apprehension statistics may tell us more about the store security personnel practices and biases than about the shoplifting population (Klemke, 1992). In fact, it is not uncommon for security personnel to claim that they have developed a "sixth sense" for picking out likely suspects. This "sixth sense" is, in some cases, a bias or stereotype against certain segments of the population more than any all-encompassing, accurate skill. For example, in one study (Dabney, Dugan, Topalli, & Hollinger, 2006) observers who received extensive training and

specific instructions to ignore shopper demographics were unable to resist the power of implicit cultural stereotypes in identifying shoplifters. Specifically, the observers had a strong bias to select nonwhite adolescent males as shoplifters, whether they were or not.

Who Shoplifts?

Shoplifting is often considered a behavior that is displayed predominately by juveniles. An analysis of one million juvenile court records across nearly 2,000 jurisdictions reveals that shoplifting is the most common juvenile court referral for youths under age 15 (Kelley, Kennedy, & Homant, 2003). Shoplifting appears to decline, however, both in number of offenses and the number of those engaging in this behavior, as offenders mature and move into early adulthood (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998; Osgood, O'Mailey, Bachman, & Johnstone, 1989). This dropping off appears to be partly due to the crystallization of moral development, as well as to the realization that a young adult is more likely to be charged with an offense than a preteen offender. In other words, individuals tempted to shoplift may believe they have more to lose if apprehended.

In a study designed to examine moral development and theft of clothing, Forney, Forney, and Crutsinger (2005) discovered that juveniles who stole demonstrated a lower moral development than might be expected for someone their age. Their moral reasoning reflected the preconventional ethics of children who were much younger. The preteen juvenile offenders thought their motivations for stealing the clothing were justified. "It is okay as long as no one knows I'm stealing" or "It is okay if no one is watching." The researchers found, however, that there was a discernible shift in the moral reasoning of juvenile delinquents from preteens to teens. For example, teens were more likely to agree with the statement, "It is okay to steal if a friend needs the item."

There is ample evidence that adults as well as juveniles are involved in shoplifting behavior, however. Tonglet (2001) found that contemporary shoplifters, both adolescents and adults, "were significantly less likely to view shoplifting as bad, dishonest, wrong and stupid, and were less likely to be constrained by moral concerns" (p. 345). Cromwell and Thurman (2003) interviewed 137 apprehended shoplifters who were participants in a court-ordered diversion program for adult first offenders, and they gained interesting insights into how they justified their criminal activity. Participants were promised anonymity in answering such questions as their attitudes toward the victims, and their reasons and justifications for shoplifting. The study was primarily designed to examine the **techniques of neutralization** first proposed by Sykes and Matza (1957). According to Sykes and Matza, people try to neutralize unpleasant feelings of guilt and shame by ra-tionalizing to themselves and others why they committed a deviant or criminal act. Recall that we touched on this topic in previous chapters as well as in the section on identity theft, noting that identity thieves may dehumanize their victims or deny that they are doing harm.

Techniques of neutralization
Cognitive methods used to justify one's bad or illegal behavior, such as denying that anyone has been hurt.

Techniques of neutralization basically represent different levels of moral rationalizations or moral disengagement. For example, a shoplifter might say "I really didn't hurt anybody" or "The store can afford the hit." These two examples describe denial of any injury to the victim. We will discuss in more detail the various forms of neutralization in the white-collar and occupational crime section. The point here, however, is that Cromwell and Thurman learned that 96% of the shoplifters used some form of neutralization in rationalizing their criminal behavior of shoplifting. In other words, while not denying their actions, they very rarely took personal blame or responsibility for them.

Klemke (1992) conducted one of the first comprehensive studies on adolescent shoplifting. He collected self-report data from students in four small town high schools in the Pacific Northwest during the late 1970s. Klemke discovered that approximately three-fourths of

the frequent shoplifters began shoplifting before the age of 10, but then stopped soon after their 18th birthday. However, Blanco and his colleagues (2008), who it will be recalled surveyed more than 43,000 adults, found that although two-thirds of the cases of shoplifting began before age 15, over a third of the shoplifters persisted after that age, many into adulthood. Blanco et al. estimate that 4% of the entire American adult population continues to shoplift. If we take into account the entire adult population in the United States, 4% represents a substantial number. Interestingly, data from college bookstores indicate that first-year students are more likely to be apprehended for shoplifting than are other college students (Klemke, 1992). Readers undoubtedly can think of a variety of explanations for this, ranging from the high minded ("Upper class students are more committed to the college community" or "Education decreases the likelihood of committing this crime") to the cynical ("Upper class students don't go near the bookstore any more").

In the Blanco et al. (2008) survey, shoplifters tended to have a higher incidence of additional antisocial behaviors than nonshoplifters. Besides shoplifting, the most common antisocial behavior in this sample was making money illegally or scamming somebody for money. Psychological disorders were also more common among shoplifters in the Blanco et al. survey, especially those who continued to shoplift into adulthood. Although previous research often reported depression as common among shoplifters—especially female offenders—Blanco et al. found that depression was *not* a major factor. Instead, they discovered that the more common disorders were problems in impulse control and self-regulation, similar to what would be reflected in pathological gambling, alcohol dependence, and substance abuse disorders. The authors concluded that "our findings are most consistent with the understanding of shoplifting as a behavioral manifestation of impaired impulse control" (Blanco et al., 2008, p. 911).

It has also been commonly assumed that shoplifting is committed largely by adolescent girls and women. The most common explanations offered for women's greater involvement are based on the belief that women have greater opportunity to steal small items from merchants than do men. As men join the ranks of frequent shoppers, however, their shoplifting rates are beginning to increase, and the gap between men and women is narrowing. In fact, the Blanco et al. (2008) survey discovered that shoplifting is more common among men than women. Kivivuori (1998) found similar results among Finnish adolescents. Hirtenlehner, Blackwell, Leitgoeb, and Bacher (2014) found juvenile males shoplifted more frequently than juvenile females in Austria, and Cromwell and Thurman (2003) report similar results for apprehended adult shoplifters in Wichita, Kansas. The National Association for Shoplifting Prevention (2014) finds that depression, sadness, grief, and boredom are often contributing emotions to the need to shoplift.

Baumer and Rosenbaum (1984) outline some of the psychological characteristics and behavioral patterns of shoplifters. They note that such things as extreme nervousness, aimless walking up and down the aisles, looking around frequently, glancing up from the merchandise frequently, and leaving the store and returning a number of times are some of the indicators that suggest shoplifting. These behaviors are likely to be exhibited chiefly by first-time shoplifters.

In spite of its traditional prominence in economic crime, shoplifting has received little psychological research attention. The most heavily quoted source on the subject, Mary Owen Cameron's *The Booster and the Snitch: Department Store Shoplifting* (1964), reported data accumulated long ago, in the 1940s and early 1950s. Cameron divided her shoplifters into two groups: Commercial shoplifters were "**boosters**," and amateur pilferers were "**snitches**." All of her data were subsequently explained with reference to this dichotomy. The boosters were professionals, accepted members of the criminal subculture. They stole for substantial financial gain by choosing items from preselected locations. Boosters used a wide range of techniques such as "booster boxes," packages designed for concealing items

inserted through hidden slots or hinged openings, or "stalls," containers with hidden compartments (large handbags, coats with hidden pockets). Similar methods are still used today. Snitches, on the other hand, were "respectable" persons who rarely had criminal records. They did not consider themselves thieves, and the idea that they might actually be arrested and prosecuted rarely crossed their minds. Very often, once apprehended, they claimed they stole the item on impulse and did not know what came over them.

Over the years, the term booster has survived, particularly in reference to people who make shoplifting a business and tend to work in small groups. "Security specialists call them 'boosting crews,' highly organized teams of thieves who sweep through supermarkets and pharmacies scooping up products such as razor blades, infant formula, meat, seafood and Tide detergent" (Seiler, 2012, p. A3). It appears that boosters have joined forces in what is now regarded as organized retail crime, and they have access to elaborate fencing operations to dispose of the goods they have taken. One police investigator, noting that retail crime has increased over the past decade, remarked that boosters have become more sophisticated, even knowing on which days stores increase their loss prevention staff and when investigators take their lunch breaks (Seiler, 2012).

Motives

Shoplifting behavior is influenced by a number of factors, including peer pressure, moral development, previous shoplifting experience, economic considerations, self-esteem, and perceptions of apprehension risks (Tonglet, 2001). Shoplifters differ from one another with respect to their skill, use of the stolen goods, motivations, and duration of involvement (Caputo, 2004).

A majority of shoplifters do not consider shoplifting as morally wrong, and generally feel little guilt about the theft (Tonglet, 2001). It appears that many are utilizing the techniques of neutralization referred to previously. These are psychological techniques people use to neutralize or turn off their conscience or "inner protest" about committing deviant behavior. Cromwell and Thurman (2003) were able to identify nine such techniques used by shoplifters. In their study, they found that only 5 of 137 apprehended shoplifters did not use a technique of neutralization to justify their behavior. And they didn't use these neutralizations so much to reduce their guilt—because they did not feel guilty—but rather to provide themselves with the necessary justifications for their acts to others.

The motives behind commercial shoplifting may be clearer than those behind the amateur type. Whereas boosters take merchandise of value, snitches tend to take inexpensive items they can use. Some research has noted that male snitches prefer items of more value, such as stereo equipment, electronic devices and accessories, and jewelry. Female snitches seem to take clothing, cosmetics, and food. The boosters shoplift for the money; the snitches for more obscure reasons.

Theories concerning the intentions of snitches range from economic ones, like attempts to stretch the family budget (Cameron, 1964), to emotional ones, like attempts to satisfy needs centering around matrimonial stress, loneliness, and depression (Russell, 1973). As noted earlier, in recent years some have concluded that shoplifting often stems from problems with self-regulation, much like gambling and alcoholism. On the other hand, the contention that shoplifting has primarily an economic motivation seems oversimplified. Shoplifting is pursued by different people for different reasons.

Shoplifting by Proxy

Shoplifting by proxy
Shoplifting for another person because asked or ordered to do so.

Shoplifting by proxy refers to a situation in which people shoplift for someone else because that other person asks or tells them to do so (Kivivuori, 2007). In these instances, the

shoplifter follows someone else's orders or suggestions in committing the crime. Essentially, the "offender is a proxy or a substitute for the instigator" (Kivivuori, 2007, p. 817). Kivivuori suggests that shoplifting by proxy can be viewed as existing along a continuum, with strong coercion or explicit threats existing at one pole, and at the other extreme, some form of subtle manipulation or suggestion. Of course, other types of crime may be committed by proxy—especially burglary and other forms of theft—but shoplifting appears to be the most common. Adults sometimes induce juveniles to commit crimes for them because the legal system often does not deal as aggressively with juveniles as with adults. For example, juveniles are more likely to be offered diversion for first-time offenses, and juvenile records are sealed in many jurisdictions.

The incidences of proxy shoplifting may be coercive or may be the result of helping or altruistic behavior. Kivivuori (2007) conducted a self-report study of 6,279 students, age 15–16, in the Finland schools. The students were asked to respond anonymously to questions about their shoplifting behavior. Seven percent of the respondents reported having shoplifted for someone else. Males and females were equally involved in shoplifting by proxy. In the vast majority of the cases, the instigator was someone other than a family member, or a boy or girlfriend. In general, the instigator was a peer.

The most common reason provided by the offenders for shoplifting by proxy is that the instigator paid the offender to steal. In one-third of the cases, offenders shoplifted because a peer or peer group pressured them to do so. And in one-quarter of the cases, the offenders said they shoplifted so that they would be popular among their peers. The most common reason given by instigators for their actions is that they did not dare to shoplift themselves or were afraid they would get caught.

The extent to which other crimes by proxy are committed, such as violence or burglary, is unknown. Certainly, and as noted by Kivivuori (2007), Stanley Milgram's classical experiments on obedience (presented in Chapter 11) might illustrate some of the factors at work in more serious crimes by proxy.

Shoplifting as an Occupation

Caputo and King (2011) conducted qualitative research, interviewing 12 women whose primary criminal offense was shoplifting. Although the sample was extremely small, it provides some insight into shoplifting motivations and methods. The women viewed shoplifting as an occupation that paid quite well and supported their basic needs. They also admitted the practice supported their drug habit. During the early phases of their shoplifting careers, the women used a number of methods that—while not very efficient—enabled them to make enough to live on. These shoplifting methods included the "exchange for cash" and the "receipt for cash" approaches. In the first method, the shoplifter returns to the retail store with the stolen merchandise and negotiates a merchandise return for cash, indicating that they "lost" or "misplaced" the receipt. The receipt for cash approach was used for retailers with strict policies about returns. The shoplifter would first scour parking lots, sidewalks, and trash containers for discarded receipts, then examine the receipts and decide which merchandise on the lists would be worth shoplifting. She would enter the store, shoplift the selected items, and return to the store with the receipt for a cash refund.

Eventually, the women in Caputo and King's study sought an approach that would lead to more regular income. This required a solid customer base willing to purchase the stolen merchandise, similar to the boosting teams described above. A small neighborhood store, for example, may be willing to purchase grocery products from the shoplifter at a low price, then sell them to customers at a higher price, but at a price that was lower than the customer would have to pay at a larger market. As the shoplifters learned and

expanded the "trade," their customer bases became larger and more stable. Many of them also employed a "hack," which was usually a male driver who would drive them to retail establishments and wait for them. In most cases, the hack would receive about half of the proceeds.

Methods of Shoplifting

Males tend to favor concealing stolen merchandise in pockets or clothing, while females generally prefer purses or shopping bags. The method of concealment, however, depends not only on the gender of the offender but also on the merchandise and the type of store. In clothing stores, shoplifters would more likely attempt to walk out wearing the clothing after leaving the fitting room, for example. As noted earlier, though, ink tags and electronic surveillance devices limit the extent to which this is possible. Men prefer to hide items beneath their clothing in supermarkets, while pockets are preferred in drug and discount stores. Women tend to prefer purses for concealment in supermarkets or grocery stores, and packages and bags in drug and discount stores. Many professional shoplifters work in groups of two or more to distract sales staff while one member of the group steals (Waters, 2019). Two things that draw the attention of store security personnel are broken-arm casts (some are false) and large shopping bags obtained from a prior visit. In addition, women with babies in strollers or in carriers often report that they are carefully watched by store personnel even though there is no documentation that these women are any more likely to steal than other customers.

According to the National Retail Foundation, most shoplifters in the United States steal such items as chewing gum, pain killers, facial lotions, hair-growth medications, energy drinks, cosmetics, teeth whiteners, and deodorants (Shteir, 2011). The items selected largely depend on the state of the economy at the time. Klemke (1992) notes that some shoplifters prefer to conceal the items, while others do not. Some walk nonchalantly out the door with the item(s) as though nothing is amiss. Some individuals also "graze" while shopping. That is, the shopper openly eats, drinks (commonly soda), or "tastes" while shopping, especially in the fruit section, and fails to pay for the consumed items while checking out. Remnants of the items—wrappers or cans, for example—are either pocketed or left in store aisles. Many individuals who do this do not consider it shoplifting, however, and many stores would not report this type of behavior without first speaking with the individual.

Kleptomania: Fact or Fiction?

Kleptomania
The irresistible urge to steal unneeded objects. Rare phenomenon, not widely substantiated.

Do some people have an irresistible impulse to steal objects they really do not need? Researchers have not found substantial evidence of this phenomenon, which is referred to as kleptomania. However, **kleptomania** is still included as a behavioral disorder in the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Identified as a disorder of impulse control, it is estimated to occur in about 4–24% of persons arrested for shoplifting and only 0.3–0.6% of the general population. The higher range estimation among persons arrested for shoplifting seems unlikely, though, because shoplifters display very low recidivism rates. Once apprehended, the amateur rarely shoplifts again (Cameron, 1964; Russell, 1973), and as noted above, the same could be said of impulse and occasional offenders. Professional shoplifters, or boosters, who are apparently successful at shoplifting, steal repetitively and for economic reasons; their expertise at this enterprise makes it highly unlikely that irresistible impulse had anything to do with their behavior. If kleptomania is a factor, it would be a factor in a very small percentage of shoplifters.

Klemke (1992) suggests that kleptomania is a psychiatric label with roots at the turn of the 20th century. The label was applied predominantly to women, particularly affluent women. (According to the *DSM-5*, females outnumber males at a ratio of 3:1.) Historically, Klemke notes, the label was intended to ease the guilt of wealthy women who were caught stealing. Merchants did not want to antagonize their affluent clientele and accuse them of theft. Furthermore, affluent families wanted to keep their moral reputations untarnished, and courts did not want to convict "respectable ladies" as common criminals. Thus, kleptomania (the Greek word for "stealing madness," a term presumably coined by Esquirol in 1838) legitimized the actions of the merchants and the courts, allowing them to overlook the actions or dismiss or acquit the "afflicted" woman and excuse her from being held personally responsible for her actions.

In summary, if kleptomania does exist, it seems to be a rare phenomenon. For example, in a study conducted by Sarasalo, Bergman, and Toth (1997), 50 shoplifters (29 men, 21 women) were interviewed immediately after being caught red-handed in central Stockholm, Sweden. None of the persons interviewed fulfilled the DSM criteria for kleptomania. Sarasalo et al. (1997), however, did find that many of the shoplifters reported a "thrill" and challenge in connection with the crime.

Much of the literature on the causes of kleptomania focuses on its relationship to anxiety, depression, or sexual disturbances (Goldman, 1991; Sarasalo, Bergman, & Toth, 1996). Citing sexual disturbances as a cause for kleptomania is primarily based on the psychoanalytic tradition. But as Goldman (1991) notes, "there are no modern data available to refute or confirm these earlier psychoanalytic findings" (p. 990).

On the other hand, research has found *depression* to be a common symptom of people who engage in "nonsensical shoplifting" (Lamontagne, Boyer, Hetu, & Lacerte-Lamontagne, 2000). This term has many similarities to kleptomania with the exception of the compulsion aspect, and indeed the DSM-5 notes that kleptomania may be associated with compulsive buying and depressive disorders. Yates (1986) observed that 80% of those who engaged in nonsensical shoplifting were depressed. McElroy, Pope, Hudson, Keck, and White (1991) found that all 20 patients they studied who engaged in nonsensical shoplifting met the then DSM-III-R criteria for a lifetime diagnosis of a major mood (depression) disorder. In addition, many of these patients said they engaged in nonsensical shoplifting far more often when they were depressed. It seems that some depressed people may engage in nonsensical shoplifting as a stimulating, exciting activity that moves them away from feelings of helplessness. Depression could also explain the behavior in elderly shoplifters. In fact, Goldman (1991) finds that depressive states are often reported throughout the literature as precursors to many kinds of theft that are not related to profit.

White-Collar and Occupational Crime

The term **white-collar crime** was first used by Edwin H. Sutherland in his presidential address to the American Sociological Society in 1939. In his speech, Sutherland urged his fellow sociologists to pay attention to the law-violating behavior of businesses, particularly large corporations. He had uncovered these violations by reviewing government files on 70 large American corporations and had learned that breaking rules was commonplace. In 1949, Sutherland published his now classic book, *White-Collar Crime*, in which he detailed his findings without naming the corporations. A later edition of the book (Sutherland, 1983) did include the names.

White-collar crime
A broad term, coined in 1939 by Sutherland, that refers to illegal acts committed by those of high social status in the process of their employment. Contemporary definitions often divide it into corporate crime and individual or occupational crime.

Following Sutherland's lead, a considerable amount of pioneering research was done on white-collar crime between 1939 and 1963 (Geis, 1988). This was followed by a

decade of inactivity. Since 1975, there has been a revival of interest in studying the area, although criminological literature gives far less attention to white-collar crime than to other forms of criminal behavior. The highly publicized individual and corporate scandals of recent years, like the Enron debacle and the massive fraud perpetrated by the financier Bernard Madoff, have only served to illustrate that this attention is needed. Over the last decade, increasingly more examples of corporate malfeasance and the crimes of the wealthy and/or politically powerful have come to public attention. The roster of those convicted include state and federal legislators, city officials, heads of corporations, sports figures, actors, lawyers, and educational officials, to name but a few professions represented in conviction statistics.

According to Sutherland (1949), "white-collar crime may be defined approximately as a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation" (p. 9). Although Sutherland used the word *crime*, he did not intend it strictly in the legal sense. He recognized that numerous laws and regulations violated by persons of high social status carried civil rather than criminal sanctions, and he wanted these violations to be condemned. In fact, this was a critical factor to Sutherland, who saw a double standard phenomenon at work. The law-violating behavior of the poor carried criminal penalties; the law-violating behavior of the rich often did not. This was so despite the fact that "[t]he financial cost of white-collar crime is probably several times as great as the financial cost of all the crimes which are customarily regarded as 'the crime problem'" (1949, p. 12).

Although Sutherland's call to study white-collar crime was heeded, his working definition produced numerous problems for subsequent criminologists. Some, most notably Tappan (1947), argued that white-collar "crime" could not really be crime unless it violated the criminal law. The terms *respectability* and *high social status* were considered vague. Since then, researchers have tried to improve on Sutherland's definition. Clinard and Quinney (1980) preferred to dichotomize the concept into (1) occupational crime, committed by an individual for his or her own profit, and (2) corporate crime, committed by the corporation through its agents. This dichotomy is probably the most commonly used by criminologists today. Horning (1970) proposed a threefold division to distinguish the various behaviors that might be at issue. He reserved *white-collar crime* for acts committed by salaried employees in which their place of employment is either the victim or the locale for the commission of an illegal act from which they personally benefit. Embezzlement would be a good example of this. *Corporate crime* refers to illegal acts by employees in the course of their employment that primarily benefit the company or corporation. Illegal dumping of hazardous wastes is an example. *Blue-collar crime* refers to the whole array of illegal acts committed by nonsalaried workers against their place of employment. Thefts of machinery, tools, or paper are examples. Some criminologists also have contended that certain corporate crimes should qualify as violent crimes. Coleman (1998), for example, cites unsafe working conditions, illegal disposal of toxic waste, and manufacture of unsafe products as examples of violent crime.

Occupational crime
A concept promoted by Green, it refers to offenses committed through opportunity created by a legal occupation. It can be divided into sometimes overlapping categories such as organizational, professional, state-authority, and individual.

Green's Four Categories of Occupational Crime

Green (1997) made significant contributions to clarifying the definitional dilemmas associated with the term *white-collar crime* by proposing the concept of **occupational crime**. Unfortunately, Green's approach has not been widely adopted, despite its conceptual clarity. To Green, occupational crime encompasses all of the behaviors previously subsumed under white-collar crime, blue-collar crime, and their variants. Occupational crime is "any

TABLE 14–6 Summary of Green's Occupational Crime Typology

Category	Description
Organizational	Law-violating behavior promoted by the corporation or agency and for which the corporation or agency benefit.
Professional	Law-violating behavior facilitated by one's professional status.
State-authority	Law-violating behavior by those in government in their capacity as government representatives
Individual	Law-violating behavior committed by an individual working for a company or organization, but committed for his or her own advancement or financial gain

act punishable by law that is committed through opportunity created in the course of an occupation that is legal" (Green, 1997, p. 15). Green then subdivides occupational crime into four categories: (1) organizational (which includes corporate crime), (2) professional, (3) state-authority, and (4) individual (see Table 14–6).

In **organizational occupational crime**, a legal entity such as a company, corporation, firm, or foundation profits by the law-violating behavior. An example would be the chief financial officer of a company falsifying the company's tax records with the tacit approval of its board of directors. Other examples are antitrust violations, overcharging the government for products or services, violations of Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) standards, and bribery of public officials. **Professional occupational crime** includes illegal behavior by persons such as lawyers, physicians, psychologists, and teachers committed through their occupation. A physician's Medicaid fraud and a lawyer's suborning the perjury of a client are illustrations.

State-authority occupational crime encompasses the wide range of law violation by persons imbued with legal authority; the individual who commits state-authority occupational crime is essentially violating the public trust. Bribe taking by a public official, police's unauthorized use of deadly force, and the torture of individuals held in custody are illustrative. However, state-authority occupational crime also includes a broad array of **political crimes** by agents of government—at times those at the highest levels of government—that are often ignored by social scientists. (See Box 14–2 for more discussion of this issue.) Finally, Green uses the category **individual occupational crime** to cover all violations not included in one of the previously discussed categories. The employee who steals equipment from his employer and the person who deliberately underreports income to the IRS are covered in this category.

Green's categories are clearly outlined and offer a good framework for studying certain crimes. They are not mutually exclusive. A prosecutor who withholds evidence that would clear a defendant in order to get a conviction, for example, would fall under both the state-authority and professional categories.

As evident from the above examples, the concept of occupational crime proposed by Green covers a wide variety of offenses, not all of which are economic in nature and not all of which are committed by persons of high social status. A therapist who sexually assaults a patient and a correctional officer who brutalizes an inmate are both committing violent occupational crimes, one in the professional and one in the state-authority category. Neither the therapist's nor the correctional officer's behavior would qualify as white-collar crime in its classic sense.

Green argues convincingly that his four-part division allows us to move away from the conceptual quagmire of "white-collar crime" and study a significant amount of workplace-facilitated illegal behavior in a logical, ordered manner. Although the term white-collar crime continues to be widely used, perhaps in deference to Sutherland's contributions to criminology, Green's approach offers an appealing alternative. As noted, however, the

approach that seems to be preferred in the criminological literature is the "white-collar" dichotomy proposed by Clinard and Quinney, occupational and corporate crime.

Prevalence and Incidence of Occupational Crime

Regardless of which term is used, the extent of occupationally linked illegal behavior is extremely difficult to measure. The standard methods of measuring crime discussed in Chapter 1 rarely apply. The typical UCR report, for example, does not tell us whether a reported crime or an arrest was related to the perpetrator's occupation. Fraud can be committed by a bank executive, a college student, a Fortune 500 Corporation, a computer hacker working from his bedroom, or a recipient of welfare benefits. Even when uncovered, the violations we have been discussing are often not reported to law enforcement and recorded in official data. Rather than publicize a theft by an employee, for example, a business might prefer to demand restitution, dismiss the employee, or force a resignation. It does not benefit the company's public image to file a criminal complaint.

When an organization is itself the violator, civil suits are often preferred to criminal charges. The plaintiff in a civil suit is more likely to get some form of restitution, in the form of damages, than the victim in a criminal case. In addition, the government regulatory process is widely acknowledged to be inefficient in preventing, uncovering, and punishing violators. When it comes to the professions, law violation is often shielded from the public, because society authorizes them to police themselves by means of standards, codes of ethics, and licensing.

Nevertheless, some attempts have been made to collect data on "white-collar" offenses, particularly those committed by individuals (Clinard & Quinney's "occupational crime" category). As noted earlier in the chapter, the National White Collar Crime Center (NW3C) collects information, publishes a newsletter, and sponsors training sessions and conferences devoted to this issue. Topics that have recently come to the attention of the NW3C are Internet gambling, financial crimes against seniors, phishing schemes, online child pornography, insurance fraud, and identity theft. Information is available at www.nw3c.org. It should be noted, though, that none of the offenses mentioned above are offenses committed by the businesses; rather they are committed by individuals. The business or its consumers may be the victims; they are not the offenders.

Without settling the difficult definitional morass associated with "white-collar crime," we will nevertheless proceed to discuss in more detail one example of this serious crime problem. Specifically, we focus on crime committed by corporations and their agents, including corporate officials who commit crimes on their own behalf rather than exclusively for the benefit of the corporation.

Corporate Crime

Corporate crime
Crime committed by a corporation or by persons acting on its behalf.

Corporate crime refers to any criminal offense committed by a corporation. Although people commit the crime, the corporation benefits. For purposes of the criminal law, then, a corporation is a person. It can be charged, tried, sentenced, and punished. In May 2015, for example, four major banks—Citicorp, JP Morgan Chase, Barclays, and Royal Bank of Scotland—pleaded guilty to felony charges of conspiring to regulate the value of world currencies over a five-year period. They were initially fined $5 billion and placed on corporate probation. Corporations can even face "death," by dissolution, although this very seldom occurs.

For our purposes, although a corporation or other organization can be punished, it is *individuals* within that organization who are making decisions that render the corporate behavior a crime. Very rarely are they punished, however. In the above-mentioned bank fraud case and numerous similar cases, no individuals have been held accountable. Therefore,

TABLE 14–7 Categories of Corporate Crime Identified in Scholarly Literature

Scholars/Researches	Categories
Rosoff, Pontell, and Tillman (1998)	• Crimes against consumers • Crimes against the environment • Institutional corruption • Fiduciary fraud
Coleman (1998)	• Fraud and deception • Manipulating the marketplace • Violating civil liberties • Violent white-collar crime
Albanese (1995)	• Crimes of fraud • Offenses against public administration • Regulatory offenses
Green (1997)	• False and misleading advertising • Defrauding the government • Antitrust crimes • Manufacture and sale of unsafe • products • Unfair labor practices • Unsafe working conditions • Crimes against the environment • Political bribe giving

in discussing explanations for corporate crime, we will focus on the behavior of persons, despite the fact that the organizational culture as well as the economic structure of society may facilitate and reward the illegal behavior. It could also be argued—and often is, from a sociological perspective—that other crimes covered in this text are best explained from a structural perspective. As stressed throughout the text, however, risk factors for criminal behavior run the gamut from very individual factors to societal.

Corporate crime covers offenses ranging from price fixing to failure to recall a product known to have a serious defect that could potentially cause physical harm. The offenses are so varied, in fact, that most criminologists who study corporate crime subdivide it into more manageable categories. Table 14–7 lists categories of corporate crime identified in the scholarly literature.

The estimated costs of these corporate offenses—both financial and from a human-suffering standpoint—are staggering. However, up-to-date, reliable, or accurate statistics are nearly impossible to find and are reported primarily by independent watchdog agencies. Mowkiber (2007) reports that the savings and loan scandal of the 1980s cost $300 to $500 billion. Auto repairs fraud, $40 billion; securities fraud, $15 billion; health care fraud, $100 to $400 billion. Reiman (1995) has estimated that a conservative total of 90,105 Americans die every year as a result of occupational hazard and disease. Although some would argue that these deaths are not necessarily attributable to corporate malfeasance, others would say that corporations should be held responsible for the harms suffered by their workers.

Public attention to corporate crime has focused primarily on the economic crimes that have been highly publicized. These include a variety of practices that constitute fraud, including but not limited to price-fixing, false advertising, deceptive pricing, and securities fraud. Environmental and health-related crimes such as the illegal disposal of hazardous wastes and others already discussed have also attracted considerable public attention, however. In the 1990s, both the tobacco and the asbestos industry were barraged with lawsuits

brought on behalf of individuals who had either died or been seriously harmed by exposure to these hazardous products.

Explanations for corporate criminality often focus on the criminogenic or crime-producing nature of the business environment; that is, in order to survive, lawbreaking is essential. Conklin (1977), for example, argued that lawbreaking in American business was normative and that executives often believe that some dishonesty or deceit has to be tolerated in the best interest of the company. In response to comments such as these, corporations proclaim that they have entered an era of social responsibility and that the extent of corporate malfeasance is exaggerated. Business schools note that business ethics courses are a requirement in virtually all programs. Geis (1997), however, a prominent criminologist in the area of white-collar crime, chastises business schools for using "lulling terms, especially 'ethics,' to camouflage what essentially are considerations of criminal behavior" (Geis, p. xii).

Justifications and Neutralizations

You may recall that in earlier chapters, we referred to strategies people use to neutralize some of their violent conduct and separate it from their personal codes. The strategies, proposed by Bandura (1983, 2016), are worth repeating here, even if violence is not involved. Neutralization strategies apply to a wide range of reprehensible conduct, including conduct that qualifies as corporate crime. The strategies, which are considered disengagement or cognitive restructuring, may be used individually or in combination.

In one set of strategies the individual or group justifies their actions, making them acceptable by associating them with beneficial or moral ends. In other words, a normally reprehensible act becomes personally and socially acceptable when it is associated with beneficial or moral ends. "We did it in the best interest of the company, the employees and their families, and the country."

A second set of neutralizing or dissociative strategies sees the actions themselves as trivial, not bad compared with the actions of others. Similarly, corporate decision makers may regard the laws they are violating as unfair, unjust, or simply not in keeping with good business practices.

This strategy is most likely to be used when no violence has happened, no one has been maimed, or no deaths have occurred.

A third strategy uses language, particularly euphemisms, to downplay the effect of the criminal acts. Threatened with exposure of wrongdoing, some businesses have been "restructured" or workers "reassigned" to avoid detection.

A fourth strategy, one frequently used in the corporate world, is the diffusion of responsibility. Many different people were involved in the decision making, and no one person can be held personally responsible. "After considerable deliberation, the Board decided that this would be the best route to take."

A fifth strategy is not to think of the possible consequences of the actions. Closely related to this is to think of the consequences, but calculate their likelihood of occurrence. The classic example of this is the noted Ford motor case of the 1970s, where executives were aware that gas tanks in the Ford Pinto were likely to explode upon impact. Rather than fix the problem, executives weighed the cost of recalling all affected vehicles against the cost of compensating families who lost loved ones in the event an explosion occurred; they decided not to recall the vehicles.

Finally, a sixth strategy involves dehumanizing the victim. This may be as flagrant as indicating that people in third-world countries have a standard of living that is already low, so illegally shipping hazardous waste will not be harmful, or as subtle as quoting the business mantra of past years, "Let the buyer beware." A favorite comment when products are recalled for safety purposes, for example, is to maintain that the customers did not use

the products properly. We saw this strategy in action earlier in this text, when aggressors regarded their victims as less than human. This dehumanizing approach also seems to be a hallmark of prejudice and scapegoating. However, we also saw the strategy used in a slightly different way in property and economic crimes, like burglary and identity theft, where the perpetrator does not have to confront the "personhood" or humanity of the victim.

In sum, through cognitive restructuring supported by corporate norms, decision makers can justify and rationalize behavior that appears reprehensible to outsiders. The restructuring process prevents the manager or executive from labeling himself or herself "criminal." In fact, in some corporations, the extent to which the norms and justifying mechanisms are embraced may well determine how far up the corporate ladder one climbs.

Individual Occupational Crime

When illegal behavior is pursued for the direct benefit of the individual, and the individual is neither a professional nor someone with state authority, Green refers to it as individual occupational crime. In the Clinard-Quinney white-collar crime dichotomy referred to at the beginning of this section, the behavior would simply be "occupational" crime, distinguished from "corporate" crime. The Bernard Madoff case that came to light in 2008 and 2009 is a good example of this category. In this largely solitary pursuit, the offender is guided primarily by his or her own personal justifications and reasoning. Embezzlers, for example, are operating outside organizational norms, although they may justify the behavior in much the same way as corporate criminals may. The dissociation strategies identified by Bandura apply here as well. In other words, embezzlers may convince themselves that the activity really is not a crime, since they are merely borrowing the money temporarily and will put it to good use. Later, they will reimburse the company (secretly, of course).

We should note that, with the exception of offering and taking bribes, *political* crimes omitted by individuals are not often studied by researchers (see Box 14–2). When researchers study "white-collar crime" or offenders, they are typically focusing on individual offenses—usually within the workplace—and separate from their place in either the political or the corporate structure. That is, the white-collar offenders studied in the literature have been convicted of fraud, insider trading, antitrust violations, embezzlement, or such

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 14–2 POLITICAL CRIMES: UNEXAMINED ISSUES

For many years psychologists have been interested in political psychology, particularly as it relates to such topics as personality traits of public officials, public attitudes toward politicians and the political system, or voting behavior. Edited books on the topic (e.g., Jost & Sidanius, 2003) as well as peer-reviewed journals (e.g., *Political Psychology*) are available. Psychologists and other social scientists also study crime committed by individuals in power, such as graft, accepting bribes, misappropriation of funds, or embezzlement.

However, psychologists rarely focus on the political crimes that are committed by agents of government—sometimes those at the highest levels—and that affect large segments of society. deHaven-Smith (2010) refers to these as State Crimes Against Democracy (SCADs). Examples are illegal domestic surveillance, assassinations, illegal arms sales and covert operations, wiretapping, manipulation of elections, or malicious prosecution of individuals or groups, to name but a few. DeHaven-Smith

(*continued*)

(2010) writes that though perhaps not widespread, these elite crimes deserve more research attention.

The term SCAD is rarely seen in the psychological research, but there is no question that the actions of persons operating at the highest levels of government are of great concern today. Some actions could be defined as criminal—e.g., money laundering, fraud, perjury, sexual assault—while others are unethical or immoral—e.g., lying, denigrating individuals. In recent years, persons close to the U.S. President have been convicted of crimes ranging from fraud to lying under oath, and several are serving prison sentences. In 2019, a special counsel released a lengthy report documenting Russia's interference with the U.S. Presidential election of 2016, leaving open questions about campaign violations and possible obstruction of justice. Shortly thereafter, in a separate matter, Donald J. Trump was impeached. Impeachment is similar to a grand jury indictment, but as this book went to press the U.S. Senate had not held a trial.

Future psychologists will undoubtedly study these events in many ways, including their effects on various groups of individuals. We have already highlighted one study, in Chapter 5, in which researchers found correlations between political messaging and bullying behavior in juveniles (see Box 14–1). Many individuals experience stress resulting from concern about governmental policies relating to education, climate change, immigration, foreign relationships, and human rights, among many other crucial issues. The behaviors of high-level political figures and their advisors merit continuing scrutiny not only by the public as a whole but also by all social and behavioral scientists.

Questions for Discussion

1. What has happened since the above was written? In your answer, refer to the articles of impeachment, the Senate trial, if it did occur, and the meaning of the term "high crimes and misdemeanors" found within the U.S. Constitution.
2. Is it likely that experimental research with participants directly involved with government during this time period will be conducted? Why or why not?
3. Propose and briefly design a research study examining the effects of political turmoil on one or more groups of citizens not directly associated with government (e.g., voters, residents of a particular state, middle-aged males, Latina or African American women).
4. Review the table of contents of current issues of any three peer-reviewed journals that focus on political psychology or criminal behavior. Is there evidence that political crime in general is being addressed? What about broader state-authority occupational crime, as defined by Green?

economic crimes. Walters and Geyer (2004) emphasized that white-collar offenders should be subdivided into those who commit only white-collar crimes and those who are versatile in their offending, committing both non–white-collar and white-collar offenses. In their study of criminal thinking patterns and lifestyles of these offenders, they discovered that those who committed only white-collar crimes (60% of their male sample) were older, more educated, and less likely to identify themselves as criminals than were those who were more diverse in their offending patterns. However, the white-collar-only group was also less likely to justify their behavior. Walters and Geyer's findings were replicated in a later study by Ragatz, Fremouw, and Baker (2012).

Other research has found that white-collar offenders score higher on indicators of depression and alcohol use (Benson & Moore, 1992; Poortinga et al., 2006) and anxiety and narcissism (Blickle et al., 2006) than do non–white-collar offenders. However, Ragatz et al. (2012) did not find indication of higher alcohol use in their sample.

Some interesting research has been done examining other personality characteristics of white-collar offenders. Listwan, Piquero, and Van Voorhis (2010) found that offenders who scored high on a "neuroticism" dimension were more likely to repeat their offenses. Ragatz et al. (2012) found that offenders who committed only white-collar crimes were higher on psychopathic characteristics. These findings are intriguing and await replication in research with larger samples and diverse groups of white-collar offenders. However, it seems that the psychological microscope is beginning to be directed at this group of offenders who traditionally have escaped study.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

At first glance, the offenses discussed in this chapter appear to represent a hodgepodge of unrelated crimes, ranging from petty larceny to corporate crime that claims numerous victims. What they have in common is that they are distinct from the crimes discussed to this point, and, although there are exceptions, they are essentially committed for economic reasons. The exceptions may be political crimes, where the desire for power, or to maintain power, may be the dominant motive. Their primary distinguishing feature from murder, assault, terrorist activities, and the sexual offenses discussed thus far is a lack of physical aggression or violence against persons. The crimes discussed in this chapter are not, by definition, violent acts. Nevertheless, there may be incidental violence—such as can occur in home invasions, burglaries, and carjackings—or indirect violence—such as would occur when people die as a result of a corporation's malfeasance.

The property offenses of burglary, larceny/theft, and motor vehicle theft make up the greatest proportion of the nation's crime rate in any given year. Put another way, they are reported far more frequently than are violent crimes. We discussed the official and victimization statistics on these crimes, as well as the effects on their victims. We have little information on the characteristics of offenders, however, with the exception of burglars who appear to be more willing than other offenders to share their secrets with researchers. In a number of studies, burglars have described how they choose victims, what tactics they use to gain access to targets, which targets they avoid, and why. Professional burglars seem to carefully plan their offenses and do not seem to consider themselves "real criminals." In addition, researchers study case materials of solved crimes to identify behavioral and crime-scene features. These studies lead to typologies of burglars and can be of help to law enforcement in solving future crimes.

Home invasions are a special category of crimes that have features in common with burglary—they are usually committed for economic reasons—but they also involve direct personal encounters with their victims. In the worst form of home invasion, the perpetrators enter the home with the intention of harming its occupants. To our knowledge, no empirical, psychological research has been conducted on home invaders; those who commit violent acts are likely to possess features of aggressive behavior covered in earlier chapters. Depending on their behavior at the scene, some may possess psychopathic characteristics, such as callous-unemotional traits.

In the discussion of motor vehicle theft, we included a section on carjacking, another crime that is of relatively recent origin. We covered information about the behavioral attributes or the motives of carjackers obtained from studies based on interviews with the offenders themselves. Carjackers seem motivated primarily by a need for quick money, or in some cases, a quick ride, or a quick thrill. However, carjackers highlight the expertise needed to carry out their crime successfully.

A fast-growing crime today is identity theft. Persons responsible for this crime may use very simple methods, such as stealing a wallet in someone's office, or complex elaborate methods that make use of the Internet and computer hacking. Cybercrime is covered again in the following chapter.

Shoplifting is a nonviolent offense that presents continuing problems for commercial establishments. Individuals who shoplift do not seem to consider this behavior unnormative. Self-report data indicate that a great majority of juveniles have shoplifted at least once; surprisingly, large numbers of adults also admit to this behavior at some point during their adult lives. Today, there is more evidence of highly organized shoplifting, in which small groups of individuals plan their shoplifting strategy and have access to a network of fencing operations to dispose of their acquisitions. Research does not support the belief that kleptomania—a supposed compulsion to steal—actually exists to the extent that it

would explain a significant proportion of shoplifting. While some individuals undoubtedly shoplift to gain attention, get recognition, or embarrass their family, it seems that most do so to obtain goods, go along with peers, or—in the case of some juveniles—on a dare or as an initiation into a select group or gang. Furthermore, although there is some suggestion that depressed individuals may engage in "nonsensical shoplifting," the evidence that this is characteristic of large numbers of people is not persuasive.

We discussed white-collar crime and the difficulties in defining this concept. Green's four-part typology, although not often alluded to in the criminology literature, is helpful in considering varieties of crimes committed by individuals in the course of their legal occupations. Not all crimes mentioned by Green would be considered white-collar crime, but all are criminal offenses worthy of consideration. A display of excessive force by a police officer may be considered an aggravated assault, but the police officer's status as a person in authority suggests an additional element that should be taken into consideration in any attempt to understand this behavior. Likewise, a medical doctor's sexual assault of a female patient is still a rape, but the violations of trust and professional ethics add a dimension that renders it different, from a psychological perspective, from a date rape or a stranger assault.

The category of occupational crime that received the least research attention is political crime. Considering the social and economic harm it causes, this is unfortunate. Although some psychologists are beginning to give attention to political crimes, the emphasis thus far is on their effect on the general population. There are extensive media commentaries on the personality and behavior of political officials, for example, but very little empirical research of this nature.

The traditional type of white-collar crime is the crime committed by corporations, businesses, or organizations, or by individuals within those entities. One of the best explanations for this behavior lies in neutralizing techniques, in which individuals and groups convince themselves that their behavior was not really criminal or that no one was hurt, among other justifications. However, corporate crime is rarely studied by criminal psychologists, psychiatrists, or criminal justice researchers, beyond the gathering of data available from court records or government regulatory agencies. Burglars and rapists get interviewed and participate in studies. Corporate criminals are more likely to write their own books than to cooperate with professionals seeking some insight into their actions. Criminologists, however, have increased their focus on individual white-collar offenders in recent years, finding interesting personality traits, including psychopathic characteristics, and thinking patterns that may distinguish them from non–white-collar offenders.

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Define larceny and burglary. How are they different from each other?
2. Identify and contrast the burglar typologies of Vaughn et al. and Fox and Farrington.
3. Discuss identity theft, focusing on (a) prevalence, (b) characteristics of offenders, and (c) impact on victims.
4. In what ways has shoplifting changed since it was first studied by Cameron? What is shoplifting-by-proxy?
5. Define kleptomania and describe the empirical support for the phenomenon.
6. Briefly describe Green's occupational crime typology. Give an example of each. Contrast Green's typology to that of Clinard and Quinney.
7. Describe and illustrate any 5 neutralization techniques used by corporate criminals.

15

Violent Economic Crime, Cybercrime, and Crimes of Intimidation

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Define and discuss robbery and the reasons behind the offense.
- Define and distinguish cybercrime, cyberstalking, and cyberbullying.
- Examine the literature on stalking.
- Outline hostage-taking offenses and their characteristics.
- Summarize the literature on arson, with particular emphasis on juvenile firesetting.
- Examine the psychological motives attached to serial arsons.

- It happened in a supermarket parking lot. It was early evening and I didn't get a good look at him. I wasn't hurt, but he said he had a knife. Only my purse was taken, but he scared me to death. I don't sleep well at night and I don't go food shopping by myself any more, even in the day. It happened two years ago. (62-year-old robbery victim)
- People say mean things to me all the time online. Sometimes I don't know who they are. One keeps calling me and my sisters ugly and losers and other things I won't say here. I guess that's bullying. I know who the bullies are in school. Everybody does. (13-year-old)
- I wear a hijab, and I clerk in a grocery store. When I first started my job I noticed it when people deliberately avoided coming to my cash register, but now I no longer notice that. What affects me the most are the hurtful comments from people on the street, telling me to go back to where I came from, or that Muslims are all killers. (20-year-old college student)

To some readers, the above incidents may not be unusual. Purse-snatching may be infrequent, but bullying and harassing are common events in too many people's lives.

The robbery may strike some readers as an overreaction to a relatively minor offense in which the victim was not injured. The woman's sleeplessness could be a result of many factors, not just her victimization, and the incident happened so long ago that she should now be able to put it behind her. Nevertheless, what occurred left a marked impression on her and affected her perceptions and her lifestyle. The

girl receiving "mean" messages and the college student confronted with bigoted comments also may experience sleep problems and are unlikely to forget what happened or is happening to them. This can be said of all of the crimes and civil wrongs discussed in this chapter. Even crimes that seem relatively minor have no small impact on the people they touch, and many are considered very serious offenses.

The chapter focuses primarily on the economic crimes of robbery and arson, but other crimes are also considered, such as cybercrimes, which are increasingly problematic today. Of robbery and arson, the UCR program considers robbery a violent crime and arson a property crime. We approach both robbery and arson as violent because in both crimes, there is a moderate to high level of serious injury or death to the victims, or at least the threat or possibility of such injury. The arsonist who torches a building does not know for sure that someone is not inside, for example. However, from a psychological perspective, many robbers have little in common with those who assault, rape, or kill, because their primary intention is not to harm their victims physically. Likewise, many arsonists have no intention of harming people, even though they are responsible for deaths should they occur.

Cybercrimes, which have been discussed in other contexts in earlier chapters (e.g., downloading child pornography, identity theft), are addressed here as chiefly economic crimes that may produce a large number of victims in a short period of time. Computer intrusion has become a global problem, recognized by all law enforcement agencies, but often with few resources to combat it. In recent years, massive data breaches of government agencies, corporations, small businesses, and banking, medical, and educational institutions have made virtually everyone's private information vulnerable. A different form of cybercrime, that which involves stalking, is addressed here as well. It is considered a crime of intimidation, just as is stalking that does not necessarily involve electronic means. Crimes of intimidation are intended to frighten, threaten, embarrass, or harass the victim or victims. Additionally, we cover actions that are not technically considered crimes, except in a few jurisdictions. Bullying and cyberbullying are primary examples. They involve sanctions (e.g., school demerits and suspensions, workplace demotion and firing), but they are not typically criminal offenses. Unless they include physical harm or a credible threat, they may be considered free speech, protected by the First Amendment.

Hostage-taking is an offense with elements of both violence and extreme intimidation. Although most hostage situations are resolved peacefully, they have the strong potential to result in the deaths of the victims.

Robbery

Robbery is the taking or attempting to take anything of value from the care, custody, or control of a person or persons by force or threat of force or violence and/or by putting the victim in fear (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). The major distinctions between robbery and other economic crimes—such as burglary, fraud, or larceny—are the direct contact between the offender and the victim and the threat or use of force. The offender threatens bodily harm if the victim resists or impedes the offender's progress; usually, but not invariably, this threat is backed up by a clearly visible lethal weapon, such as a firearm or a knife.

Robbery
The taking or attempt to take anything of value from the care, custody, or control of another by force or the threat of force.

Similar to other violent offenses, both the number of robberies reported to police and the robbery rate have declined in recent years. For example, while there were 367,832 robberies reported in 2010, reflecting a national robbery rate of 119.1 per 100,000 people (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2011), there were an estimated 319,356 robberies in 2017, reflecting a rate of 98.0 per 100,000 people (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). Perhaps more significantly, the number of robberies decreased 28.0% from 2008, and generally the robbery rate has declined consistently over the past decade.

Strong-arm robbery
A robbery in which the main weapon used is one's own body rather than guns, knives, or other weapons.

Statistics also provide information about the weapons used in reported robberies, when such information is available. In 2013, strong-arm tactics were used slightly more than firearms (43.6% vs. 40.0%). Interestingly, **strong-arm robbery** (without a weapon) is more likely to result in injury to the victim than is robbery with a firearm or knife. Presumably, victims are less fearful (and thus more daring) when confronted by an unarmed individual. In the absence of a gun or other weapon, the victim's resistance to losing valuable personal property is stronger, and the victim is more apt to try to resist or fight off the perpetrator. The tendency to resist, therefore, may partly account for the higher rates of victim injury in these no-weapon situations. On the other hand, the offender is likely to feel more confident, powerful, and in control of the incident when he or she has a weapon. Because of this increase in confidence, the offender is less likely to be anxious and disorganized in response patterns, and thus is better able to think clearly and evaluate the consequences of the actions—provided the offender is not under the influence of drugs.

Like many other crimes, robbery is primarily an offense committed by young adults (under the age of 25), who account for approximately two-thirds of those arrested. The majority of the arrestees (approximately 90%) are males.

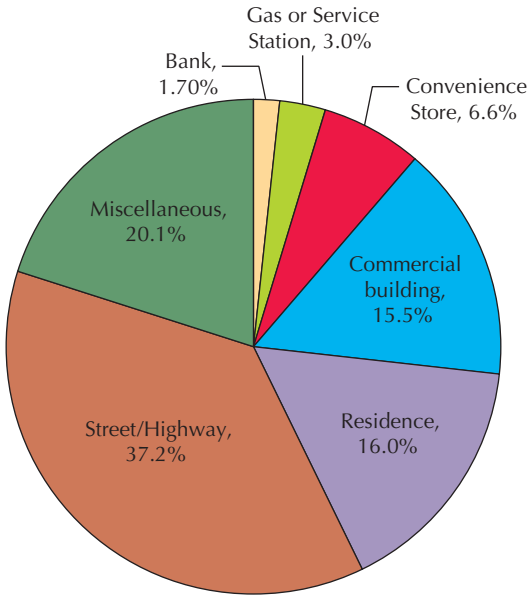
Robbery accounts for only about 4% of all arrests for economic crimes (but 35% of the violent crimes), but it is highly feared by the general population. This is especially the case for street robbery, which has an edge of desperation to it (Wright, Brookman, & Bennett, 2006). It involves a high probability of physical harm from a stranger, and it can happen to anyone. The highest proportion of robberies (42.5%) in 2013 occurred on streets and highways. (See Figure 15–1.) One in three victims are injured in robbery (also called stickup, holdup, mugging), and 1 in 10 so seriously as to require medical attention (U.S. Department of Justice, 1988). Furthermore, robbery offenders are more likely to use weapons than other violent offenders, although as noted earlier, a surprising number use strong-arm tactics. Yet, despite its dangerousness, robbery is among the criminal offenses least studied by psychologists.

One reason for the lack of research interest on the psychology of robbery is that the crime seems so obvious and straightforward: People rob to obtain money. It is often assumed that the money will be used to buy alcohol or illegal substances, and psychologists as a group may be more interested in studying substance abuse itself rather than delving into the psychology of robbers. The process of committing a robbery is quick, and the potential returns are lucrative. Compared with burglary, however, the risks are great and the penalties substantial. Much of this may be true but, as we have seen, human behavior should

FIGURE 15–1

UCR PIE-Chart of Where Robberies Occur, 2017

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (2018a).



not be oversimplified. The motives of offenders may be extremely varied. People behave a certain way because they have convinced themselves that is what works best for them.

Bank Robbery

"A bank robbery is indicated when the crime is robbery and the location is a financial institution" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003). Bank robberies are often the stuff of movies, but they actually account for a small percent of all robberies (1.7% in 2017; see Figure 15–1). Although violence is rare, employees and customers are at risk of injury if the robber loses control or becomes violent. During a robbery, bank procedures are highly standardized. Tellers are instructed to comply quickly with a robber's demands and empty their cash drawers, even if no violence is threatened or weapons are shown. The primary objective of banks is to ensure the safety of employers and customers. Therefore, the risk to the robber of encountering resistance is low, and consequently the robbery has a high probability of success during the early stages of the incident. Bank robbers are typically arrested soon afterward, however, even though most are convinced they will not get caught (Erickson, 1996; Weisel, 2007). Weisel (2007) reports that 15% of bank robbers are arrested at or near the scene, and one-third of the robberies are solved on the same day. Overall, 60–75% of bank robberies are eventually solved (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003, 2019), often within one day. Bank robberies have a high rate of being solved because they are reported quickly, have many witnesses, occur during daylight hours, and are extensively captured on surveillance videos.

According to data collected from the Bank Crime Statistics (BCS) program of the FBI, commercial banks were the most commonly robbed banks in 2018 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2019) (see Table 15–1). Compared to the main office, the bank's branch office is robbed most often (93%), almost always at the counter. Although clearance rates may be high, the amount of money eventually recovered is quite small, averaging about 20% of the total amount taken during the robbery. Bank robbery incidents are most likely to occur on Fridays. Historically, Friday has been payday for much of the nation, requiring large amounts of cash to be delivered to the various branch banks. Fridays continue to be the favorite day, even with the reduction of branch bank offices in recent years and the substantial increase in direct deposit and other forms of electronic banking.

Amateurs and Professionals

Most (80%) bank robberies are carried out by a single offender. A vast majority of all bank robbers are males (95%), and most are between the ages of 18 and 29. Eight percent of bank

TABLE 15–1 Bank Robberies by Establishment Robbed, 2018

Establishment	Robberies
Commercial Banks	2,707
Mutual Savings Banks	5
Savings and Loans Associations	23
Credit Unions	215
Armored Company	10
Unknown	15
Total	**3,0333**

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2019). *Bank Crime Statistics*. Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

robbers are female. The majority of bank robbers are amateurs who have *not* been convicted of a bank crime in the past (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003). For example, the most recent statistics (2018) indicate that of the persons identified as responsible, only 27% had been previously convicted of bank robbery, bank burglary, or bank larceny. Approximately 38% were determined to be users of narcotics.

An amateur tends to rob a bank on the spur of the moment without much planning, and primarily to fulfill some need, such as to pay for drugs, alcohol, or status-enhancing goods. Basically, they tend to exhibit behavioral indicators of poor self-regulation. They are often under the influence of drugs and alcohol to fortify their nerve. Therefore, amateur bank robberies usually do not involve the meticulously planned caper carried out by a group of highly experienced criminals often portrayed in films. Amateur bank robbers are highly predictable in their behavioral patterns, as they continue to rob because the offense seems to be so easy to carry out. Sometimes they rob other banks on the same day, employing the same *modus operandi* in successive robberies (see Table 15–2). They use the same signature repeatedly, such as a distinctively worded note given to a single teller, and—if they use a disguise—they use it over and over again (Rehder & Dillow, 2003). Interestingly, about half of the amateur bank robbers do not even try to use disguises, and two-thirds are unarmed when they commit their crimes (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003). In summary, amateur bank robbers tend to commit their crime alone, unarmed, and undisguised (Weisel, 2007).

Violence occurs in a very small percentage of bank robberies. In 2018, for example, only 3% of all incidents included violence. There were 34 injuries, 4 deaths (all of which were the death of the perpetrators), and 9 hostage-taking incidents (8 of which involved employees of the bank as hostages). Thus, even though a firearm or other weapon may be used or displayed, it is not often used to injure or kill anyone.

Professionals are usually armed and act in small or mid-sized groups of two or more robbers. They also often try to disable or obscure surveillance cameras and are more likely to use disguises, such as balaclavas or face-distorting masks. In contrast to amateurs, who usually wait in line with customers before the robbery, try to escape on foot or by bicycle, and usually live near the bank, professionals generally use motor vehicles for escape. A professional, according to the BCS database (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003), is

TABLE 15–2 Modus Operandi Used by Bank Robbers, 2017

Modus Operandi	Frequency
Demand Note Used	1,813
Firearm Used	545
Handgun	499
Other Firearm	25
Other Weapon Used*	67
Weapon Threatened**	1,329
Explosive Device Used or Threatened	54
Oral Demand	1,252
Vault or Safe Theft	30
Depository Trap Device	1
Till Theft	33
Takeover	169

*"Other weapon used" includes knives, other cutting instruments, clubs, and so forth.

**"Weapon threatened" includes cases where a weapon was threatened or implied either orally or in a demand note but not actually observed.

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2019). *Bank Crime Statistics: Bank Crime Report: Final 2018.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

TABLE 15–3 Contrasting Features of Amateur and Professional Bank Robbers

Amateurs	Professionals
Lone robber	Two or more robbers
Rob during high customer traffic	Rob during low traffic times
Stand in line	Control the situation, intimidate
Usually not armed	Carry and display weapons
Spur-of-the moment offending when they need money	Careful planning
Getaway by running, or use bikes	Motor vehicles for getaway

a bank robber with a prior criminal record, no matter how unsuccessful this person has been at bank robbing in the past. Banks that attract amateur bank robbers are very unlikely to attract professionals (Weisel, 2007). In addition, professionals tend to select times when there are few customers, such as at opening time and early in the week; amateurs most often select midday times and Fridays when bank customers are at their highest level. Professionals also select banks that are located at corner locations so that there are multiple choices for vehicle escapes. Professionals prefer to maintain as much control of the situation as possible. Therefore, the displaying of weapons and the presence of few customers increase their control over the robbery scene. They also use various kinds of intimidation, physical or verbal threats, and are loud and aggressive. Table 15–3 contrasts amateur and professional bank robbers.

Assessing skilled robbery, regardless of where it occurs, Letkemann (1973) offered pertinent remarks about the successful robber's confidence and victim "management." Contrasting the robber to the burglar, he noted that burglars do not have to be concerned with people, but professional robbers must be able to maintain control and handle their victims at all times. Recent research by Mosselman, Weenink, and Lindegaard (2018) underscores this point. Bank robbers, for example, assert that the keys to a successful heist are confidence and the ability to control people under highly stressful conditions. Confidence, they believe, is reflected in the robber's tone of voice and general behavior. High levels of self-confidence are crucial if robbers are to maintain control of the situation. Successful robbers also note that the posture and physical location of the victims are deliberately designed to enhance the offender's control over them. For example, victims may be told to kneel facing a wall or lie on the floor.

According to Letkemann, professional robbers often express dismay over media treatment of robbery. For example, television and movies often downplay the seriousness of bank robbery, particularly when no one is physically hurt—and recall that injuries are rare. The offenders therefore must work harder to convince their victims that they mean business. The entertainment media also encourage some victims to be heroes; robbers consider heroes irrational and extremely dangerous to their own safety and a threat to the successful outcome of the crime.

Even though there are few actual injuries in bank robberies, some preliminary research reveals that bank workers, such as tellers, take several months to recover psychologically from the trauma of the robbery (Hansen et al., 2014; Jones, 2002). Returning to the same environment day after day where the traumatic event took place, the victims often continue to experience psychological stress associated with the incident, sometimes for longer than six months. The symptoms may be physical or emotional, and nearly anything that was present during the robbery—sights, smells, textures, sounds—may bring them on. Even bank personnel who were not directly confronted during the robbery may experience stress symptoms. The experience may also have a rippling effect that spreads to family members, friends, and coworkers. These same experiences, of course, are often experienced by victims of other types of robbery and crime in general. For example, people who have experienced

workplace violence in other contexts—e.g., hospitals, insurance agencies, auto plants, courthouses—may exhibit stress long after the traumatic event has passed.

Commercial Robbery

Approximately 13% of all robberies take place in commercial houses, compared with 16% in residences. (Recall that entering a residence for the purpose of taking money or goods would qualify as burglary; if the residents are at home and threatened with violence, it becomes a robbery as well as a home invasion, discussed in Chapter 14.) Commercial houses are any places where goods are bought and sold. Examples are supermarkets, department stores, restaurants (including fast-food restaurants), financial companies, taverns, and motels and hotels.

Convenience stores accounted for 6.6% of robberies in 2017, followed by gas or service stations at 3.0% (see Figure 15–1). Most convenience stores have no robberies, but a few have many robberies (Eck, 2000). One of the debates concerning prevention of convenience store robbery is whether having two or more clerks in the store, rather than one, reduces the robbery attempts. So far, the evidence is unclear, but the two-clerk experiment does not appear to discourage robberies as much as was anticipated (Eck, 2000). Cameras and silent alarms do not seem to reduce convenience store robberies, but some preliminary evidence suggests that the installation of interactive CCTV (allowing communication between store personnel and security personnel watching a monitor in a remote location) may be effective in reducing store robberies by nearly one-third (Eck, 2000).

Although convenience stores have traditionally been a favorite robbery site, fast-food restaurants are also a preferred target. Many restaurant robberies occur at fast-food restaurants because they are open late, staffed by teenagers, full of cash, and conveniently near a highway. In describing the vulnerability of fast-food restaurants to armed robbery, Schlosser (2001, p. 84) writes, "A couple of sixteen-year-old crew members and a twenty-year-old manager are often the only people locking up a restaurant, long after midnight." About two-thirds of the robberies at fast-food restaurants involve current or former employees as perpetrators, and frequently the on-duty manager suffers much of the anger and violence administered during the robbery.

The leading fast-food chains have tried to reduce robbery by spending millions on new security measures, including video cameras, panic buttons, drop-safes, burglar alarms, and additional lighting (Schlosser, 2001). But even the most secure restaurant remains highly vulnerable to robbery.

Hipp and Kim (2019) identified several time-of-day aspects of robberies at commercial establishments. The researchers discovered that retail stores are most likely to be robbed by 10 a.m. on weekends, whereas restaurants have a high probability of being robbed in the afternoons on weekends. Bars and liquor stores are usually robbed later in the evening. Liquor stores are at highest risk on weekdays before 8 p.m., whereas bars are usually robbed after midnight when a number of inebriated people are present.

Nassauer (2018), in her analysis of closed-circuit television (CCTV) films taken during actual robberies of convenience stores, concluded that successful robberies required the perpetrator and clerk to play their cultural, traditional roles, almost like a play. She writes: "For a crime to be successful, findings suggest that all actors (i.e., perpetrators and clerks) must display distinct behaviors that are expected culturally during a robbery" (Nassauer, 2018, p. 133). All players must stay in character for robbery to work. Any deviation from the role often leads to an unsuccessful robbery. In addition, the perpetrator must dominate the situation from the start, and the domination must be emotional not physical. In successful robberies, the perpetrator displayed dominance early and partly through a calm and decisive voice, partly through body postures. Furthermore, Nassauer

found no case in which the perpetrator regained dominance during a robbery once it was lost. Figure 15–1 indicates that 20.1% of robberies in 2017 fell into a miscellaneous category. Examples include robberies in professional offices, churches, union halls, schools, government buildings, subways, and waterways.

Street Robbery

As noted above, the greatest proportion of robberies in the United States occurs on streets and highways (e.g., Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). Street robbery is most common in urban areas, particularly in cities over 250,000 in population. Unlike bank and commercial robbery, street robbery tends to be more based on opportunity than planning, although as noted above, the planning done by amateur bank robbers is typically minimal. Street robbery is driven by the culture on the streets and follows many of the characteristics of carjacking discussed in the previous chapter. Carjackers generally do exhibit more expertise at their crimes, however (Nee, 2015; Topalli et al., 2015). Street robbers remain in a state of "alert opportunism," where the motivation to offend is always present. They are in perpetual need of money to buy status-enhancing goods, drugs, and alcohol. When an opportunity to rob occurs, there is little or no time for contemplation; otherwise the opportunity is lost forever. Still, street robbers are most likely to follow well-rehearsed cognitive scripts that have been developed and practiced through offending activities. Even though little contemplation is used when opportunity knocks, their methods and targets have developed through experimentation and tinkering with their own personal approaches or scripts.

Motives and Cultural Influences

Some researchers view robbery as a rational choice driven primarily by the need for money and a desire to minimize the risk of detection. Other researchers believe street robbery represents a cultural pursuit in which the money and risks take second place to the psychological and social rewards toward the offender's lifestyle (Wright et al., 2006).

In a revealing and classic study, Wright and Decker (1997) interviewed 86 individuals who were actively engaged in armed robbery on a regular basis in St. Louis. None of the robbers interviewed were incarcerated or otherwise under supervision of the criminal justice system (e.g., out on bail, on probation, or on parole). Most other studies of armed robbery feature interviews with prisoners who either admit engaging in the offense or have been convicted for robbery.

Wright and Decker tried to determine what factors influenced the robbers as to when, how, and whom to rob. The researchers were also interested in the offenders' thoughts and actions during the commission of the crime. In addition to interviewing, the researchers took 10 of the robbers to the site of a recent holdup for which they had not been apprehended and asked them to reconstruct the crime. Although all age groups were represented, most were between 18 and 29. Most also had committed numerous robberies in their lifetimes—so many in fact that they found it impossible to specify the exact number. Despite the very high number of armed robberies they said they had committed, 60% of the sample had never been convicted of armed robbery. Almost all the sample (96%) reported committing many other offenses, particularly theft, burglary, assault, and drug selling. A great majority (85%) typically did their robbery on the street, while 12% preferred to rob commercial establishments (e.g., pawnshops, jewelry stores, liquor stores—all of which fall within the "commercial house" category of Figure 15–1).

Wright and Decker found that a vast majority of the offenders did not plan the armed robbery. "The reality for many offenders is that crime commission has become so routinized that it emerges almost naturally in the course of their daily lives, often occurring without

substantial planning or deliberation" (Wright & Decker, 1997, p. 30). The researchers discovered that, with few exceptions, the decision to rob was strongly influenced by a pressing need for cash to support their hedonistic, carefree lifestyle. The robbers in this sample were deeply enmeshed in the street culture where immediate gratification reigned supreme. Many of them spent their take with reckless abandon without much thought to financial obligations or commitments. The offenders chose armed robbery as a lifestyle because it provides quick cash as the need arises. Armed robbery offered immediate cash compared with the delays inherent in disposing of hot merchandise acquired through burglary, shoplifting, and motor vehicle theft.

One of the favorite targets of the street robbers in this sample was individuals who themselves were involved in lawbreaking, especially drug sellers and wealthy drug users. Drug dealers carry considerable amounts of cash as a result of their illegal activities. Of course, the risks are higher when targeting dealers because they are more likely to be armed, more likely to resist, and are sometimes connected to a powerful drug organization. Wealthy drug users tend to be white persons who come into a neighborhood looking to buy drugs with considerable cash. They can be easily victimized, and like other lawbreakers, they are unlikely to report the robbery to the police.

Street culture
A variety of conduct norms, particularly in urban areas, that may be conducive to robbery and other street crimes.

In a later, more focused examination of street robbery, Wright et al. (2006) discovered that American and United Kingdom **street culture** seems to be a very powerful social force in the commission of these crimes. "American street culture subsumes a number of powerful conduct norms, including, but not limited to, the hedonistic pursuit of sensory stimulation, disdain for conventional living, lack of future orientation and persistent eschewal of responsibility" (Wright et al., 2006, p. 2). The image one presents is paramount and is one of the few sources of status available to most offenders. The same social impetus is present in the United Kingdom street culture. As noted by Katz (1988), while the obvious reason for street robbery is money, the reasons for needing the money are far more revealing.

According to Wright et al. (2006), street robbery accomplishes five things, depending on the needs of the offender:

- Generates quick cash that can be spent quickly and used easily to finance gambling, drug use, and heavy drinking
- Allows purchasing nonessential, status-enhancing items (such as clothing or jewelry) to improve standing in the street culture
- Creates excitement and dominance over victims who are overpowered
- Prompts anger and eagerness to start a fight in those offenders already prone toward fighting and violence
- Achieves a certain measure of informal justice, such as debt collecting or revenge

One of the major findings of the Wright and Decker (1997) and Wright et al. (2006) projects is that there is little psychological mystery behind the motives of armed robbery: These offenders need cash immediately to support an impulsive lifestyle, and robbery provides the best route to that cash. Some also enjoy dominating their victims and frightening them, seek the "buzz" they receive from the offense, or come across as not to be messed with in the street culture, but these motives are only secondary to cash acquisition. An important point must be emphasized, however. Even though many street robberies appear to be impulsive and hold to the philosophy "strike while the iron is hot," it is highly likely the offender is following his or her favorite cognitive script, developed and perfected over a series of similar street crimes. Furthermore, the script has been formulated most probably through a combination of observation (social learning) and participation with a payoff (instrumental learning). When opportunity knocks, their offending cognitive script immediately comes into play. The script contains information that

guides the offending behavior (Ward & Hudson, 2000). "These scripts can be enacted without conscious intention and with minimal awareness of the overall goal" (Ward & Hudson, 2000, p. 197). Finally, it is important to emphasize that street culture is presented in a negative light in the above research. although the research has merit, not all street culture is conducive to robbery, and not all street culture is associated with cognitive scripts that lead to offending. Much street culture is very positive--such as when strangers dance, march, or grieve together, jostle playfully, or help each other in a variety of ways. The studies here focused on robberies, but researchers are encouraged to delve into positive aspects of urban life as well.

Robbery by Groups

Robberies committed by groups are more likely to involve professional than amateur robbers, and the possible haul can be very substantial. Group robberies are often the stuff of action movies. Typically led by a vicious but charismatic character, the robbery almost inevitably is botched, often necessitating the taking of hostages and subsequent deaths of one or more of the perpetrators. Readers are undoubtedly able to provide examples.

Group robberies have not escaped the attention of academics. Porter and Alison (2006) investigated 116 cases of group robbery (61 commercial and 55 personal) and were able to identify a four-part typology based on the interpersonal behavior between the offenders and their victims. The "group" could be as few as two robbers and as many as six, with a mean group size of three. The researchers examined how the robbers treated the victims, and how the victims, in turn, reacted to the robbers' behavior. The four themes identified were: (1) dominance, (2) submission, (3) cooperation, and (4) hostility.

The interpersonal theme of *dominance* refers to situations in which the group of offenders attempts to control their victims completely. These offenders often use weapons and threaten the victims. In some instances, they bind and gag the victims during the robbery. Dominance is the method most preferred by professional bank robbers.

In the *submission* theme, the offenders allow the victim to make an effort to be in control and are ultimately unsuccessful. That is, the robber group is not forceful or assertive, and the robbery becomes an attempt, with the intended victims taking over the situation. In this scenario, the victims refuse to do as they are told, may struggle with the robbers, and at the end, the robbers run away.

In the *cooperation* theme, the behaviors of the robbers are designed to obtain cooperation from the victims. The offenders manipulate the victims to comply with their demands and to participate in the crime. Such participation involves handing over property, opening a safe, providing their PIN for the victim's credit or debit card, filling bags with money, or making sure no additional customers enter the building. The robbers may use a single act of violence or display a weapon, but the intent here is to get cooperation from victims rather than control them. Many victims tend to comply with the offenders' instructions rather than resist—and as mentioned above, bank employees are typically instructed to cooperate. The researchers discovered that this strategy is the most frequently used in group robberies and appears to be the most effective.

The interactional theme of *hostility* involves the offenders acting in an aggressive and violent manner toward the victims from the outset. In most cases, the researchers found that a hostile approach by robbers often produces a hostile reaction from victims. Many victims fight back or attempt to flee the scene. In this situation, the offenders are reckless, needlessly attacking victims with violence and verbal threats, and they often use firearms. This method is also most commonly associated with victim resistance. The larger the group, however, the more likely it is that one member will "go rogue" and use violent tactics that

were not intended by others in the group. This scenario is depicted, not only in movies but also in actual court cases where a robber is charged with felony murder because his partner-in-crime killed a victim.

One of the most notable robberies in American history was the Brink's Armored Car robbery of 1981. Although technically a group commercial robbery, it resists placement in the typology above. For one thing, there were many perpetrators, far more than just a few. For another, there was little interaction between victims and perpetrators. For still another, it was violent. Finally, the Brink's robbery was ideologically motivated, a characteristic that does not appear in Porter and Allison's themes. Likewise, the Brink's robbery is quite different from the street robbery studied by Wright et al.

The 10 individuals who carried out the Brink's robbery—six from the Black Liberation Army and four former Weather Underground members—were seeking money to fund a government resistance movement. The armored vehicle that they robbed carried more than $1 million and was parked in a shopping mall when a guard was killed, robbers took the money, and fled in a rental truck. Two police officers were subsequently killed during the chase and capture that followed. Ten perpetrators were convicted and sentenced to long prison terms, although others were said to have known about the robbery and even been involved in its planning and execution. Most of those convicted continue to serve their sentences today, some have died, and two were later paroled. Most recently, in May 2019, the unarmed driver of a getaway vehicle was granted parole after serving 37 years in prison. Although she was defiant during her trial, she later expressed regret for her earlier actions. She participated in many programs and furthered her education while in prison and was said to be a model prisoner who aided other inmates and remained in touch with family and friends. The parole decision was controversial, but many prominent people wrote letters in her support.

Cybercrime

Cybercrime
Any illegal act that involves a computer system. Also called **computer crime.**

Cybercrime refers broadly to any illegal act that involves a computer system. It is therefore also called computer crime and sometimes, when computers are hacked, computer intrusion. If the cybercriminal activity is Internet-facilitated, it is sometimes referred to as Internet crime. "Cybercrimes are considered global crimes; they transcend geographical boundaries and can be perpetuated from anywhere against any individual and any technology" (Donalds & Osei-Bryson, 2019). Cybercrime often involves traditional forms of crime, such as fraud, identity theft, accessing and distributing child pornography, and financial theft, discussed in earlier chapters. We also noted in Chapter 11 that terrorist activities and recruitment are often facilitated through the use of the Internet, including the dark web. The dark web consists of underground websites that often allow people to engage in illegal activities or to discuss them. Accessed with special servers or passwords, the dark web has enabled users to discuss drug dealing and hacking techniques. It also has been used for purposes other than illegal activities, however, such as by persons attempting to avoid repressive regimes. (See Table 15–4 for example of cyber or Internet crimes.)

Although cybercrime is not always a crime of intimidation and does not always involve violence, it is extremely widespread, costly, and disruptive. In this chapter we focus primarily on the intimidation aspect of cybercrime, but we also cover more general aspects of the activity—that is, the computer intrusion itself, and some research on characteristics of perpetrators. Cybercrime can be done swiftly, and it has vast numbers of potential victims (Broadhurst, 2006). Cybercrime cost the world's economy an estimated $600 billion in 2017 (Marotti, 2018). It is considered the third most costly criminal activity in the world, with government corruption and narcotics trafficking first and second (Marotti, 2018). In one of the first notable operations involving stolen debit cards, cyberthieves in 2008 attacked

TABLE 15–4 Examples of Cyber or Internet Crimes

Personal Data Breach	A leak or spill of personal data that is released from a secure location to an untrusted environment.
Phishing/Vishing/Smishing/ Pharming	Unsolicited email, text messages, and telephone calls purportedly from a legitimate company requesting personal, financial, and/or login credentials
Confidence Fraud/Romance	A perpetrator deceives a victim into believing the perpetrator and the victim have a trust relationship, whether family, friendly or romantic. As a result of that belief, the victim is persuaded to send money, personal and financial information, or items of value to the perpetrator or to launder money on behalf of the perpetrator.
Spoofing	Contact information (phone numbers, email, and website) is deliberately falsified to mislead and appear to be from a legitimate source. For example, spoofed phone numbers making mass robo-calls to mislead and gather personal information.
Credit Card Fraud	Credit card fraud is a wide-ranging term for fraud committed using a credit card or any similar payment mechanism as fraudulent source of funds in a transaction.
Government Impersonation	A government official (e.g. IRS) is impersonated in an attempt to collect money.
Malware/Scareware/Virus	Software or code intended to damage or disable computers and computer systems.
Ransomware	A type of malicious software designed to block access to a computer system or data until money is paid.

Source: Internet Crime Complaint Center. (2019). *Internet Crime Report, 2018*. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation.

more than 2,100 ATM machines in at least 280 cities on three continents. "The cross-national nature of most computer related crimes has rendered many time-honoured methods of policing both domestically and in cross-border situations ineffective even in advanced nations, while the 'digital divide' provides 'safe havens' for cyber-criminals" (Broadhurst, 2009, p. 408). Since then, agencies and businesses have upgraded their security systems, and educational institutions have provided courses and certifications in cybersecurity, but as noted below, problems persist.

Advances in computer technology and increased access to personal information via the Internet have created a significant marketplace for worldwide cyber criminals to share stolen information and sophisticated criminal methods (Donalds & Osei-Bryson, 2019; Martinez, 2011). Some law enforcement agencies are making headway into the "digital divide," however. In 2010, the multifaceted strategies of the U.S. Secret Service to combat cybercrime led to the arrests of over 1,200 suspects for cybercrime-related violations (Martinez, 2011). The Secret Service investigations discovered over $500 million in actual fraud loss and prevented approximately $7 billion in additional losses. In 2011, government agencies across the globe worked together to crack highly sophisticated cybercrimes involving malware affecting personal and business computers worldwide. Despite these successes, numerous challenges to combating cybercrime exist. Today, specially trained cyber squads operate out of FBI headquarters as well as 56 field offices.

The main types of financially related cybercrime are unauthorized access to computers (hacking), mischief to data (virus generation), and theft of communications. The development and use of malicious software has been especially worrisome for businesses and government. Malware and other computer viruses cause considerable damage to businesses, consumer networks, and governmental systems. In fact, the most recent trend in cybercrime involves the ongoing targeting of point-of-sale systems as well as the compromise of online financial accounts, usually through malware developed explicitly for that purpose.

As illustrated from examples in Box 15–1, malware and hacking attacks on financial systems and fraudulent transfers of electronic funds are not only becoming more prevalent

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

BOX 15–1 CYBERCRIME: HEISTS AND INTRUSIONS

On one day in March 2018, the city of Atlanta, Georgia faced a problem that is now not unusual for many governmental agencies, educational institutions, and private industries. Someone hacked a vulnerable server, and numerous desktop computers throughout the city's system were hit with ransomware, demanding payment to decrypt the data and allow normal, legitimate access. Fortunately, public safety and water resources were not affected, nor were operations at a busy airport. However, data about ongoing police investigation and court proceedings was apparently held "ransom." And, as a precaution, anyone doing business with the city was advised to monitor their bank accounts. The ransomware demands in Atlanta amounted to about $51,000, but the cost of recovering from the attack far exceeded that amount, reaching over $1 million. The following year, two small towns in Florida paid $460,000 and nearly $600,000, respectively, to regain access to data that were encrypted in a cyberattack against them (New York Times, 2019). At least 20 governmental agencies in Texas were attacked in August 2019, though it was not clear whether ransom was demanded.

Over the past decade and continuing to this day, as illustrated above, numerous government agencies worldwide have been subjected to cyberattacks, which may or may not demand ransom. When ransom is sought, it is usually in the form of Bitcoins, which are difficult to trace. Globally, hackers have also attacked major corporations, credit card companies, security agencies, power grids, educational institutions, voting systems, and even traffic systems.

It is often assumed that individuals, businesses, and agencies that are attacked have unsophisticated cyber defense systems, and this is often true, particularly in the case of small government agencies and businesses. Major corporations have been fined for not taking appropriate measures to keep private data safe from hackers and in some cases have been ordered to upgrade their security measures. In some situations, governmental and corporate victims may have a cybersecurity system in operation, but cybersecurity jobs are often left unfilled. Meanwhile, hackers themselves have become increasingly sophisticated, and some are funded by governments seeking information on other governments.

At a time when online activity is the new normal, data breaches are of continuing concern. Thus far it has been left to individual states to enact legal protections for their residents, because federal regulations are either nonexistent or ineffective.

Questions for Discussion

1. Agree or disagree with the following statement: Cybercrime of the nature described here is easily preventable.
2. Is it a worthwhile endeavor to study the psychology of the hacker? Relative to other crimes discussed in this chapter, how much harm is done by someone who hacks into a system, plants malicious codes that inhibit access, and demands ransom for decrypting the system?
3. Did your answer to question 2 depend upon the type of system that was hacked? Should it have depended on that? ■

but affect every sector of the world economy. In recent years, cyber criminals have concentrated on attacking small and medium-sized business, banks, and data processors as larger organizations have become more adept at developing sophisticated protections (Martinez, 2011). In many instances, hackers demand payment in exchange for decrypting computer systems they have disabled. Such **ransomware attacks** have increased in recent years. For example, the WannaCry ransomware attacked over 300,000 computer systems worldwide in May 2017. WannaCry was described as a ransomware cryptoworm which targeted computers using Microsoft Windows by encrypting data. Once the data were encrypted, the virus demanded ransom payments through Bitcoin cryptocurrency. The virus rapidly spread to

Ransomware
A type of malicious software designed to block access to a computer system or data until money is paid.

all Windows-operated computers within the network. In an effort to terminate the spread of the virus, Microsoft issued patches that stopped the expansion of the ransomware threat to other computers using Windows operating systems. In March 2018 the computer systems of the city of Atlanta, Georgia were attacked by a ransomware referred to as SamSam. By August 2019, more than 40 municipalities across the United States, large and small, had been similarly attacked since the beginning of that year.

"Phishing," "spoofing spam," and similar intrusions have become increasingly popular. These terms refer to email messages with corresponding web pages designed to appear as existing consumer or business sites. Millions of these fraudulent emails are sent to computers across the globe, claiming to come from banks, charitable organizations, individuals-in-need, lotteries, or other legitimate-sounding sites in order to persuade computer users to answer by submitting financial, personal, or password data. Cybercrime offenders have developed a growing practice of buying, selling, and trading malicious software (malware), credit and debit card data, personal information data, bank account information, brokerage account information, hacking services, and counterfeit identity documents (Martinez, 2011). In recent years, consumer information including social security numbers, home addresses, medical data, and even college and university grades has been obtained. Major companies like Capital One, Marriott, Uber, Target, and Equifax have had their servers breached.

Privacy Concerns and Cybercrime Laws

In response to the dramatic increase in computer crimes, the U.S. Congress has attempted to pass laws, such as a 2015 effort to persuade companies to share access to their computer networks with federal investigators. Private companies, the government maintains, do not have sufficient resources to prevent and deal with cyberattacks; only information sharing and a joint effort with the federal government will do this. However, sharing information with the government—or with other companies—raises privacy concerns, and this approach is resisted by many across the political spectrum.

In addition to legislative efforts, various federal agencies (e.g., the FBI, the Department of Defense, and the Department of Homeland Security) have trained agents and opened specialized units to fight cybercrime. The FBI also maintains a "most wanted list" of alleged cyber criminals. It is clear that cybercrime is a serious problem that will continue to draw considerable attention from law enforcement agencies across the globe. The Federal Trade Commission also has levied fines against companies whose systems were breached, with the justification that they had not taken appropriate measures to prevent these breaches from occurring.

At the turn of the 21st century, a national initiative to address the problem of Internet fraud was undertaken. The initiative encouraged the FBI to join forces with the NW3C (National White Collar Crime Center, mentioned in the previous chapter) to establish the Internet Fraud Complaint Center for strategic information about and analysis of Internet fraud schemes. The Center was later named the Internet Crime Complaint Center (IC3) to reflect the fact that not all cybercrimes are fraud related and to recognize the considerable overlap between many cybercrimes. (See Table 15–5 for the number of complaints of online crime over a five-year period.)

Psychological Characteristics of Cybercriminals

Research focusing on the psychological characteristics of cybercrime and cybercriminals is just beginning. We do know that cybercriminals are a diverse group in their talents and motivations, but they usually have acquired significant computer technical skills. Most

TABLE 15.5 Complaints of Online Crime, 2014–2018

Year	Complaints Received
2018	351,937
2017	301,580
2016	298,727
2015	288,012
2014	269,422
2013	262,813
2012	289,974

Source: Internet Crime Complaint Center. (2015, 2019). *Internet Crime Report, 2018.* Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation.

cybercriminals are young males who work in groups (Payne, Hawkins, & Xin, 2019). Most individual victims tend to be older (often over age 60) (Internet Crime Complaint Center, 2019), but this says nothing about victims who are agencies, small and large businesses, and government offices. Some cybercriminals commit the crimes for the thrills of making life miserable for others, whereas others desire the monetary rewards for their efforts. Increasingly, some view themselves as business persons and view cybercrime as their full-time business (Chabinsky, 2010). Some cybercriminals are businesses trying to gain an upper hand in the marketplace by hacking the websites of their competitors; others are rings of criminals wanting to sell personal information; others are generally young computer-savvy people looking for bragging rights; and others are terrorists (FBI, Computer Intrusions, 2015). As the level of profit increases, transnational, violent organized crime groups are becoming progressively more involved in the cybercrime enterprise (Chabinsky, 2010). These groups are beginning to shift focus away from system and personal computers to other platforms, including smart phones, tablet computers, and mobile devices.

It is likely that cybercriminals employ the same techniques of neutralizing their behavior as are employed by other offenders, particularly white-collar criminals. These were discussed in earlier chapters and include such cognitive approaches as dehumanizing victims and minimizing the extent of the harm they do.

Cyberstalking is a serious form of cybercrime that will likely grow in scope and complexity as more people take advantage of social media outlets and the vast array of digital technologies. The cyberstalker and the cyberbully—both discussed below—are more representative of the general topic of this chapter than the cybercriminals discussed thus far. Theirs are crimes of intimidation that can take an immense psychological toll on their victims. Both can send repeated and threatening messages by the simple push of a button, and their anonymity leaves them at an advantageous position for avoiding detection. We discuss both cyberstalking and cyberbullying in separate sections below, after reviewing research on stalking behavior in general.

Stalking

Stalking
Conduct directed at a specific person that involves repeated physical or visual proximity, nonconsensual communication, or verbal, written, or implied threats sufficient to cause fear in a reasonable person.

Many young adults report that they or someone they know well has experienced what they think of as stalking—such as unwelcome, persistent phone calls, text messages, or being followed on the street or into classrooms, stores, bars, and nightclubs. **Stalking** is broadly defined as "a course of conduct directed at a specific person that involves repeated physical or visual proximity, nonconsensual communication, or verbal, written, or implied threats sufficient to cause fear in a reasonable person" (Tjaden, 1997, p. 2). Systematic information on stalking in the United States is somewhat limited, despite the attention it receives from the media and state and federal legislatures (Tjaden, 1997). Early research

and attention focused on the stalking of famous persons, entertainment personalities, or politicians, known as "celebrity stalking." However, a substantial increase in the stalking of noncelebrities led to the passage of antistalking laws in all 50 states and the District of Columbia (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998a). Since that time, social scientists have directed more attention to the causes, correlates, and effects of stalking (e.g., Belknap & Sharma, 2014; Lambert et al., 2013; Reyns & Englebrecht, 2012; Sheridan, Scott, & North, 2015). As noted in Chapter 10, stalking often leads to violence, particularly when the victim of the stalking is a former intimate partner.

Legal definitions of stalking vary widely from state to state. While most states define it as the willful, malicious, and repeated following and harassing of another person, some include such activities as lying-in-wait, surveillance, nonconsensual communication, telephone harassment, and vandalism (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998a). Some states specify that at least two stalking events must occur before the conduct can be considered illegal.

California became the first state to enact antistalking legislation in 1990. The impetus for this legislation was not the stalking/homicide of television actress Rebecca Schaeffer as commonly believed, but rather the intractable problem of domestic violence (Lemon, 1994). A California municipal court judge initiated the development and passage of the antistalking law, following his frustration over existing laws that failed to protect four Orange County women who were killed in different incidents despite the issuance of restraining orders against their assailants. Since 1990, stalking statutes have spread rapidly to all states.

In an attempt to fill in the large gap in our knowledge about stalking, the Center for Policy Research conducted a comprehensive victimization survey of 8,000 men and women, 18 years of age or older, on issues relating to violence (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1997). Although the survey was done many years ago, it remains informative to this day. The survey revealed that 8% of women and 2% of men reported they had been stalked at some point in their lives (Tjaden, 1997). More recent data indicate that in 2006, an estimated 3.4 million persons age 18 or older were victims of stalking (Baum, Catalano, & Rand, 2009). In most cases, the stalking lasted less than one year, but some people were stalked for over five years. "While individually these acts may not be criminal, collectively and repetitively these behaviors may cause a victim to fear for his or her safety or the safety of a family member" (Baum et al., p. 1). It is estimated that 1 out of every 12 women and 1 out of every 45 men in the United States has been stalked during his or her lifetime (Tjaden & Thoennes, 1998a). Persons between the ages of 18 and 24 experience the highest rates of stalking victimization, and the risk of victimization decreases with age (Baum et al., 2009). Individuals who are divorced or separated are also at high risk of stalking victimization by their former partners.

In a more recent study, Sheridan, Scott and North (2015) compared various age groups of stalkers via detailed information obtained from their victims. Stalkers were divided into three age groups—16 and under, 17 to 59, and 60 and over. Interestingly, there were few significant differences among the stalkers. For example, the three groups were equal in whether they were or were not violent. Comparisons among the victims—also divided into age groups—were significant, however. Older victims, though suffering from similar effects, were both most likely to be injured and less likely to be taken seriously by law enforcement and others to whom they reported the stalking.

The Center for Policy Research survey (Tjaden & Thoennes) found that the motives of most stalkers were to control, intimidate, or frighten their victims. This observation was made by both male and female victims. Eighty-seven percent of the time the stalker was a male, and 80% of the time the victim was a female. In most stalking incidents, the victims (particularly women) knew their stalker. About half of the female victims were stalked by current or former marital or cohabiting partners, and a majority of these women (80%) had

been physically assaulted by that partner either during the relationship, during the stalking episode, or both. About 1 in 10 victims were stalked by a stranger (Baum et al., 2009). In about one-third of the cases, stalkers vandalized the victim's property, and about 10% of the time, the stalker killed or threatened to kill the victim's pet. In nearly half the cases, the stalker made overt threats to the victim. The survey dispels the myth that most stalkers are psychotic or delusional. Only 7% of the victims perceived their stalkers as "crazy" or abusers of drugs or alcohol.

Half of all victims reported the stalking to the police, and about one-quarter of the female victims obtained a restraining order. Not surprisingly, 70% of all restraining orders were violated by the assailant. About one-quarter of victims in cases where a restraining order was violated pursued prosecution. When prosecution was pursued, most cases resulted in conviction of the stalker and well over half received jail time. Although most of the stalking stopped within two years, the emotional and social effects of being stalked continued for many victims long after the incident. About one-third of the stalking victims sought psychological treatment because of the emotional and social trauma that resulted from the stalking episodes.

Meloy (1998) asserts that stalkers rarely cause serious physical injury to their victims, threaten them with weapons, or use weapons. Sheridan et al. (2015), however, reported that victims were often injured: 29% of victims of the mid-group of stalkers (ages 17–59) were injured, and 43.1% of victims of older stalkers (60 and over) were injured. About half of the younger stalker group (under 17) threatened their victims physically, though just over 7% of their victims were injured. Even when not injured, the psychological trauma is often substantial. In a survey of 145 stalking victims (120 women, 25 men), Hall (1998) reports that the experience of being stalked for months or even years is akin to psychological terrorism. A majority of the victims said their entire lives changed as a result of being stalked. "Many move or quit jobs, some change their names, others have gone underground, leaving friends and family in order to escape the terror" (Hall, 1998, p. 134). Some change their physical appearance or wear disguises. Others become exceedingly suspicious of the motives of others, often leading lonely and isolated lives. Many victims constantly worry that the stalker will find them, and that the entire experience will start all over again.

Categories of Stalking

Some researchers have identified categories or typologies of stalking. A prominent example is the four-category classification proposed by Beatty (2001): (1) simple obsession stalking, (2) love obsession stalking, (3) erotomania stalking, and (4) vengeance stalking. **Simple obsession stalking** accounts for the majority of stalking (about 60%) and often represents extensions of previous patterns of domestic violence and psychological abuse. The stalker in these case scenarios usually seeks power and control after a failed relationship with the victim. Simple obsession stalking is perhaps the most dangerous to the victim, since it is often motivated by the stalker's conclusion that "If I can't have you, nobody will." In **love obsession stalking**, the stalker and victim are casual acquaintances or complete strangers. Stalkers in this category are characterized by low self-esteem and tend to select victims they perceive to have certain qualities they believe will raise their self-esteem. Essentially, they seek a love relationship with the object of their obsession, contrary to the wishes of their victim.

Simple obsession stalking
The form in which the stalker seeks power and control after a failed relationship with the victim; often associated with past domestic violence.

Love obsession stalking
In this form of stalking, the stalker and victim are strangers or casual acquaintances. The stalker seeks a love relationship with the object of his or her obsession.

Erotomania stalking
In this form of stalking, the stalker usually has serious mental disorders and is considered delusional. Public figures are typically the targets.

Erotomania stalking is considered delusional, and the stalker is often plagued by serious mental disorders. This type of stalker usually targets public figures or celebrities in their misguided attempts to gain self-esteem and status for themselves. Despite the term, however, it is not necessarily highly erotic in motive. Talk show host David Letterman was stalked over a number of years by a woman who apparently believed she was his wife. The woman

frequently trespassed on Letterman's property, hid in his home, and even stole his car to go grocery shopping. The delusional woman eventually took her own life. Fortunately, erotomania stalking appears to be relatively rare, and normally the stalker is not violent.

In the 1990s, photographer Sally Mann published a book of photos of her three children, some of which represented the children unclothed. Writing recently (Mann, 2015) in defense of her book, which had been both highly praised and highly criticized, Mann reveals that the family was stalked for about six years by a person who knew their whereabouts and often tried—sometimes posing as a researcher—to obtain information about the children from schools, public records, libraries, and other sources. The stalker, whom she does not name, eventually moved out of the United States. Although he never approached the children directly and never threatened them, the family lived with the fear that he might do so at some point. Mann writes that one of her daughters still has nightmares about the man, many years after the incidents she reports.

Vengeance stalking is quite different from the other three types, because vengeance stalkers do not seek a personal relationship with their targets (Beatty, 2001). Instead, they try to elicit a particular response or change of behavior from the victims. For example, the stalker who wishes to torment those responsible for a perceived injustice or violation of their rights might follow the "guilty parties" day and night until he is fairly compensated.

Vengeance stalking
In this type, stalkers do not seek a relationship with their victims but rather are trying to elicit a response or change of behavior from the victim.

Other researchers have classified stalkers according to their relationship with the victim. Studying over one thousand male and female stalkers, Mohandie, Meloy, Green-McGowan, and Williams (2006) divided them into intimate stalkers, acquaintance stalkers, public figure stalkers, and private stranger stalkers. The most violence associated with the stalking was perpetrated by intimate stalkers, with the least perpetrated by public figure stalkers. The intimate stalker resembles the simple obsession stalker described above; both are most likely to result in violence.

What terminates stalking? Some stalkers stop their activity toward the current victim when they find a new "love" interest. About 18% of the victims in the Center for Policy Research Survey indicated the stalking stopped when their assailant got a new spouse, partner, or boyfriend/girlfriend. Informal law enforcement interventions also seem to help. Fifteen percent said the stalking ceased when the assailant received a warning from the police. More formal interventions such as arrest, conviction, or restraining orders do not appear to be very effective. When it comes to persistent, frightening stalking that creates risks to personal safety, the survey suggests that the most effective method may be to relocate as far away from the offender as possible with no information of whereabouts provided to the offender.

Cyberstalking

Cyberstalking is using the Internet or other forms of electronic communications to threaten or engage in unwanted advances toward another. Virtually every state today has laws criminalizing it. In many laws, a distinction is drawn between **cyberstalking** and **cyberharassment**. Some states have statutes relating to one or the other, others have statutes relating to each, and in other states both behaviors are covered in one statute. The typical state has separate laws for each.

Cyberstalking
Threatening behavior or unwanted advances directed at another using the Internet or other forms of online communications.

Cyberharassment
Sending messages electronically to torment another person. Compared with cyberstalking, not considered a credible threat when statutes distinguish between the two.

Cyberharassment pertains to threatening or harassing email messages, instant messages or blog entries, or websites dedicated solely to tormenting an individual (NCSL, 2015). When cyberharassment is kept distinct from cyberstalking, the former is not thought to involve a *credible* threat. Although harassment is a milder form of behavior and generally subject to lesser criminal penalties, the effect on the recipient may be substantial, and from a psychological perspective there is little difference between the two activities. In this section we use cyberstalking because it is the more serious offense and has generated the most research, but concepts discussed may also relate to cyberharassment.

About one in four stalking victims reported that some form of cyberstalking was used to frighten them (Baum et al., 2009). Online and electronic stalking and harassment may take many forms, but in many ways they are similar to offline stalking. Although stalkers often wish to establish relationships with the victims, a substantial number seek to terrify and sometimes ultimately harm their victims. In many cases, the cyberstalker and the victim had a prior relationship, and the cyberstalking begins when the victim attempts to break off the relationship (U.S. Department of Justice, 1999). Ultimately, much cyberstalking is designed to control the victim, usually through threats and harassment.

"Because e-mail is used daily by what some experts say are as many as 35 million people, and it is estimated that there are approximately 200,000 stalkers in the United States, the Internet is a perfect forum with which to terrorize their victims" (Jenson, 1996, p. 1). In the years since that statement was written, opportunities to cyberstalk have expanded dramatically. Email servers, cell phones, smart phones, and text messaging—all allowing access to multiple social networking sites—provide far-reaching and unregulated outlets for contacting unsuspecting victims. An enormous amount of personal information is available through the Internet, and perpetrators can easily and quickly locate private information about a target, similar to the identity thieves discussed in Chapter 14. Furthermore, as discussed above, computer intrusions enable hackers to obtain private information, which can be shared with individuals interested in cyberstalking.

One aspect of cyberstalking that should be considered is the process of deindividuation, discussed in earlier chapters. The anonymity offered by the Internet and many forms of electronic communication releases participants from the traditional constraints on their behavior by deindividuating them (Hinduja, 2008). Deindividuation, you will recall, reduces self-awareness and self-regulation. "Individuals who act and interact in cyberspace may feel 'hidden' or immersed among each other (and among the collective of hundreds of millions currently connected online) and more a part of a group than by oneself" (Hinduja, 2008, p. 392). Therefore, some people who cyberstalk or cyberbully may be more inclined to act in a deviant and psychologically damaging manner as a result of the anonymity the Internet provides. We continue with this theme below.

Cyberbullying

Traditional bullying is defined as "systematically and chronically inflicting physical hurt or psychological distress on one or more students" (Diamanduros, Downs, & Jenkins, 2008, p. 693). Although bullying is generally defined and discussed in the context of young people, such as students in schools, it also can occur among adults, such as in the workplace. As we noted in Chapter 6, bullying can take the form of physical, verbal, and nonverbal actions (Olweus, 1997; Vijoen, O'Neill, & Sidhu, 2005).

Cyberbullying
Sending or posting harmful or cruel text or images using the Internet or other digital communication devices. Primarily a problem with school-aged children and adolescents.

Cyberbullying is defined as "sending or posting harmful or cruel text or images using the Internet or other digital communication devices" (Li, 2006, p. 158). Cyberbullying is basically sending messages of an intimidating or threatening nature, usually to a peer. These electronic forms of contact may include the Internet or cell or smart phones, most often through emails, Instagram, tweets, test messaging, and other social media.

As any parent knows, online communication is extremely important in the lives of most adolescents and even some pre-adolescents. Underwood and Ehrenreich (2017) estimate that: "Adolescents in the United States send an average of 60 text messages per day . . . and prefer to communicate with friends via text messaging more than any other mode of communication, including face-to-face interaction" (p. 145). In today's social media world, "face-to-face" interaction may mean "face-timing" friends or sending pictures via Snapchat, Instagram, and other applications, however. Underwood and Ehrenreich also note that the

same features that make online communication so enticing may also become a source of great pain and distress, often in the form of being cyberbullied.

Psychological Effects

The psychological impact of even a single episode of cyberbullying can be quite devastating to the victim (Underwood & Ehrenreich, 2017). This is especially true if the perpetrator was believed by the victim to be a friend or known peer. "Adolescents may be deeply wounded by even a single experience of cyber victimization, which most often happens at the hands of a friend" (Underwood & Ehrenreich, 2017, p. 155). Not only does the cyberattack cause psychological damage to the self-esteem and self-image of the victim, but the message may also be immediately viewed as well as forwarded by friends and other peers repeatedly over time. Research studies often report that the overall effects of cyberbullying on the victim include anxiety disorders, sleep problems, loneliness, depression, substance abuse, poor academic achievement, low life satisfaction, and in extreme cases, suicide attempts (Kowalski, Giumetti, Schroeder, & Lattanner, 2014; Kowalski, Limber, & McCord, 2019; Mehari, Farrell, & Le, 2014; Underwood & Ehrenreich, 2017). Many of the effects of bullying discussed in Chapter 6 apply equally if not more intensely to cyberbullying. As Diamanduros et al. (2008) observed, while the playground or school bus or school hall is where bullying traditionally has occurred, technology has expanded the problem to the borderless cyberworld.

Because of its established links to emotional or mental health problems in youth, bullying and cyberbullying has become an emerging public health concern (Selkie, Fales, & Moreno, 2016). The importance of this problem among youth is reflected in the fact that in the United States all 50 states have enacted bullying prevention legislation—and every state except Alaska and Wisconsin have explicit reference to cyberbullying in their antibullying laws (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2019). Only a handful make cyberbullying itself a criminal offense, but the laws typically require schools to have policies to deal with bullying and cyberbullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2015). Currently, there is no cyberbullying law in the United States at the federal level. Laws must be crafted in such a way as to not infringe on First Amendment protections, however. Bullying usually involves physical victimization, such as shoving, punching, or more serious beatings. Cyberbullying—as disturbing as it is—can be regarded as free speech. When the speech crosses the line and becomes a credible threat, criminal sanctions may be attached.

The difficulty enacting laws punishing cyberbullying is illustrated by the fate of the Megan Meier Cyberbullying Act of 2009, a proposed federal law that would have forbade interstate or foreign digital or electronic communication with intent to coerce, intimidate, harass, or cause substantial emotional distress to a person. The bill was introduced twice into the House of Representatives but failed to gain support for passage because of concerns that it was overbroad in its coverage and infringed on free speech. Megan Meier was a 14-year-old girl who committed suicide after receiving host messages from "Josh Evans," a "boy" she met on MySpace. Ultimately, it was learned that "Josh" was really another girl, an acquaintance of Megan's who lived down the street. The two girls had had disagreements, and the other girl's parents helped her create the fake Josh Evans identity, which she used to send distressing messages to Megan. The girl and her family themselves were subjected to considerable in-person and online harassment when details of the suicide were revealed. Similar suicidal incidents across the country led legislatures to try to craft laws that would criminalize bullying online, particularly when it led to the suicide of the bullied individual. To date, however, punishment for cyberbullying has been limited to suspensions from school, provided the actions significantly disrupted the school environment. However, schools can be sued successfully if they are deliberately indifferent to bullying

problems within the school, and sometimes including cyberbullying off school grounds. Schools are not considered indifferent if they take preventive measures, such as addressing bullying and cyberbullying in assemblies, classrooms, and extracurricular activities like clubs and sports. Even with such measures in place, however, failure to respond to known bullying incidents is legally problematic.

Prevalence

Cyberbullying has become a worldwide problem among students, especially middle-school students. Nevertheless, cyberbullying by and against other age groups, particularly young adults, is coming to attention as well. Although this is a global problem, most of the research has been conducted in North America, Europe, Australia, and the Pacific Rim countries (Smith, López-Castro, Robinson, & Görzig, 2019).

Prevalence and perpetration rates of cyberbullying among students, however, are difficult to obtain. Prevalence rates refer to the percentage of students who cyberbully; perpetration rates refer to the extent to which an individual cyberbullies. Both rates are highly variable across the many available research studies. This variability is due in large part "to how cyberbullying is defined, the time parameter used to determine whether cyberbullying occurred (e.g., at least two months, six months, lifetime), the conservative versus liberal criterion used to determine whether cyberbullying occurred (e.g., at least once, two, or three times a month or more), and demographic characteristics of the sample being investigated (e.g., age, sex, race)" (Kowalski et al., 2019, p. 21). Kowalski et al. cite the work of Brochado, Soares, and Fraga (2016) who examined 159 prevalence studies of cyberbullying among adolescents. Brochado et al. found that the victimization rates within the past year ranged from 1.0% to 61.1%, and the perpetration rates during the same period of time ranged from 3.0% to 39.0%. Moreover, lifetime victimization prevalence rates ranged from 4.9% to 65.0%, and the perpetration rates ranged from 1.2% to 44.1%. Rates for being both the victim and a perpetrator (referred to as the bully-victim) varied between 1.5% and 72.0% within the last year, and between 5.0% and 64.3% over the lifetime. It should be noted that bully-victims (those who both bully and are bullied) tend to be more aggressive in their bullying and also appear to have more psychological problems compared to their peers (Patterson, Closson, & Patry, 2019; Schenk, Fremouw, & Keelan, 2013).

Despite the wide range of variability in prevalence studies, Patchin and Hinduja (2012) report that based on their best estimates from the research literature, about one in five school-aged youth have been victims of cyberbullying. Overall, studies have generally reported that girls are more likely to be the victims and perpetrators of cyberbullying than boys. However, one important study suggests that more girls tend to be the victims and/or perpetrators in early adolescence (e.g., middle school), whereas more boys tend to be the victims and/or perpetrators during late adolescence (e.g., high school) (Barlett & Coyne, 2014).

Who are the Cyberbullies?

Those who frequently cyberbully are characterized by the need to feel powerful and in control (Diamanduros et al., 2008). They like to dominate, and they often though not invariably select victims who are loners and low in peer status. In many instances, they have been bullied themselves (Barlett & Gentile, 2012; Bauman, 2010; Li, 2007). "In other words, individuals may be motivated to harm others online after receiving such harm, suggesting retaliatory motivations" (Barlett & Gentile, 2012, p. 131). Retaliatory motivation in this context refers to the tendency to cyberbully either those who cyberbullied them or other individuals they know. Many youths say they cyberbullied because they had been cyberbullied first. It is also easier for victims of cyberbullying "to retaliate in the digital

context because of anonymity, invisibility, and less concern about differences in physical size" (Underwood & Ehrenreich, 2017, p. 148).

Barlett and Gentile (2012) also proposed a model based on traditional learning theory, to predict continuing cyberbullying once it had begun. The model incorporates attitudes favorable toward cyberbullying, perceptions of anonymity online, and beliefs that physical stature (in particular muscularity) are irrelevant because this is not noticed online. (See Box 15–2 for more discussion of this model.) The learning model has been tested

RESEARCH FOCUS

BOX 15–2 DEVELOPING AND EXPANDING A MODEL OF CYBERBULLYING

Bullying behavior is of increasing concern in the United States as well as globally. Cyberbullying—because it is seems so easy to do and almost invariably allows the bully to be anonymous—may be even more common. As noted in the text, though, the prevalence of such behavior is difficult to establish. Psychologists, educators, and other professionals have sought effective methods for both predicting and preventing it.

Researchers Barlett and Gentile and their colleagues have proposed and tested a model that incorporates several factors to predict cyberbullying in youth and young adults. First explained by Barlett and Gentile (2012), and referred to as the BGCM, the model focuses on the cyberbully's attitudes toward the behavior, his or her perceptions of anonymity, and beliefs that physical stature (e.g., muscularity) is irrelevant. In other words, one can bully online without having to back up the behavior with physical force, or the threat of such force. The model also suggests that once a person starts to cyberbully, he or she will continue to do so, based on broad learning principles. For example, the person develops cognitive scripts, strengthens his or her perceptions of anonymity, and develops more positive attitudes toward cyberbullying. Put another way, early cyberbullying is reinforcing.

The BGCM has been supported in a number of studies over the last decade, as cited in the text. Whereas most research has been done with adolescents, a recent study (Barlett & Kowalewski, 2018) used college students as participants and found ample evidence of this behavior among young adults.

There are mixed findings on the extent to which the cyberbully learns to be even more disinhibited, however. Disinhibition is a correlating factor; it does not necessarily increase in longitudinal studies, when different time periods are examined (e.g., Barlett & Helmstetter, 2018). Furthermore, most tests of the model have not yet examined the possible interaction between cyberbullying victimization and cyberbullying perpetration. As noted in the text, it is not unusual for those who bully online to have been bullied themselves, either traditionally or online. The BGCM does not address this sufficiently as of yet. Also not carefully examined is whether the model applies equally across genders.

The researchers typically emphasize, however, that intervention can be effective if a cyberbully is identified early on (e.g., by parents, school officials, therapists) and can be persuaded that his or her anonymity cannot be guaranteed and that the pro-cyberbullying attitudes are not acceptable. As Barlett and Helmstetter (2018, p. 570) note, "Until individuals learn the negative consequences of using the Internet to harm others, it is likely that cyberbullying will continue to be an issue that requires empirical attention."

Questions for Discussion

1. Is it more important to predict cyberbullying or to prevent it? Can either be done without the other?
2. Barlett and his colleagues invite others to expand their theory or to propose and test a new theory to predict cyberbullying. If you were developing your own model, would you add any elements to those discussed in the BGCM?
3. What are the negative consequences of cyberbullying? ■

and largely substantiated by subsequent research (e.g., Barlett & Kowalewsi, 2018; Barlett, Gentile, & Chew, 2017; Wright, 2013). Apparently, some youths do not believe they are "bullying" in the traditional sense; rather they say they are "punking" or employ some other morally disengaging term when describing their actions. Although traditional face-to-face bullying and cyberbullying are distinct, it is not unusual for those who engage in traditional forms of bullying to also engage in a large amount of the cyberbullying (Barlett & Gentile, 2012). Li (2007), for instance, discovered that nearly one-third of the cyberbullies in her Canadian sample were also traditional bullies. Li also found that 60% of cyberbullying victims were females, and most of the cyberbullies by far in these cases also were females. "This result supports the point that females prefer to use electronic communication media such as chat-room and email to bully others" (Li, 2007, p. 1787).

Characteristics of Cyberbullying

Some scholars have suggested that cyberbullying may represent a different kind of aggressive behavior compared to traditional definitions of aggression (Mehari & Farrell, 2018). This argument is based on the unique features of the perpetration of aggressive behavior through electronics. In contrast to traditional bullying, cyberbullies are often anonymous. In one extensive survey of 1,211 students, approximately 40% of those who were cyberbullied did not know the identity of the bully, although some students had their suspects (Dehue, Bolman, & Völlink, 2008). "Cyberspace creates an illusion of invisibility because it is faceless" (Mason, 2008, p. 329). This feeling of invisibility eliminates concerns of detection, social disapproval, and punishment. In addition, cyberbullies are not personally confronted with how their victims react to their cyberbullying or the consequences of their actions, which encourages deindividuation (Dehue et al., 2008). However, when the anonymous bully and victim attend the same school or otherwise are in contact with one another, the bully is able to observe the residual effects of his or her behavior. Victims report that not knowing the person behind the cyberattacks is often discouraging, which increases their feelings of powerlessness (Vandebosch & Van Cleemput, 2008).

Protective factors for reducing cyberbullying victimization include parental monitoring, social intelligence, parental control of the technology, and perceived support from peers and others (Underwood & Ehrenreich, 2017). Parental monitoring appears to be an important protective factor for prevention—or at least reducing—both perpetration and victimization. For example, a study by Barlett and Fennel (2018) found that parental ignorance of their children's online behavior was a contributing factor in cyberbullying perpetration. Based on the data the researchers uncovered, they concluded: "It is clear that parental ignorance is a positive predictor of cyberbullying, likely caused by the belief held by youth that they are more likely to aggress online because their parents will not know about these actions" (p. 557). However, although parental monitoring may seem like a strong protective approach, it is well known that adolescents are continually embracing new digital platforms, which become overwhelming to understand for adults (Underwood & Ehrenreich, 2017). Even though many parents try to monitor and understand the digital lives of adolescents, more than 70% of teens admit they are skillful at avoiding parental monitoring in various ways. Furthermore, the cyberbullying may be subtle and difficult for adults to identify even if parents do carefully monitor their children's digital communications. Moreover, adolescents who are victims are often reluctant to share distressing online experiences with their parents. For instance, Waasdorp and Bradshaw (2015) discovered that only one-third of adolescents told their parents about being cyberbullied.

Perhaps among the most effective ways of significantly reducing cyberbullying perpetration is to form frequent discussion groups with teens, parents, and educators designed to exchange points of view concerning the serious and devastating psychological damages

that may occur as a result of being cyberbullied. As suggested above, this type of preventive approach in association with the school system—whether public or private—is one way of demonstrating that a school is not indifferent to the problem facing its students. Furthermore, it is likely more effective than drastic punishment (e.g., suspension) of a student who has bullied.

Hostage-Taking Offenses

The hostage taker holds victims against their will and uses them to obtain material gain or personal advantage. Typically, this offender threatens to take the lives of the victims if certain demands are not met within a specified time period. Included in the broad hostage-taking category are abductions and kidnappings, skyjackings, and some acts of terrorism. Recall that we gave attention in Chapter 11 to acts of international and domestic terrorism. In this chapter, terrorism is discussed only as it relates specifically to hostage-taking. For the most part, however, hostage-taking here refers to the perpetrator's behavior out of an international political context.

Instrumental and Expressive Hostage-Taking

Some time ago, Miron and Goldstein (1978) divided hostage-taking offenses into two major categories based on the offender's primary motivation: instrumental and expressive hostage-taking. The categories continue to be useful today for understanding and responding to hostage-taking scenarios.

In **instrumental hostage-taking**, the offender's goal is recognizable—it is chiefly material gain, such as kidnapping a child and holding the child for ransom. The goal also may be to achieve freedom, such as in the classic case wherein a robber holds a hostage until a getaway vehicle is delivered. The goal in **expressive hostage-taking** is psychological: the offender wants to become significant and to take control over his or her own fate. Expressive offenders generally feel that they have little control over events in their lives. They want to become important, and they believe the media coverage accompanying their hostage-taking will help them to achieve this goal. Alternatively, the hostage taker may be depressed and may see the offense as bringing attention to a desperate situation. Hostage-taking offenses sometimes begin as instrumental acts but develop into expressive ones. An offender who initially kidnaps someone for material gain may find that his demands are unrealistic and not likely to be met; in this case, the person may decide to play out the scenario for the attention, significance, and control it affords. Sometimes, both instrumental and expressive motives are clearly involved from the beginning. That is, the offender expects both material and psychological gain from the abduction.

Instrumental hostage-taking
A hostage situation in which the primary goal of the offender is material or monetary gain.

FBI Categories of Hostage-Taking

Since the 1970s, the FBI has classified hostage takers into four broad categories: terrorists, prisoners, criminals, and the mentally disordered (Fuselier & Noesner, 1990). Here the focus is less on the motivations of the person and more on their apparent characteristics. Research suggests that over 50% of all hostage-taking incidents are perpetrated by individuals who have a mental disorder (Borum & Strentz, 1993), thus representing the largest category. It should be noted, however, that the categories may overlap, such as when a person holding captives in a domestic violence situation (criminal) also has a mental disorder.

Early research indicated that the average terrorist hostage taker was not sophisticated (Fuselier & Noesner, 1990) and that training for the terrorist activity was marginal or

nonexistent. Terrorist hostage takers were usually young men from deprived socioeconomic backgrounds with little formal education. Moreover, they were very willing to kill innocent victims and considered more dangerous than the more sophisticated hostage taker.

Over the past two decades, hostage-taking by terrorist groups has both increased and become more sophisticated. Attempted negotiations for the release of aid workers, journalists, or government agents have been complex and typically held in highly classified fashion. Few hostages held by Al Qaeda or ISIS have been released, for example, and many have been executed, sometimes in a horrifying manner as seen on videos circulated on the Internet. In April 2015, the U.S. government itself accepted responsibility for the inadvertent killing of two hostages—along with two Americans who had joined Al-Qaeda—in a counterterrorism operation. The hostages were aid workers who had been held by Al-Qaeda for approximately four years.

It is doubtful, then, that the following quote from 1990, long before the events of September 11, is still representative today. "(N)egotiation strategies and tactics for terrorist incidents are identical to those that would be used during any hostage or barricade incident, regardless of the political or religious backgrounds of the subjects" (Fuselier & Noesner, 1990, p. 10). For that reason, the FBI's first category—terrorist hostage takers—must be treated very differently from the others and is not addressed in detail here.

Miller (2007) notes that a category of hostage takers similar to the terrorist is the one who has political or religious motives but is not associated with a formal terrorist group. "This is probably one of the most dangerous hostage situations, because many of these perpetrators are quite willing to die and kill others for their cause" (Miller, 2007, p. 66). This type of hostage taker—one we would place in the expressive category above—is likely to be considered a domestic terrorist according to the FBI's scheme.

The other forms of hostage-taking have similar features and respond well to knowledgeable negotiation strategies. As Miller (2007) notes, crisis intervention in hostage situations have resolved the situation approximately 95% of the time without fatalities to either the hostages or hostage takers.

Criminal and prisoner hostage-taking situations share the most similar features. Both are likely to be instrumental in nature. In the process of committing a bank robbery, for example, the robber may take a hostage as a human shield to assist in the getaway. Likewise, during a prison riot or escape attempt, inmates may take corrections officers or staff as hostages to help earn their way to freedom or aid in their negotiations with prison officials. Such incidents are extremely rare, and the hostages are not usually harmed, but there are exceptions. A riot in the brutal New Mexico Penitentiary in 1980 was extremely violent, and seven of the 12 officers who were taken as hostages were seriously physically injured (Johnson, 1996). However, in the famed Attica uprising of 1971, prisoners in New York's Attica facility held a number of officers hostage but did not harm them physically (Wicker, 1976). The uprising occurred after many unsuccessful attempts by inmates and advocates to improve conditions within the prison. Most of the deaths of correctional officers and inmates that are associated with that incident occurred when the prison was stormed by law enforcement officers in a controversial move to forego negotiations and end the uprising (Thompson, 2014; Wicker, 1976). That is, most of the deaths were not caused by the prisoners.

The hostage taker who has mental disorder—considered the most frequent—also may be the most dangerous, particularly because this hostage taker's actions are unpredictable. As Miller (2007) notes, local law enforcement is most likely to come into contact with hostage takers who have mental disorders in domestic and workplace hostage situations. "Thus, to be truly effective, negotiators need to wed the art and science of crisis management to the insights on personality and psychopathology offered by mental health professionals" (p. 68). In his useful article, Miller offers specific approaches to take with persons with a

TABLE 15–6 Guidelines for Hostage Negotiation

- Stabilize and contain the situation.
- Take your time when negotiating.
- Allow the subject to speak: It is more important to be a good listener than a good talker.
- Don't offer the subject anything.
- Avoid directing frequent attention to the victims; do not call them hostages.
- Be as honest as possible; avoid tricks.
- Never dismiss any request as trivial.
- Never say "no."
- Never set a deadline; try not to accept a deadline.
- Do not make alternate suggestions.
- Do not introduce outsiders (non–law enforcement) into the negotiation process.
- Do not allow any exchange of hostages; especially do not exchange a negotiator for a hostage.

Source: Fuselier, G. D. & Noesner, G. W. (1990). Confronting the terrorist hostage taker. *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin,* p. 10.

variety of disorders, including schizophrenia, paranoia, depression, and antisocial personality disorder, among others.

Strategies for Dealing with Hostage Takers

Experienced negotiators suggest strategies for dealing with hostage takers or barricaded individuals. (A **barricade situation** is one in which an individual has fortified or barricaded himself or herself in a building or residence, and threatens violence, either to self or others.) Many of these strategies are based on psychological concepts (see Table 15–6). In addition to these negotiation strategies, however, a basic protocol must be followed (e.g., securing the perimeter, provide for scene control, establish a means of communication) (Miller, 2005).

Barricade situation
In hostage-taking scenarios, a situation in which an individual has fortified him- or herself in a building or residence and threatens violence, typically to the hostages.

First, the hostage taker should be denied the excitement and stimulation he or she hopes to initiate; this requires that a potentially chaotic situation be handled as calmly as possible, with minimum media attention. This is difficult to accomplish, because hostage-taking incidents are extremely media worthy. As noted in Chapter 5, very high levels of arousal tend to promote disorganized response patterns and reduce internal thought processes. Under high excitement and chaos, the offender is more likely to revert to "mindless" behavior, which may include violence. The most dangerous phase in most hostage or barricade situations is the first 15–45 minutes (Noesner & Dolan, 1992). Miller (2007) emphasizes, however, that two other periods are equally dangerous: during the surrender of the hostage taker, and during tactical assaults to rescue the hostages, if such assaults are undertaken.

With regard to the first 15–45 minutes, the first officers on the scene should hold their positions until additional resources, including the negotiation team, arrive at the scene. If possible, the officers who are first on the scene should try to engage the hostage taker in conversation, emphasizing that they wish no harm to the individual. Experienced negotiators believe that conversation distracts the offender from violence and generally calms the situation, especially if the negotiator maintains a calm and steady demeanor.

Second, offenders must be allowed to feel that they are in some control of the situation. Helplessness and powerlessness may have prompted the offense in the first place. If the captors do not feel they have attained any control, they may take steps to prove the opposite, such as shooting one of the hostages.

Third, in hostage or barricade situations, time is usually a strong ally. Once the early stages of a crisis have passed and some stability and calm have been achieved, the passage of time plays a positive role. Time has several effects. After the initial high-arousal state, the body winds down and eventually the offender begins to feel tired, sluggish, and depressed.

Under these conditions, the event takes on aversive properties for the hostage taker, and the offender is likely to begin to wish the situation were over. Time also promotes, in the hostage taker, some thought processes and greater reliance on internal standards of conduct. If the offender has incorporated some values of society, he or she may begin to appreciate the ramifications of his or her behavior. However, the hostage taker may also begin to construct justifications. Either process, however, may enable the offender to accede more easily to police requests. Experienced negotiators strongly recommend that the negotiator act as spokesperson for the authorities and a conduit of information, emphasizing to the hostage taker that acceding to requests will take time. Consequently, the negotiator should not be a decision maker or in command. Otherwise, if the hostage taker is under the impression that the negotiator (or anyone in the immediate environment) has the power and decision-making authority, he or she will believe that decisions should be made quickly and directly. Under these conditions, any delay generates frustration in the captor and further increases arousal.

Time also affects the relationship with the hostage. According to social psychological research, the more familiar one is with an object or person, the more one tends to become attracted to it (e.g., Freedman, Sears, & Carlsmith, 1978). In many hostage situations, the more the victim and captor get to know one another, the more they begin to accept one another. Furthermore, if the hostage was a stranger to the captor, the hostage takes on human qualities with the passage of time. This is not identical to the Stockholm syndrome, a rare phenomenon in which some hostages and hostage takers develop an attraction to one another.

The Stockholm Syndrome

Stockholm syndrome
The rare phenomenon of hostages becoming physically and/or emotionally attracted to their captors.

The attraction between victim and captor called the **Stockholm syndrome** is often said to get its name from a hostage-taking incident in Sweden in 1973 that resulted in marriage between a female hostage and one of her abductors. Police negotiators have noted that on occasion, the hostage will side with the captor in working out demands. Although this may simply reflect a wish to end the terrifying ordeal as quickly as possible, it may also signify some attraction to or identification with the abductor. When hostages act this way, experts sometimes maintain that they have been brainwashed. An alternate explanation is that they have become attracted to their captors and temporarily identified with their values and goals. In general, though, the Stockholm syndrome is a rare occurrence. According to the FBI's Hostage/Barricade System (HOBAS), a national database that contains data from over 1,200 reported federal, state, and local hostage situations, 92% of the victims of such incidents showed no aspect of the Stockholm syndrome (Fuselier, 1999).

Some researchers have suggested that three things must be present before the Stockholm syndrome can take place (Fuselier, 1999). First, the hostage taker and victim must be together for a significant length of time. Second, the hostage must be in direct social contact during the incident. For example, physical separation of the hostage (such as complete isolation in a separate room) from the hostage taker will likely prevent development of the effect. Third, the hostage taker must treat the hostage kindly. In most hostage-taking situations, it is highly unlikely that each of these three conditions will occur.

Arson

Arson is defined "as any willful or malicious burning or attempt to burn, with or without intent to defraud, a dwelling house, public building, motor vehicle or aircraft, personal property of another" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2005, p. 53). According to the UCR

guidelines, only fires that law enforcement investigation has determined to have been willfully or maliciously set may be classified as arson. Agencies participating in the UCR program do not report fires of suspicious or unknown origin.

From a psychological perspective, it is more useful to focus on firesetting behavior than on behavior that ultimately qualifies as arson, a criminal act. Most psychological research in this area examines developmental and behavioral characteristics of children, adolescents, and adults who persistently set fires, whether or not they are arrested and convicted of crime. Government data on fires is obtained from agencies such as the U.S. Fire Administration or through the UCR program, if arson is reported. It is noteworthy that the UCR data, to be covered below, do not include fires that are labeled suspicious or of unknown origin. For example, massive wildfires that are suspected to have been deliberately set, but are not confirmed as such, are not included in UCR statistics. As for numerous other offenses, there is a large dark figure that is not captured by the official data. Therefore, although we first begin with an overview of the crime of arson, we move quickly to concentrating upon psychological research on firesetting.

Incidence and Prevalence

The U.S. Fire Administration (www.usfa.fema.gov/data/statistics/) is a prominent source of data on fires in the United States. Between 2008 and 2010, 5% of all residential fires were intentionally set (U.S. Fire Administration, 2012). More than half (56%) of these intentionally set fires took place in residential buildings that were occupied or considered to be in normal use. The rest of the intentionally set fires occurred in vacant buildings. Intentionally set fires result in approximately 375 deaths, 1,300 injuries, and $1 billion dollars in direct property loss annually (U.S. Fire Administration, 2009).

UCR data shed additional light on this problem, but again we emphasize that crime statistics capture only a portion of actual firesetting behavior. In 2017, there were 7,810 arrests for arson (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). Nearly 25% of the arrests were juveniles (under 18). Eighty percent of all arrests, regardless of age, were male. Nearly 46% of all arson offenses involved structures (residential, storage facilities, public facilities, etc.). About 24% involved mobile property such as cars, trucks, and boats, and about 30% involved other types of property, such as forests.

Interestingly, juveniles under 18 accounted for about 50% of all those arrested for arson in 2004, but a smaller percentage (about 25%) in 2017 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2018a). In this and other countries (e.g., United Kingdom, Australia) young people, particularly males, account for substantial percent of the total arrests (Ducat, McEwan, & Ogloff, 2017; Lambie, McCardle, & Coleman, 2002); MacKay, Feldberg, Ward, & Marton, 2012). Some studies have found that between 75% and 85% of all firesetting is done by males, with increasing percentages of females in the 13- to 17-year-old group (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003; Stadolnik, 2000).

In a typical year in the United States, fires set by children and youth claim the lives of approximately 250–300 individuals (Putnam & Kirkpatrick, 2005). Children are often the victim of these fires, accounting for 85% of the lives lost in the United States (U.S. Fire Administration, 2004). Next to deaths caused by motor vehicle accidents, fires are the leading cause of death among young children (Stickle & Blechman, 2002). Not all these fires, of course, were set with criminal intent or would qualify as arson.

Most fires set by youth go undetected, unreported, or unsolved (Ducat, McEwan, & Ogloff, 2015; Gannon & Barrowcliffe, 2012; Zipper & Wilcox, 2005). It is generally acknowledged, for example, that only a small proportion of fires set by juveniles—probably less than 10%—is reported (Adler, Nunn, Northam, Lebnan, & Ross, 1994). Zipper and Wilcox (2005) noted that, of the 1,241 Massachusetts juveniles referred for counseling

services because of arson, only 11% of the blazes these youths started had been reported to law enforcement. No one reported these incidents, apparently because witnesses or caretakers did not consider the behavior dangerous and no loss of life or significant destruction of property occurred. In these situations, many people also worry that charging juveniles with arson will give them a criminal record that will hamper their future careers. Finally, children who set fires are often considered emotionally disturbed and thus in need of treatment, not punishment. We address this perception below. Another study of youth from the 3rd to the 8th grades in 15 school districts in Oregon found that 32% of the students reported setting fires outside their homes, and 29% said they had started fires in their own residences (Zipper & Wilcox, 2005). Because so much attention is given to the topic of firesetting among children, we focus on this in the next section.

Developmental Stages of Firesetting

Arson
Any willful or malicious burning or attempt to burn, with or without intent to defraud, a dwelling house, public building, motor vehicle, aircraft, or personal property of another.

Firesetting
The term used primarily in the literature on child and adolescent psychopathology for an abnormal fascination with fire accompanied by successful or unsuccessful attempts to start harmful fires.

As indicated at the beginning of this section, **arson** is the legal term that specifically characterizes the willful or malicious setting of fires and defines it as a crime, with or without the intention to defraud. **Firesetting** is the term commonly used in the psychological literature, particularly in the literature on child psychopathology. It is intentional and willful behavior with an understanding of the potential consequences of that behavior. As we note below, if a 4-year-old clicks on the barbecue lighter and sets the outdoor furniture alight, the child is not a firesetter. Children who continue to do this, though, are at risk of becoming firesetters. Child firesetters have attracted considerable interest among researchers in psychology.

Gaynor (1996) outlined three developmental phases related to fire: (1) fire interest, (2) fireplay, and (3) firesetting. Fascination and experimentation with fire appears to be a common feature of normal child development. Kafrey (1980) discovered that fascination with fire appears to be nearly universal in children between 5 and 7 years old. Furthermore, this fascination with fire begins even earlier, with one in five children setting fires before the age of 3 (fire interest). As the child gets older, fireplay (experimentation) may take place between the ages of 5 and 9. In this stage, the child experiments with how a fire starts and what it can do. Children during this phase are especially vulnerable to the hazards of fire because of their more limited ability to understand the consequences and their lack of effective strategies for extinguishing the fire once it gets out of control (Lambie et al., 2002). By age 10, and sometimes even earlier, most children have learned the dangers of fire and its consequences; if they continue to set fires at this point, they have reached the firesetting phase. These youths most often demonstrate an intention to use fires to destroy, as a form of excitement, or as a communicative device to draw attention to themselves and their problems.

The literature on persistent firesetting is virtually unanimous in its conclusion that this behavior is associated with serious psychological problems. Children who continue to set fires tend to demonstrate poor social skills, inadequate social competence, and impulsiveness compared with their peers (Kolko, 2002; Kolko & Kazdin, 1989). In a national sample of nearly five thousand 12- to 17-year-olds, Chen, Arria, and Anthony (2003) were able to conclude that children rejected by peers were more likely to set fires than those who were not rejected. In fact, in this study, a combination of aggression and peer rejection was significantly related to firesetting. Firesetters as a group—whether they are children, adolescents, or adults—are typically depicted as deficient in many areas, including social maladjustment, educational and social skills, and substance abuse disorders (Doley, Ferguson, & Surette, 2013).

In general, persistent firesetters are also more likely to demonstrate attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorders and poor impulse control (Forehand, Wierson, Frame, Kemptom,

& Armistead, 1991), and many are considered by their teachers to have "conduct problems." It should be noted that many studies report that conduct disorder is the most frequent diagnosis assigned to juvenile firesetters (MacKay et al., 2006). Lambie et al. (2002) report a similar finding. From their clinical experiences, Lambie et al. found that firesetting is but one part of a more comprehensive set of behavior problems, the motives of which occur for a variety of reasons and typically include impulse control problems and misdirected anger and boredom. There is also some evidence that children who are consistently cruel to animals and other children also tend to engage in consistent firesetting behavior (Baglivio et al., 2017; Slavkin, 2001). Lambie et al. (2002) also point out that adolescent male firesetters frequently commit a variety of other crimes, including rape and other sex offenses.

This range of criminal offending has been noted by other researchers as well. It seems that most firesetters known to the juvenile justice system have committed many other serious juvenile acts besides arson (Del Bove & Mackay, 2011; Ritvo, Shanok, & Lewis, 1983; Stickle & Blechman, 2002). Stickle and Blechman (2002) found that "firesetting juvenile offenders exhibit a pattern of developmentally advanced, serious antisocial behavior consistent with an early starter or life-course-persistent trajectory" (p. 190), a finding also reported by other researchers (Becker, Stuewig, Herrera, & McCloskey, 2004; Forehand et al., 1991). As might be expected, research has revealed a large portion of the persistent firesetters is boys, probably at a ratio of 9 to 1 to girls (Zipper & Wilcox, 2005).

Nearly all children who set fires beyond the normal fascination and experimental stages tend to have poor relationships with their parents and also appear to be victims of physical abuse (Jackson, Glass, & Hope, 1987), sexual abuse (Baglivio et al., 2017), and other forms of maltreatment (Root, MacKay, Henderson, Del Bove, & Warling, 2008). The high rate of maltreatment among firesetting youth is not surprising since maltreatment has been closely associated with self-regulation, academic achievement, attachment, and social skill development (Root et al., 2008). In their investigation of 205 children and youth, ages 4–17, and their caregivers, Root et al. (2008) determined that those who were maltreated set more fires, were more versatile regarding ignition sources and targets, and were more likely to continue to set fires. Their primary motive for firesetting was anger.

In their comprehensive review of firesetting, Kolko, Kazdin, and Meyer (1985) suggest that it may be closely associated with parental ineffectiveness and faulty or nonexistent supervision. In a retrospective study by Saunders and Awad (1991), the records of 13 adolescent girls referred to the Toronto Family Court Clinic for setting fires were examined. The authors noted,

> Reading through the 13 charts was a depressing experience even for those of us who have worked for years with families who have many problems and serious difficulties meeting their children's basic needs. These parents had a history of marital problems, separation, violence against the spouse and the children, criminal behaviour, drug and/or alcohol abuse, and inability to take care of the children. (Saunders & Awad, 1991, p. 403)

Interestingly, the prevalence rate of firesetting appears to be significantly higher in children referred to a clinic for psychological problems than children not referred (Kolko & Kazdin, 1989; Lambie et al., 2002). Research suggests that adolescent or adult firesetters usually come from a disadvantaged group who have little or no effective means for influencing their environment and who find themselves in highly undesirable situations (Dadds, & Fraser, 2006; Jackson et al., 1987). Juvenile firesetters often come from unstable homes, characterized by parental absence, indifferent or absent fathers, and abuse (Hickle & Roe-Sepowitz, 2010). Some studies describe the parents of firesetters as displaying limited affection, engaging in very little monitoring of their children's behavior, and overall, showing little involvement in their children's lives (McCarty & McMahon, 2005).

Persistent and Repetitive Firesetting among Adults

As suggested from the above, considerable psychological research has focused on the firesetting behavior of children and adolescents. By comparison, far less psychological research has examined the causes of firesetting in adults (Butler & Gannon, 2015), but there are exceptions. Some early attempts at explaining the behavior associated it with various forms of social learning theory, particularly aspects of gaining recognition and reinforcement. For example, repetitive firesetting seems to be precipitated by events that exacerbate feelings of low self-esteem, sadness, and depression (Bumpass, Fagelman, & Birx, 1983). In addition, following a firesetting, many arsonists stay at the scene of the fire, often sound the alarm, and even help fight the fire. In some cases, they take heroic action to save lives. The recognition they receive for these actions probably enhances their self-esteem and instills a sense of control in their lives. Some firesetters also gain internal reinforcement through the sensory stimulation they receive (Fineman, 1995). Jackson et al. (1987) noted that most acts of firesetting by repetitive arsonists progress from small fires to large fires, and the arsonists also become increasingly involved in fighting the fire. Furthermore, repetitive arsonists set fires alone and in secret, with virtually no one aware of their actions until they are caught. If they are caught, their history of firesetting presents an additional opportunity for them to gain attention and recognition from others.

A study of 1,100 patients (Devapriam, Raju, Singh, Collacott, & Bhaumik, 2007) found that persistent firesetting tended to be more frequent among those individuals demonstrating intellectual disabilities. Day and Berney (2001) also noted that firesetting is a common behavioral pattern for persons with intellectual disabilities, when they act in an antisocial manner, and such persons generally do not. Devapriam et al. (2007) discovered that women with intellectual disabilities were as likely to be persistent firesetters as men who were intellectually impaired. In general, research findings continually find that as a group, those who set fires are inadequate socially and interpersonally, although the exact nature of the inadequacy varies among individuals (Jackson et al., 1987). Research also indicates that firesetting is used as a communicative vehicle in response to conflict and stress (Day & Berney, 2001). The most consistent research finding on the psychology of adult firesetters is that, as a group, they experience and perceive little control over their environment or personal lives. Consequently, they feel worthless and socially ineffective. Some researchers suggest that setting fires may provide conditions whereby the person experiences control or, at least, some influence over the environment.

Female Arsonists

Statistics and psychological research both establish that arson is primarily a male enterprise, and the great majority of information presented in this section refers to male firesetters. Nevertheless, girls and women do engage in this behavior, both on their own and as accomplices to male offenders. However, the actual prevalence and recidivism rates of arson in female populations are largely unknown (Ducat et al., 2017).

Some researchers have focused on female arsonists or have considered gender differences. In an early study, Harmon, Rosner, and Wiederlight (1985) studied the psychological and demographic characteristics of 27 women arsonists who were evaluated in a forensic clinic in New York between 1980 and 1983. Although the sample is small and restricted to a specific geographic area, and the research is dated, the findings are still of interest because we have so little data on female arsonists. The researchers found these women were somewhat older than male arsonists (mid-thirties) and had a history of alcohol and drug abuse. Generally, the group was uneducated, unmarried, and relying on public assistance for support. Most often, their motivation was revenge, a consistent finding also reported by

Icove and Estepp (1987) for female arsonists. In their revenge, the women tended to act impulsively, responding to a perceived wrong committed against them or a perceived threat to their persons. In their haste, they used whatever flammable material was handy to set the fire. Generally, they set fires to places they lived in—apartments or common public spaces of their buildings.

Wachi et al. (2007) report similar findings among female serial arsonists in Japan. These researchers discovered that many of the female firesetters were opportunistic and impulsive acts motivated by emotional distress. Most of the Japanese female firesetters (66%), however, were motivated by revenge and involved planned and goal-directed behaviors.

In their investigation of 114 female juveniles charged with arson, Hickle and Roe-Sepowitz (2010) concluded that the typical female juvenile firesetter comes from a disorganized and unstable home environment, displays difficulties in school, has negative peer relationships, has a history of running away from home, and engages in drug abuse. Their findings are generally similar to those reported for male juvenile firesetters.

Later studies support the above findings. Female firesetters usually come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, have achieved lower levels of education, and have lower levels of intelligence compared to nonfiresetting females (Ducat et al., 2017). They are also more likely to have experienced an adverse developmental background, such as separation from a parent, and to have been the victim of sexual, physical, and emotional abuse and other distressing life experiences (Long, Fitzgerald, & Hollin, 2015). In their study of female firesetters who were receiving psychiatric services, Long et al. (2015) state: "The association of firesetting with suicidal thoughts, depression, interpersonal problems, an expression of anger, and a lack of planning is in sympathy with the view that firesetting may be used by women both to manage distressing life experiences and as a cry for help" (p. 343). Many of the firesetters in the Long et al. study exhibited high levels of self-harming behavior and substance misuse.

Behavioral Typologies and Trajectories

Canter and Fritzon (1998) have developed a typology of firesetters based on the behavioral patterns and crime scene actions of the offender. These investigators learned that firesetting could be distinguished according to two basic behavioral and motivational features. One behavioral pattern was whether the firesetter's actions are directed at a person or persons or at objects, such as buildings or symbolic structures. A second feature—largely based on the motivation for the behavior—is concerned as to whether the actions were expressive or instrumental, much like the expressive and instrumental forms of hostage-taking discussed earlier in the chapter.

According to Canter and Fritzon, if the firesetting is intended to draw attention to some underlying emotional distress or feeling, it is expressive. If a specific outcome is desired, such as covering up a crime scene or financial gain, then the firesetting is instrumental. The researchers combined these two features into a four-category typology: (1) expressive firesetting directed at a person (expressive person), (2) expressive firesetting directed at an object (expressive object), (3) instrumental firesetting directed at a person (instrumental person), and (4) instrumental firesetting directed at an object (instrumental object).

Expressive-person pattern
In firesetting, behavior intended to draw attention to the person's emotional distress. Most common firesetting pattern among children.

Expressive-object pattern
In firesetting, characterizes serial firesetters who are fascinated with fire and damage uninhabited objects.

The **expressive-person pattern**, which is the more common type of firesetting, is often associated with mental disorders and emotional problems, such as depression and feelings of helplessness. Essentially, this firesetting is a cry for help in that the offender seeks to obtain attention from family or persons in authority, such as law enforcement or social services. Unfortunately, the offender may endanger the lives of others as well as himself or herself, but this is not the primary intent. The **expressive-object pattern** is usually characteristic

of serial firesetters who set multiple fires. Fortunately, most of these serial firesetters select uninhabited objects to ignite, such as trash bins, barns, abandoned buildings, and deserted houses (Häkkänen, Puolakka, & Santtila, 2004). This suggests that they are not interested in harming or injuring others. Research suggests that these firesetters are using arson as a way of acting out and have a strong fascination with fire (Santtila, Häkkänen, Alison, & Whyte, 2003). These offenders enjoy watching the fire, the fighting activity, and the accompanying excitement.

Instrumental-person pattern
In firesetting, a pattern that indicates desire for retaliation against persons or institutions for perceived harms done to the offender.

The **instrumental-person pattern** is most often linked to failed family or ex-companion relationships and their related threats, disagreements, and arguments. In some cases, the firesetting may be directed at someone in authority such as teacher or church personnel. The targets may be a church, a school building or something associated with school, such as the school bus. The firesetting behavior in this category is motivated by anger and revenge for a perceived wrongdoing against the offender. The overriding intent of the offender in instrumental-person arson is retaliation. The **instrumental-object pattern** is most often associated with young offenders with a serious antisocial history and is linked with covering traces of other crimes, such as burglary or murder. It may also be directly associated with financial gain, such as burning a building, motor vehicle, or house to gain insurance monies.

Instrumental-object pattern
In firesetting, a pattern that represents a desire to cover up tracks of another crime (e.g., theft).

Most recently, Gannon and her colleagues (Gannon et al., 2012; Butler & Gannon, 2015) have proposed a multitrajectory theory that sees firesetting as the result of many factors (i.e., developmental, biological, social learning), much like the cumulative factors we have discussed throughout the book. The authors propose five trajectories based on various motives and psychological characteristics. (See Table 15–7 for a brief summary of the trajectories.)

In addition, Butler and Gannon have published preliminary work on possible scripts associated with these trajectories. For example, they propose that firesetters may hold the following scripts: fire is a powerful messenger (e.g., as a cry for help), fire is the best way to destroy evidence (e.g., to cover up an underlying crime), or fire is soothing (e.g., reduce

TABLE 15.7 Examples and Features of Firesetting Trajectories*

Label	Key Features
Antisocial cognition	Person is generally antisocial. Fire is a tool, means to an end (e.g., profit, revenge, vandalizing). Persona has problems with self-regulation.
Grievance	No main interest in fire. Fire preferred to gain revenge. Similar to antisocial, but more aggression and hostility.
Fire interest	Fascinated with fire. Thrill seeking or alleviating boredom.
Emotionally expressive/Need for recognition	Problems with communicating. Emotionally expressive cry for help. Need for recognition. Wishes to enhance own status.
Multifaceted	General criminality, similar to antisocial cognition. Extremely interested in fire. Problems with self-regulation and communicating.

Source: Adapted from Butler, H., & Gannon, T. A. (2015). The scripts and expertise of firesetters: A preliminary con-ceptualization. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 20, 72-81.

*Note: Partial information to illustrate proposed trajectories. Original source should be consulted for greater detail.

loneliness). Together with these scripts, they suggest possible treatment methods for firesetters. The authors acknowledge that firesetters are extremely heterogenous, with differing motives and offending styles, and that they may not all hold scripts—(just as not all offenders fit neatly into typologies discussed in previous chapters). Nevertheless, the trajectory theory along with the cognitive scripts proposed may suggest treatment strategies for mental health treatment providers.

Psychological Disorders

One of the more fascinating topics associated with firesetting is the possibility that persistent firesetters are pyromaniacs. **Pyromania** is a psychiatric term for an "irresistible urge" or passion to set fires along with an intense fascination with flames. As described in the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), before setting the fire, the individual is said to experience a buildup of tension; once the fire is underway, the individual experiences intense pleasure or release. The DSM views pyromania as a disorder of impulse control. People with this disorder also may frequently be at the scene of fires and even join volunteer fire departments. Although the firesetting urge is believed to be uncontrollable, they often provide many clues about their intentions before setting the fires. Pyromania is believed to be a motive in only a small percentage of all arsons. Furthermore, although firesetting behavior is a problem in children and adolescents, pyromania in that age group appears to be rare (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

Pyromania
A psychiatric term for an irresistible urge to set fires along with an intense fascination (usually sexual) with fire. The existence of this behavioral phenomenon has been brought into serious question by the available research.

Pyromania does not appear to be a strong explanatory factor for firesetting, but research indicates that many persistent arsonists have a variety of other mental disorders or problems in adjustment (Brett, 2004; Dickens et al., 2009; Tyler & Gannon, 2017). If not diagnosed disorders (e.g., antisocial personality disorder, substance abuse disorders), they have psychological problems that could be addressed in treatment, such as the difficulties in communication, low self-concepts, or the deficits in social skills that have been mentioned in the research. In addition, they tend to come from particularly troubled backgrounds and experience difficulties in many areas of life (Lambie & Randell, 2011). Thus, firesetting may be just one component in the constellation of maladaptive behaviors displayed by these individuals. Firesetting may be among these behaviors because of previous experiences with fire. Ritvo et al. (1983) found that a surprisingly large number of firesetters had been burned and maltreated with fire as children, sometimes because they had lit fires. For example, Ritvo et al. describe how one frequent firesetter during his early childhood had his feet severely burned by his father as a punishment for lighting fires. Another boy had been beaten on his buttocks with a hot spatula by his father. Still another had his hands held over a lighted stove burner by his mother until they burned. Ritvo et al. (1983, p. 266) speculate that these punishments may have "conveyed the message that the use of fire was an acceptable mode of retaliation."

In this section, we have concentrated on the repetitive or serial arsonists who set fires primarily for psychological and social gain. This focus is not to imply that a majority of arson fires are set by these individuals. Obviously, firesetting is done for a variety of reasons by a variety of offenders. Much of it is probably committed for monetary gain, such as insurance, or to cover up other crimes or destroy evidence. Recent research concludes that those who persistently and repeatedly set fires are frequently involved in a wide range of other antisocial and criminal behaviors (Del Bove & Mackay, 2011; Lambie & Randell, 2011; Vaughn, Fu, DeLisi, Wright, Beaver, Perron, & Howard, 2010). Moreover, persistent arsonists who set multipoint fires and use accelerants are considered especially dangerous (Dickens et al., 2009).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The crimes and in some cases civil wrongs discussed in the chapter are all either violent or, in most cases, have the potential of doing great physical harm to victims. Even if violence does not occur, however, they typically put the victims in fear. Thus, there is great psychological impact on the victim.

We began with a discussion of robbery, its categories and its motives. Although financial gain or material gain is the primary reason for robbery, the secondary motive of controlling and instilling fear in a victim does occur, particularly in some street robberies. Bank robberies, in contrast to many depictions in the entertainment media, are rarely carried out by professionals or well planned. The typical bank robbery is the work of an amateur who undoubtedly sees this as a way of getting quick cash. Commercial robberies are usually carried out against convenience stores or fast-food restaurants. These establishments are seen as more accessible than banks, but they produce smaller return. Nevertheless, they are considered easier targets, generally late at night, when few workers and customers are on the premises. Street robberies are rarely planned; the robber sees the opportunity with a likely target and takes it. Interestingly, the latest data show strong-arm robberies were slightly more frequent than robberies carried out with firearms or knives. Victims also are more likely to be physically harmed during strong-arm robberies, both because they are more likely to resist and because the perpetrators have less confidence in their ability to control the victims. Professional robbers are a separate category that can commit any of the above types of robbery but are most likely to be involved in street robbery. Also covered separately were robberies committed by groups of two or more individuals.

We gave some attention to cybercrime—or computer crime—which is becoming increasingly problematic and which challenges the resources of the law enforcement community. Within the last decade, the hacking of huge databases has occurred on a continuing basis. Governmental agencies, small businesses, corporations, educational institutions, political groups, medical facilities, and election systems have all been victimized. Additional victims are the massive numbers of individuals whose personal data have been obtained. Some hackers have targeted government agencies, installed malicious software, and demanded ransom (often in the form of Bitcoins) before decrypting the data. Cyber security experts are increasingly in demand to both prevent and respond to such attacks.

In addition to economically motivated cybercrime, we also discussed cyberstalking and cyberbullying. Both allow the perpetrator to harass the victim while remaining anonymous, and both qualify as crimes of intimidation. To date, we have very little research knowledge about the prevalence of the offenses or the psychological attributes of the offenders, but cyberbullying in particular has attracted the attention of theorists and researchers. The greatest focus has been on cyberbullying by and against adolescents. It is generally believed that the anonymity provided by the Internet and by social media in general facilitates this behavior, but preventive measures are effective in stemming it. Preventive measures can be taken by peers, parents, and other adults such as school officials. On the other hand, when bullying is demonstrated by adult figures themselves, it can encourage pro-bullying attitudes.

The most well-known crime of intimidation, stalking, has received increasing public attention since it was first reported as a problem—or first given a name—in the 1980s. It is estimated that 1 in every 12 women and 1 in every 45 men has been a victim of stalking. The perpetrator's motive is almost invariably to control, intimidate, and frighten the victim. Restraining orders, sought by about half of the victims who report the crime to police, unfortunately have had little success, since they are ignored by most stalkers. However, some do respond to the restraining order and some do cease stalking when confronted by law enforcement. Many women who are stalked had previously experienced violence at the

hands of their stalkers, and future violence is a continuing possibility. Although stalking typically stops within a two-year period, in some cases, the victim's best option is to move out of the area.

We also reviewed and provided illustrations of the four major categories of stalking: simple obsession, love obsession, erotomania, and vengeance. Other researchers have classified stalking by the relationship between the stalker and the victim: intimate stalkers, acquaintance stalkers, public figure stalkers, and private stranger stalkers. The first of both classifications (the simple obsession and the intimate stalkers) are the most common, but also the ones most likely to be accompanied by physical harm to the victim. As a group, stalkers do not typically have mental disorders. The exceptions are the erotomania stalkers and the public figure stalkers, who tend to be delusional and plagued with a variety of diagnosed mental illnesses.

Hostage-taking is a major crime of intimidation that places its victim in great fear, even though no physical violence may result. Strategies for law enforcement negotiating with hostage takers were reviewed. The Stockholm syndrome—in which the hostage identifies with and becomes emotionally close to the hostage taker—is extremely rare. There is no research evidence that this is a strong phenomenon.

The chapter ended with discussions of arson and persistent firesetting by children and adolescents. Some forms of arson are clearly economically motivated, but firesetting by the young is a conduct problem with significant psychological overtones. Considerable psychological research has studied this behavior. Although most children are fascinated by fire, particularly between the ages of 5 and 7, in a small but very problematic minority, this fascination is accompanied first by experimental firesetting and gradually by continuing and persistent firesetting behavior. Persistent firesetters are usually identified by age 10. They typically have extremely dysfunctional family backgrounds, often lacking parental supervision and plagued by physical abuse and alcohol and other drug problems. Persistent adult arsonists often began their firesetting behavior as children. We reviewed categories of these arsonists and emphasized that very few fall under the term *pyromaniac*, indicating a serious mental disorder characterized by abnormal fascination with fire. It is not unusual, though, to find that persistent firesetters—with the exception of those who commit arson for profit—have other personality disorders.

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is the role of negative street culture and cognitive scripts in the commission of opportunity crimes, such as street robbery?
2. Summarize differences between amateur and professional bank robbers.

3. Define and provide examples of cybercrime, cyberstalking, cyberbullying, and cyberharassment. Is it important to make distinctions between these terms to form a psychological perspective? Why or why not?
4. Summarize the key elements of the BGCM.
5. What are the four categories of stalking covered in the chapter?
6. What is the difference between instrumental and expressive hostage-taking?
7. What is the difference between instrumental and expressive firesetting?
8. Identify and briefly describe stages leading to firesetting in children.
9. Summarize the five firesetting trajectories proposed by Gannon and Butler.
10. Does the research literature support pyromania? Explain.

Glossary

Abusive head trauma A form of child abuse in which someone shakes or throws an infant, causing significant brain damage or death. Previously called **shaken baby syndrome**.

Active shooter An individual engaged in killing or attempting to kill in a public area.

Adjudicative competence The ability to participate in a variety of court proceedings. See also, **competency to stand trial**.

Acquaintance rape Sexual assault in which the victim knows the assailant. See also **date rape**.

Actuarial profiling A procedure that employs statistical group data based on prior offenders to identify an individual offender who committed similar crimes.

Adolescence-limited (AL) offender An individual who usually demonstrates delinquent or antisocial behavior only during his or her teen years and then stops offending during adulthood.

Aggravated assault See **assault, aggravated**.

Aggression Behavior characterized by the intent to harm others or destroy objects. See also **reactive-impulsive aggression** and **controlled-instrumental aggression**.

Aggressive (sadistic) child sex offender An adult who victimizes children for both sexual and aggressive purposes.

Amnesia Complete or partial memory loss of an incident, series of incidents, or some aspects of life's experiences.

Amygdala Part of brain that regulates fear and other emotional responses.

Antisocial behavior Clinical term reserved for serious habitual behavior, especially that involving direct harm to others.

Antisocial Personality Disorder (APD) A disorder characterized by a history of continuous behavior in which the rights of others are violated.

Arson Any willful or malicious burning or attempt to burn, with or without intent to defraud, a dwelling house, public building, motor vehicle, aircraft, or personal property of another.

Assault The intentional inflicting of bodily injury on another person, or the attempt to inflict such injury.

Assault, aggravated Inflicting, or attempting to inflict, bodily injury on another person, with the intent to inflict serious injury.

Attachment theory A theory that states infants have a strong need to establish close emotional bonds with significant others in their social environments. According to the theory, the nature of this emotional bond determines the quality of social relationships later in life.

Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) Traditionally considered a chronic neurobiological condition characterized by developmentally poor attention, impulsivity, and hyperactivity. More contemporary perspectives see the behavioral pattern as a deficiency in interpersonal skills.

Authoritarian style The approach to parenting that sets a very rigid structure on the family setting and allows little decision making by the child.

Authoritative style The approach to parenting that sets firm rules yet encourages the development of autonomy in the child.

Authority homicide The killing of someone of higher authority than the perpetrator.

Autoeroticism Self-arousal and gratification of sexual desire without a partner or partners.

Availability heuristic The cognitive shortcuts that people use to make quick inferences about their world. It is the information that is most readily available to us mentally and is usually based extensively on the most recent material we gain from the news or entertainment media.

Avoidance learning A process whereby someone responds in time to a warning signal in order to avoid painful or aversive stimuli.

Barricade situation In hostage-taking scenarios, a situation in which an individual has fortified him- or herself in a building or residence and threatens violence, typically to the hostages.

Battered woman syndrome (BWS) A cluster of behavioral and psychological characteristics believed common to women who have been in abusive relationships. Has questionable validity as a "syndrome" characterizing victims and survivors of abuse, female or male.

Base rate The naturally occurring rate of a phenomenon within a given population.

Behavior genetics Examines the role genes play in the formation and development of behavior. Distinguishes genetic from environmental influences.

Behaviorism A perspective that focuses on observable, measurable behavior and argues that the social environment and learning are the key determinants of human behavior.

Biopsychologists Psychologists who study the biological aspects of behavior to determine which genetic and neurobiological variables play a part, and to what extent. They

generally see human behavior as the result of a complex interaction between the individual's neuropsychological makeup and the social environment.

Boldness trait (or fearless dominance) A key characteristic of psychopaths according to the Triarchic Psychopathy Model.

Boosters Professional shoplifters.

Brawner Rule A standard for evaluating the insanity defense that recognizes that the defendant suffers from a condition that substantially (1) affects mental or emotional processes, or (2) impairs behavior controls. Also called the ALI/Brawner Rule.

Burglary The unlawful entry of a structure, with or without force, with intent to commit a felony or minor theft.

Callous-unemotional (CU) traits Collection of traits in juveniles believed to be precursors of adult psychopathy. Also, a key characteristic of adult psychopaths.

Campus Climate Survey Validation Study (CCSVS) Survey of sexual victimization at nine U.S. colleges.

Carjacking The completed or attempted theft in which a motor vehicle is taken by force or threat of force.

Caveat paragraph A section of the ALI/Brawner Rule that excludes abnormality manifested only by repeated criminal or antisocial conduct. It was specifically designed to disallow the insanity defense for psychopaths.

Classic mass murder A situation in which an individual enters a public place or barricades himself or herself inside a public building, such as a fast-food restaurant, and randomly kills patrons and other individuals.

Classical conditioning The process of learning to respond to a formerly neutral stimulus that has been paired with another stimulus that already elicits a response. Also called **Pavlovian conditioning.**

Classical theory Theory of human behavior that emphasizes free will as a core concept.

Clearance rate The proportion of reported crimes that have been "solved" through the arrest and turning over of at least one person for prosecution. Crimes also may be cleared through exceptional means such as the death of the person about to be arrested.

Clinical profiling Profiling based on experience and "gut feelings" rather than on research and statistical data.

Coercion theory The belief that punitive and coercive tactics employed by parents will increase the likelihood of later aggressive behavior and family violence.

Cognitions The internal processes that enable humans to imagine, to gain knowledge, to reason, and to evaluate. The attitudes, beliefs, values, and thoughts that a person holds about the environment, relationships, and him- or herself.

Cognitive behavior therapy An approach to therapy that focuses on changing beliefs, fantasies, attitudes, and rationalizations that justify and perpetuate antisocial or other problematic behavior. It is often used in the treatment of sex offenders.

Cognitive learning The acquisition and retention of a mental representation of information, and the use of this representation as the basis of behavior.

Cognitive-neoassociation theory A revised theory of the frustration-aggression hypothesis proposed by Leonard Berkowitz.

Cognitive processes Internal mental processes that enable humans to imagine, gain knowledge, reason, and evaluate information.

Cognitive restructuring A psychological process that allows one to justify committing reprehensible actions; typically involves **moral justification, euphemistic language**, and **advantageous comparison**.

Cognitive scripts Mental images of how one feels he or she should act in a variety of situations.

Cognitive scripts model Huesmann's theory that social behavior in general and aggressive behavior in particular are controlled largely by cognitive scripts learned through daily experiences.

Compensatory rapist An offender who rapes in response to an intense sexual arousal initiated by stimuli in the environment, often quite specific stimuli (e.g., dark-haired women). His main motive is to prove his sexual prowess.

Competency to stand trial The legal requirement that a defendant is able to understand the proceedings and to help the attorney in preparing a defense.

Concordance A term used in genetics to represent the degree to which related pairs of subjects both show a particular behavior or condition. It is usually expressed in percentages.

Conduct disorder (CD) A diagnostic label used to identify children who demonstrate habitual misbehavior.

Confirmation bias Seeking evidence to confirm one's own preconceived notions about a person or situation.

Conformity perspective The theoretical position that humans are born basically good and generally try to do the right and just thing.

Contagion effect A tendency for some people to model or copy a behavior or activity portrayed by the news or entertainment media.

Copycat effect See **contagion effect.**

Corporate crime Crime committed by a corporation or by persons acting on its behalf.

Crime scene profiling One of several forms of profiling, it refers to examining features at the scene of the crime to discern

characteristics of the offender. Also called offender profiling. See also **geographical profiling, suspect based profiling**, and **reconstructive death analysis**.

Crimes of obedience Illegal acts that are committed under the order of someone in authority.

Criminal homicide A term that encompasses both murder and nonnegligent homicide.

Criminal psychopath A primary psychopath who engages in repetitive antisocial or criminal behavior.

Criminality theme In stranger rape, the victim is seen as an inanimate object to incapacitate. Contrast to **hostility** and **sexual exploitation** themes.

Criminogenic needs Those dynamic risk factors that are empirically found related to criminal behavior. A key principle in RNR treatment.

Criminology The multidisciplinary study of crime.

Criminology, psychiatric The branch of criminology that focuses on individual aspects of behavior, particularly internal forces and unconscious drives.

Criminology, psychological The branch of criminology that examines the individual behavior and especially the mental processes involved in crime.

Criminology, sociological The branch of criminology that examines the demographic, group, and societal variables related to crime.

Crossover offending In sexual assault, offending against victims regardless of their age or other characteristics.

Cumulative risk model Suggests that an accumulation of risk factors and insufficient protective factors lead to antisocial and criminal activity in children and adolescents.

Cyberbullying Sending or posting harmful or cruel text or images using the Internet or other digital communication devices. Primarily a problem with school-aged children and adolescents.

Cybercrime Any illegal act that involves a computer system. Also called **computer crime**.

Cyberharassment Sending messages electronically to torment another person. Compared with cyberstalking, not considered a credible threat when statutes distinguish between the two.

Cyberstalking Threatening behavior or unwanted advances directed at another using the Internet or other forms of online communications.

Cycle of violence hypothesis The belief that violence is likely to be perpetuated across generations among individuals who have experienced and witnessed violence in their families.

Cultural devaluation The scapegoating or demonizing of one cultural group by members of another cultural group. Refers to the emergence of terrorist groups.

Culturally motivated terrorists Those who are motivated by fear of irreparable damage to their ways of living, national heritage, or culture.

Dark figure The number of crimes that go unreported in official crime data reports.

Dark triad A cluster of personality traits that are associated with criminal psychopathy. The cluster includes psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism.

Date rape A sexual assault that occurs within the context of a dating relationship.

Dehumanization Engaging in actions that obscure the identity of the victim, such as excessive facial battery, or treating victims like objects rather than human beings.

Deindividuation A process by which individuals feel they cannot be identified, primarily because they are disguised or are subsumed within a group.

Delusional disorder Mental disorder characterized by a system of false beliefs or delusions.

Dependent variables The variables that are measured to see how they are changed by manipulations of the independent variables.

Deterrence theory Modern version of classical theory, it proposes that people will avoid committing crime if the possibility of punishment is great enough.

Developmental approach Examines the changes and influences (risk factors) across a person's lifetime that contribute to the formation of antisocial and criminal behavior or, alternately, that protect individuals with many risk factors in their lives.

Developmental pathways In the study of criminal behavior, these are the various tracks individuals follow that lead to antisocial behavior. Researchers began by identifying two pathways but have now found evidence of more.

Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) The official guidebook or manual, published by the American Psychiatric Association, used to define and diagnose specific mental disorders. Now in its fifth revised edition (DSM-5).

Differential association-reinforcement (DAR) theory A theory of deviance developed by Akers that combines Skinner's behaviorism and Sutherland's differential association theory. The theory states that people learn deviant behavior through the reinforcements they receive from the social environment.

Differential association theory Formulated by Sutherland, a theory of crime that states that criminal behavior is primarily

due to obtaining values or messages from others, including but not limited to those who engage in crime. The critical factors include with whom a person associates, how early, for how long, how frequently, and how personally meaningful the associations are.

Discriminative stimuli Social signals or gestures transmitted by subcultural or peer groups to indicate whether certain kinds of behavior will be rewarded or punished within a particular social context.

Disinhibition trait (externalizing proneness) Refers to impulsivity, poor self-regulation, low frustration tolerance, irresponsibility, alienation, and unreasonable risk taking.

Disorganized crime scene Demonstrates that the offender committed the crime without careful planning. In other words, the crime scene indicators suggest the person acted on impulse, in rage, or under extreme excitement.

Displaced aggression rapist The rapist whose attack is violent and aggressive, displaying minimum or total absence of sexual feeling. Also called **displaced anger** or **anger-retaliation rapist.**

Displaced aggression theory The theory that some aggression is directed at the target as a replacement for the individual who is the real source of the provocation.

Displacement of responsibility A concept that allows an individual to deny responsibility for an action because he or she was told to perform it by someone higher in authority; also referred to as **obedience to authority** or **strong respect for authority**. See also **crimes of obedience**.

Disposition In personality theory, a term that signifies internal or personality determinants of human behavior. Dispositional theorists look to inner conflicts, beliefs, drives, personal needs, traits, or attitudes to explain behavior. See also **trait**.

Disruptive behavior disorders A pattern that generally includes conduct disorder and oppositional disorder. Characterized by chronic violation of social norms and rights of others.

Dissociated state A state of mind during which the person feels detached from self and surroundings.

Dissociative identity disorder A psychiatric syndrome characterized by the existence within an individual of two or more distinct personalities, any of which may be dominant at any given moment. Formerly called multiple personality disorder (MPD).

Dizygotic twins Twins who developed from two fertilized eggs and are no more *genetically* alike than nontwins. Also called **fraternal twins**.

Domestic terrorism Term used for a wide variety of ideologically motivated violent crimes that are carried out by people within their own country. See also **terrorism**.

Dual systems theory Theory of adolescent brain development that focuses on differences between cognitive and emotional maturity in most adolescents.

Durham Rule A rarely used legal standard of insanity that criminal defendants are not criminally responsible if their unlawful act was the product of mental disease or defect. Also known as the Product Rule.

Duty to protect Requirement from the *Tarasoff* case that clinicians must take steps to protect possible victims from serious bodily harm as a result of threats made by the clinicians' clients. The duty to protect does not require that the clinician contact the potential victim.

Duty to warn Requirement from the *Tarasoff* case that clinicians must actively warn potential victims of threats of serious bodily harm made by their clients.

Dynamic cascade model Both the accumulation of risk factors and their interaction lead to criminal activity, in the absence of protective factors.

Dyssocial psychopath Individual with psychopathic characteristics who is antisocial because of social learning and does not possess the features of the primary psychopath.

Emerging adulthood Period between adolescence and adulthood when individuals may not have reached the psychological maturity associated by society with adulthood.

Emotional congruence with children Belief by some child sex offenders that their relationships with children are more emotionally satisfying than relationships with adults.

Emotional paradox The research observation that psychopaths seem to be able to talk about emotional cues but lack the ability to use them effectively in the real world.

Enmeshed style A parental style in which the parent takes extraordinary control of the child's life including imposing rigid rules and seeing even trivial, minor behaviors as problematic. Typically results in harsh punishment but inconsistent discipline. Opposite of **lax style**.

Equivocal death analysis See **reconstructive psychological evaluation (RPE)**.

Erotomania stalking In this form of stalking, the stalker usually has serious mental disorders and is considered delusional. Public figures are typically the targets.

Evolutionary psychology The study of the evolution of behavior using the principles of natural selection.

Excitation transfer theory Theory explaining how physiological arousal can generalize from one situation to another; based on the assumption that physiological arousal, however produced, dissipates slowly over time.

Executive function Higher-order mental abilities involved in goal-directed behavior. They include organizing behavior, memory, inhibition processes, and planning strategies.

Expectancy theory A theory of motivation that takes into account both the expectancy of achieving a particular goal and the value placed on it.

Exploitative child sex offender An adult who seeks children almost exclusively for sexual gratification.

Exploitative rapist See **impulsive rapist**.

Expressive burglars Burglars who take considerable pride in developing ingenious techniques and skills for successful burglary.

Expressive-object pattern In firesetting, characterizes serial firesetters who are fascinated with fire and damage uninhabited objects.

Expressive-person pattern In firesetting, behavior intended to draw attention to the person's emotional distress. Most common firesetting pattern among children.

Expressive sexual aggression A rape situation in which the offender's primary goal is to gain some control over his life.

Externalizing disorders In children, maladaptive behaviors directed at persons in the environment, such as temper tantrums and aggression.

Extinction The decline and eventual disappearance of a conditioned or learned response when it is no longer reinforced.

Extrafamilial child molestation Sex abuse in which victims are outside the immediate or extended family.

Factor 1 A behavioral dimension, identified through factor analysis, representing the interpersonal and emotional aspects of psychopathy.

Factor 2 A behavioral dimension representing the socially deviant lifestyle characteristics of psychopaths.

Factor 3 A core feature of psychopathy that refers to emotional shallowness, callousness, and lack of empathy.

Factor analysis A statistical procedure by which underlying patterns, factors, or dimensions are identified among a series of scale items.

Falsification The end result if any proposition of a theory is not verified.

Family mass murder A situation in which at least three family members are killed (usually by another family member).

Fence An individual who accepts stolen goods and resells them.

Fetal alcohol syndrome disorder (FASD) Broad term for a continuum of conditions that result from alcohol exposure in utero.

Filicide Killing of one's child older than 24 hours. This time period has fluctuated over years and research projects.

Firesetting The term used primarily in the literature on child and adolescent psychopathology for an abnormal fascination with fire accompanied by successful or unsuccessful attempts to start harmful fires. See also **expressive-person, expressive-object**, and **instrumental-person** patterns.

Fixated child sex offender See **immature child sex offender**.

Four-factor model Model of psychopathy that incorporates antisocial behavior.

Fraternal twins See **dizygotic twins**.

Frustration An aversive internal state of arousal that occurs when one is prevented from responding in a way that previously produced rewards (or that one believes would produce rewards).

Frustration-aggression hypothesis The theory first formulated by Berkowitz that frustration leads to aggressive behavior.

Fundamental attribution error A tendency to underestimate the importance of situational determinates and to overestimate the importance of personality or dispositional factors in identifying the causes of human behavior.

General aggression model (GAM) Combines social learning and cognitions to explain aggressive behavior.

General altercation homicide Death resulting from hostile aggression.

General Theory of Crime Proposes that crime and delinquency can be explained largely by deficits in self-control and self-regulation.

Geographic profiling A type of profiling that focuses on the location of the crime and how it relates to the residence and/or base of operations of the offender.

Girls Study Group (GSG) A comprehensive research project designed to gain a better understanding of girls' delinquency and recommend effective prevention programs directed specifically at girls.

Global risk recognition failure Term used in sexual assault literature, it refers to the belief that one is at lower risk of victimization than one's peers. See also **specific risk failure**.

Guilty but Mentally Ill (GBMI) A verdict alternative in some states that allows defendants with mental disorders to be found guilty even if they might meet standards for insanity. The verdict is said to afford them treatment in prison settings, but such treatment is not guaranteed.

Hallucinations Things or events that a person with mental disorder sees or perceives. Characteristic of schizophrenia and some forms of dementia.

Hate Crime Statistics Act A 1990 federal statute that directs the FBI to collect data on all crimes motivated by hatred of or bias against victims based on their racial, ethnic, religious, or sexual orientation. Other characteristics (e.g., physical or mental disability) were later added.

Hebephilia The attraction to young adolescent girls or boys for sexual gratification by adults, usually males.

Hierarchy rule In the UCR program, the rule that requires that only the most serious crime in a series be reported in the crime statistics. The exception is arson, which is always reported.

Home invasions Crimes committed by someone illegally entering a residence while someone is at home.

Hostile attribution bias The tendency to perceive hostile intent in others even when it is lacking.

Hostile attribution model A cognitive model of aggression developed by Dodge and colleagues.

Hostility theme In stranger rape, a highly aggressive attack that includes not only physical violence but also violent verbal expressions, tearing of clothing, and similar hostile behaviors.

Human trafficking The transportation and exploitation of individuals, usually for sex-related purposes but also for high economic profits. Children and women from impoverished nations or parts of the United States are particularly vulnerable.

I^3 Theory A new theory of aggression, it organizes and summarizes risk factors for aggression and considers instigating triggers, impelling forces, and inhibiting forces. Self-regulation is the core emphasis of the theory.

Iatrogenic A process whereby mental or physical disorders are unintentionally induced or developed in patients by physicians, clinicians, or psychotherapists.

Identical twins See **monozygotic twins**.

Identity theft The fraudulent use of another person's personal identification information—such as social security number, date of birth, or mother's maiden name—without that person's knowledge or permission.

Imitational learning See **observational learning**.

Immature child sex offender A child sex abuser who demonstrates a long-standing, exclusive preference for children as both sexual and social companions. Also called **fixated child sex offender**.

Impulsive rapist A rapist who demonstrates neither strong sexual nor highly aggressive features, but engages in spontaneous rape when the opportunity presents itself. The rape is usually carried out in the context of another crime, such as robbery or burglary. Also called **exploitative rapist**.

Incest In the NIBRS definition, the nonforcible sexual interaction between persons who are related to one another within degrees where marriage is prohibited by law.

Incompetent to stand trial (IST) A judicial ruling that a criminal defendant, because of mental illness, defect, or other reasons, is unable to understand the nature and objective of the criminal proceedings or is unable to assist his or her defense lawyer. May apply to a variety of judicial stages including plea bargaining, trial, and sentencing.

Independent variable The measure whose effect is being studied, and, in most scientific investigations, that is manipulated by the experimenter in a controlled fashion.

Individual offender In Berkowitz's theory, the person who offends after a series of frustrations and unmet needs.

Infanticide Although this term literally means the killing of an infant, it has become synonymous with the killing of a child by a parent.

Insanity defense A criminal defendant's argument that his or her mental illness relieves him or her from responsibility for a crime. Legal tests of insanity vary widely, with the most common being the ability to know right from wrong.

Insanity Defense Reform Act of 1984 A law designed to make it more difficult for defendants using the insanity defense in the federal courts to be acquitted.

Instrumental aggression General term for attacks carried out principally to achieve a goal other than the victim's injury, such as acquiring cash or valuable items. Also called **instrumental violence**.

Instrumental hostage-taking A hostage situation in which the primary goal of the offender is material or monetary gain.

Instrumental object pattern In firesetting, a pattern that represents a desire to cover up tracks of another crime (e.g., theft).

Instrumental-person pattern In firesetting, a pattern that indicates desire for retaliation against persons or institutions for perceived harms done to the offender.

Instrumental sexual aggression When the sexual offender uses just enough coercion to gain compliance from his victim.

Instrumental violence Occurs when the injury of an individual is secondary to the acquisition of some other external goal of the offender. Also called instrumental aggression.

Intellectual disability Limitations in cognitive capacity, determined by IQ tests and a variety of performance measures. Cannot be cured, but can be compensated by care and training. Formerly called mental retardation.

Intimate partner violence (IPV) Crimes committed against persons by their current or former spouses, boyfriends, or girlfriends.

Intrafamilial child molestation Child sex abuse where victims are within the immediate or extended family.

Investigative psychology The application of psychological research and concepts to the investigation of crime.

Just-world hypothesis The hypothesis that certain attitudes are associated with those who believe the world is just and people get what they deserve. For example, people who believe this way are thought to be in favor of the death penalty and even less sympathetic to some crime victims.

Kleptomania The irresistible urge to steal unneeded objects. Rare phenomenon, not widely substantiated.

Language impairment An absence, loss, or delay in normal speech and language development.

Lax style A parental style that does not respond sufficiently to problematic or antisocial behavior in children but rather allows it to occur without disciplinary action. Opposite of the **enmeshed style** and similar to the **permissive**.

Learned helplessness (or reactive depression) A learned passive and withdrawn response in the face of perceived hopelessness.

Learning perspective The theoretical position that humans are born basically neutral and behaviorally a blank slate. What they become as individuals depends on their learning experiences rather than innate predispositions.

Left wing extremists Political activists who move from activism to violence.

Life-course-persistent (LCP) offenders A term introduced by Terrie Moffitt to represent offenders who demonstrate a lifelong pattern of antisocial behavior and who are resistant to treatment or rehabilitation.

Lone wolf terrorist Terrorist who operates alone, or occasionally with one or two others. May or may not be sympathetic to the goals of an established terrorist organization.

Love obsession stalking In this form of stalking, the stalker and victim are strangers or casual acquaintances. The stalker seeks a love relationship with the object of his or her obsession.

Major depressive disorder General label for symptoms that include an extremely depressed state, general slowing down of mental and physical activity, and feelings of self-worthlessness.

MAOA and MAOA-L gene Gene that is believed to play an instrumental role in antisocial behavior, either preventing it or—in low form—contributing to such behavior.

Marital rape Sexual assault in which the perpetrator and victim are married.

Markers A term used for the neurological indicators of a particular phenomenon, such as psychopathy.

Mass murder The unlawful killing of three or more persons at a single location with no cooling-off period between murders.

Meanness trait In psychopathy research, meanness is proposed as an additional feature characterizing the psychopathic personality. Refers to generally cruel verbal or physical behavior toward others.

Medical child abuse An unusual form of child abuse in which the parent consistently brings a child for medical attention with symptoms directly falsified or induced by the parent. Formerly called Munchausen syndrome by proxy.

Mental disorder See **mental illness**.

Mental illness Term used for a variety of psychiatric diagnoses that indicate that the individual has problems in living; also referred to as **mental disorder.**

Mixed crime scene Indicates that the nature of the crime demonstrates both organized and disorganized behavioral patterns.

M'Naghten Rule An insanity standard based on the conclusion that if a defendant has a defect of reason, or a disease of the mind, so as not to know the nature and quality of his or her actions, then he or she cannot be held criminally responsible. Also called **the right and wrong test**.

Model A graphic representation of a theory or concept designws to enhance its clarity.

Models Individuals or groups of individuals in the environment whose behavior is observed and imitated.

Molecular genetics Studies the structure and function of genes at the molecular level.

Monitoring the Future (MTF) A self-report survey administered to high school students nationwide focusing on drug use and abuse.

Monozygotic twins Twins who developed from one fertilized egg and share the same genes. Also called **identical twins**.

Moral disengagement The process of freeing oneself from one's own moral standards in order to act against those standards. The unacceptable conduct is usually undertaken under orders from someone higher in authority or under high social pressure.

Moral justification The process of convincing oneself that one's actions are worthy and have a moral and good purpose.

Multiassaultive families Nuclear families (traditional or nontraditional) characterized by multiple incidents of violence involving more than one perpetrator.

Multisystemic therapy (MST) A treatment approach for serious juvenile offenders that focuses on the family while being responsive to the many other contexts surrounding the family, such as the peer group, the neighborhood, and the school.

Murder The felonious killing of one human being by another with malice aforethought. See also **criminal homicide**.

National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) A government-sponsored survey of victims of crime, intended to collect data from the victim's perspective on crimes both reported and not reported to police.

National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) The FBI's system of collecting *detailed* data from law enforcement agencies on known crimes and arrests. See also **Uniform Crime Reports**.

National Survey of Children Exposed to Violence Comprehensive survey of incidence and prevalence of children's exposure to violence. See also **Second National Survey**.

Near-repeat burglary Tendency of some burglars to repeat their offenses close to but not in same locations where previous offenses occurred.

Negative reinforcement See **reinforcement, negative**.

Neglecting style Style of parenting in which parents are detached and uninvolved in child's activities.

Negligent manslaughter The unlawful killing of another through reckless or negligent behavior, without intention to kill.

Neonaticide The killing of a newborn, usually within 24 hours but also within 48.

Nerve management Cognitive tactics used by auto thieves, including self-medication, shunting, fatalism, smoothness, and lens widening.

Neuroplasticity The ability of the brain to change and develop neural connection throughout life.

Neuropsychology The branch of psychology that combines theory and research from the neurosciences and traditional psychology.

Neurotransmitters Biochemicals directly involved in the transmission of neural impulses and without which communication would not be possible.

Nonconformist perspective The theoretical perspective that humans will naturally try to get away with anything they can, including illegal conduct, unless social controls are imposed.

Nonnegligent manslaughter The killing of a human being without premeditation but with the intention to kill in the "heat of the moment," such as under high emotional states of anger or passion.

Nonshared environments An important concept in twin studies, this refers to the living experiences that are different for each twin, such as being raised by different parents.

Not guilty by reason of insanity (NGRI) A legal determination that a defendant was so mentally disordered at the time of the crime that he or she cannot be held criminally responsible.

Nuclear/biological/chemical (NBC) terrorism Terrorist activities carried out with the use of nuclear, biological, or chemical substances.

Observational learning (modeling) The process by which individuals learn patterns of behavior by observing another person performing the action.

Occupational crime A concept promoted by Green, it refers to offenses committed through opportunity created by a legal occupation. It can be divided into sometimes overlapping categories such as organizational, professional, state-authority, and individual.

Operant conditioning A form of learning in which a voluntary response is strengthened or diminished by its consequences. Also called instrumental learning.

Opportunist rapist Rapist whose sexual assault is an impulsive, predatory act that is controlled by situational and contextual factors, such as a woman being present during the commission of another crime.

Oppositional defiant disorder (ODD) A rare psychological diagnosis in which a child has difficulty controlling behavior and emotions.

Organized crime scene Indicates planning and premeditation on the part of the offender. In other words, the crime scene shows signs that the offender maintained control of himself or herself and of the victim, if it is a crime against a person. See also **disorganized crime scene** and **mixed crime scene**.

Paraphilia The clinical term for a sexual condition exhibited in fantasies, urges, or behaviors involving nonhuman objects, suffering or humiliation of oneself or one's partner, or children or other nonconsenting persons.

Parental monitoring Supervision by parents of their children's activities. Poor parental monitoring is a strong risk factor for delinquency.

Parental practices Methods employed by parents to meet some specific goal they would like to have their children achieve.

Parental styles Seemingly nongoal-directed approaches displayed by parents, although the goals may be implicit.

Parricide The killing of a parent.

Passive-aggressive behaviors Hostile behaviors that do not directly inflict physical harm, such as refusing to speak to someone against whom one holds a grudge.

Pathways to Delinquency Research project indicating that most serious juveniles reduce offending over time with sufficient monitoring and treatment.

Pedophilia Clinical condition that involves intense sexual arousal fantasies and urges directed at children.

Permissive style A relaxed parenting style characterized by few demands, controls, or limits.

Personation See **signature.**

Pervasive anger type A rapist characterized by anger directed toward virtually everyone he knows.

Pittsburgh Girls Study Longitudinal study focusing on peer associations and parental practices and their effects on delinquency in girls.

Pittsburgh Youth Study Classic self-report longitudinal study of youth, including some considered at high risk of offending.

Plasticity The characteristic of the brain that allows both its structure and its function to be profoundly responsive to experiences, particularly during early life.

Political crime Crime committed by agents of government where the desire for power or to maintain power is dominant, although not the only motivating factor.

Positive reinforcement See **reinforcement, positive**.

Positivist theory Theory that argues prior experiences or influences determine present behavior.

Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) A cluster of behavioral patterns that result from a psychologically distressing event outside the usual range of human experience.

Primary prevention An intervention program designed to prevent behavior or disorders before any sign of the behavioral pattern develops. Also called **universal prevention**.

Primary psychopath Robert Hare's classification of the "true" psychopath. That is, the individual who demonstrates those physiological and behavioral features that represent psychopathy—in contrast to **secondary psychopaths**, who commit antisocial acts because of severe emotional problems or inner conflicts, and **dyssocial psychopaths**, who are antisocial because of social learning.

Proactive violence Similar to **controlled-instrumental aggression,** actions undertaken to obtain a specific goal.

Professional occupational crime Illegal behavior by persons such as lawyers, physicians, psychologists, and teachers committed through opportunity provided through their occupation.

Profiling The process of identifying personality traits, behavioral tendencies, and demographic variables of an offender based on characteristics of the crime. See also **psychological profiling.**

Property crimes Generally involve the illegal acquisition of money and material goods, or the illegal destruction of property, typically but not necessarily for financial gain.

Protective factors Personal characteristics or experiences that can shield children and adolescents from serious antisocial behavior.

Psychodynamic model (hydraulic model) The psychological and psychiatric perspective that views human behavior from the standpoint of unconscious motives that shape behavior.

Psychiatric criminology See **criminology, psychiatric**.

Psychological autopsy Postmortem analysis often reserved for cases in which suicide occurred or is suspected or alleged. The psychological autopsy is frequently done to determine the reasons and precipitating factors for the death. Also called **reconstructive psychological evaluation** or **equivocal death analysis**.

Psychological criminology See **criminology, psychological**.

Psychologically motivated terrorists Motivated by their own sense of failure or inadequacy.

Psychometric approach The perspective that human characteristics, attributes, and traits can be measured and quantified.

Psychometric intelligence (PI) A more contemporary designation of intelligence as measured by intelligence or IQ tests. However, the term is not yet widely used in comparison with "IQ."

Psychopathy Checklist (PCL) and Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R). Developed by Robert Hare, currently the best-known instrument for the measurement of criminal psychopathy. Additional versions include the **Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version,** the **P-Scan: Research Version,** and the **Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL:YV)**.

Psychophysiology The study of the dynamic interactions between behavior and the autonomic nervous system.

Pyromania A psychiatric term for an irresistible urge to set fires along with an intense fascination (usually sexual) with fire. The existence of this behavioral phenomenon has been brought into serious question by the available research.

Punishment An event by which a person receives a noxious, painful, or aversive stimulus, usually as a consequence of behavior.

Quest for Significance Theory Relating to terrorism, the theory proposes that the terrorist wants to be meaningful and accomplish something in his or her life.

Racial or ethnic profiling Illegal singling out of someone (e.g., by law enforcement) solely on the basis of his or her race or ethnicity.

Radical environmental groups Environmental activists who have used terrorist tactics to draw attention to dangers in or to the environment.

Ransomware A type of malicious software designed to block access to a computer system or data until money is paid.

Rape by fraud The act of having sexual relations with a supposedly consenting adult under fraudulent conditions, such as when a physician or psychotherapist has sexual intercourse with a patient under the guise of "effective treatment."

Rape myths A variety of mistaken beliefs about the crime of rape and its victims held by many men and women.

Rationally motivated terrorists Those motivated by goals of the organization they belong to and the possible consequences of their actions.

Reactive-impulsive aggression Spontaneous aggression, possibly in response to provocation. Also referred to as reactive aggression or hostile aggression.

Reactive violence Violence perpetrated in response to provocation, perceived provocation, or an unanticipated occurrence.

Recidivism A return to criminal activity (usually measured by arrest) after being convicted of a criminal offense.

Reconstructive psychological evaluation (RPE) Reconstruction of the personality profile and cognitive features (especially intentions) of deceased individuals. Also referred to as **psychological autopsy** or **equivocal death analysis**.

Reductionism A research approach that argues that in order to understand highly complex events or phenomenon, one must start examining the simplest parts first.

Regressed child sex offender One who had fairly normal relationships with adults but later reverted to children for sexual and social companionship because of feelings of inadequacy.

Reinforcement Anything that increases the probability of responding.

Reinforcement, negative The reward received for avoiding a painful or aversive condition, or stimuli.

Reinforcement, positive The acquisition of something desired as a result of one's behavior.

Relative deprivation A concept developed by Gresham Sykes for explaining economic crime. It refers to the perceived discrepancy between what an individual has and what he or she would like to have.

Repeat burglary Refers to the observation that some burglars burglarize the same place repeatedly.

Residential treatment Rehabilitative programs applied in an institutional or group home setting.

Resilience A crucial protective factor in the individual that resists the influence of multiple risk factors.

Response Behavior elicited following a stimulus.

Responsivity principle In RNR treatment, the principle that treatment should be delivered by means best suited to the style of the offender.

Right and wrong test See **M'Naghten Rule**.

Right-wing terrorists Extremist groups that adhere to an antigovernment or racist ideology and often engage in a variety of hate crimes and violence.

Risk assessment The enterprise in which clinicians offer probabilities that a given individual will engage in violent or otherwise antisocial behavior based on known factors relating to the individual.

Risk factors Characteristics or experiences that place children at risk of antisocial or criminal activity.

Risk, Needs, Responsivity (RNR) Believed to be highly effective principles for the treatment of a wide range of criminal offenders.

Risky shift Tendency of groups to make decisions that are more extreme than if the same decisions were made by individuals independent of the group.

Ritualized aggression The symbolic display of aggressive intentions or strength without actual physical combat or conflict.

Robbery The taking or attempt to take anything of value from the care, custody, or control of another by force or the threat of force.

Rumination The focused attention on one's own thoughts and feelings that, if excessive, can lead to aggression against others.

Schizophrenia Mental disorder characterized by severe breakdowns in thought patterns, emotions, and perceptions.

Scientific theory A set of interrelated concepts, definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena.

Second National Survey of Children Exposed to Violence Follow-up to first survey; discovered lower rates but many polyvictims.

Secondary prevention An intervention program designed for individuals who demonstrate early signs or indications of behavioral problems or antisocial behavior. Also called **selective prevention**.

Secondary psychopath Individual with psychopathic characteristics, but who commits antisocial acts because of severe emotional problems or inner conflicts. Distinct from **primary psychopath**.

Selective prevention See **secondary prevention**.

Self-control theory See **General Theory of Crime**.

Self-regulation The ability to control one's behavior in accordance with internal cognitive standards.

Self-serving bias A tendency to attribute positive things that happen to us to our abilities and personalities, and to attribute negative events to some cause outside ourselves or beyond our control.

Semantic aphasia A characteristic found in psychopaths whereby the words they speak are devoid of emotional sincerity.

Serial murder Incidents in which an individual (or individuals) kills a number of individuals (usually a minimum of three) over time.

Serious delinquency Juvenile offending that is characterized by violent and extensive property crimes.

Serotonin A neurotransmitter in the nervous system that usually prompts the activity of neurons.

Sextortion Emerging online threat to scare minors into providing updated images or payment to avoid disclosure of their past postings.

Sexual aggressive rapist A rapist who demonstrates both sexual and aggressive features in his attack. In order for him to

experience sexual arousal, it must be associated with violence and pain, which excite him. Also called **sadistic rapist**.

Sexual assault Term for any one of various behaviors that involve a sexual attack on the body of another person. It has replaced the term rape in many criminal statutes. See also **rape**.

Sexual burglary A burglary committed with the primary motive of carrying out a sexual assault or obtaining objects supportive of a fetish.

Sexual exploitation theme In stranger rape, offenders attempt to bond with victims. Contrast to hostility and criminality themes.

Sexual gratification rapist Rapist whose motivation is hypothesized to be sexual, marked by the presence of protracted sexual or sadistic fantasies that influence as well as sustain the rape. These offenders have in common some form of enduring sexual preoccupation.

Shared environment An important concept in twin studies, this refers to the prenatal and life experiences that are common to both twins, such as being raised by the same biological parents.

Shoplifting by proxy Shoplifting for another person because asked or ordered to do so.

Sibling sexual abuse Pertains to sexual abuse and assault when perpetrator and victim are siblings.

Signature Any behavior that goes beyond what is necessary to commit the crime. **Crime scene signature** is left deliberately by the offender. **Psychological signature** is beyond the offender's awareness.

Simple obsession stalking The form in which the stalker seeks power and control after a failed relationship with the victim; often associated with past domestic violence.

Situationism A theoretical perspective that argues that environmental stimuli control behavior.

Snitches Amateur shoplifters.

Social control theory A theory proposed by Travis Hirschi that contends that crime and delinquency occur when an individual's ties to the conventional order or normative standards are weak or largely nonexistent.

Social learning theory A theory of human behavior based on learning from watching others in the social environment. This leads to an individual's development of his or her own perceptions, thoughts, expectancies, competencies, and values.

Socialized offender A person who violates the law consistently because of learning the behavioral patterns from his or her social environment.

Sociopath An individual who continually commits crimes. Does not usually qualify as a psychopath. See also **psychopath**.

Sodomy Nonconsensual oral or anal sexual intercourse with another, as defined in NIBRS.

Special interest extremists Persons whose activism revolves around one issue and ultimately turns to violence.

Specific risk failure In sexual assault literature, refers to failure to realize the risk of victimization presented in a particular situation. See also **global risk recognition failure**.

Spree murder The killing of three or more individuals without any cooling-off period, usually at two or more locations.

Staging The intentional alteration of a crime scene before the arrival of the police.

Stalking Conduct directed at a specific person that involves repeated physical or visual proximity, nonconsensual communication, or verbal, written, or implied threats sufficient to cause fear in a reasonable person.

Stanford Prison Experiment Classic study by Zimbardo demonstrating the power of the situation and role of deindividuation in human behavior.

State-authority occupational crime Law-violating behavior by those in government in their capacity as government agents.

Status offenses A class of illegal behavior that only persons with certain characteristics or status can commit. Used almost exclusively to refer to the behavior of juveniles. Examples include running away from home, violating curfew, buying alcohol, or skipping school.

Statutory rape Rape for which the age of the victim is the crucial distinction, on the premise that a victim below a certain age (usually 16) cannot validly consent to sexual intercourse with an adult.

Stereotypical abductions Child abductions that are believed to result in tragedy, such as the complete disappearance or death of a child. Rarest of child abductions.

Stimulus A person, event, or situation that elicits behavior.

Stockholm syndrome The rare phenomenon of hostages becoming physically and/or emotionally attracted to their captors.

Strain theory A prominent sociological explanation for crime based on Robert Merton's theory that crime and delinquency occur when there is a perceived discrepancy between the materialistic values and goals cherished and held in high esteem by a society and the availability of the legitimate means for reaching these goals.

Street culture A variety of conduct norms, particularly in urban areas, that may be positive or negative. Negative norms have been associated with street crimes like robbery or drug violations.

Strong-arm robbery A robbery in which the main weapon used is one's own body rather than guns, knives, or other weapons.

Structured professional judgment (SPJ) An approach to risk assessment that combines the strength of actuarial predictions with the experiences of the practitioners. SPJ offers guidelines for providing the risk assessment.

Suspect-based profiling Controversial and potentially illegal method that tries to identify an offender based on characteristics of prior offenders who have committed similar crimes.

Techniques of neutralization Cognitive methods used to justify one's bad or illegal behavior, such as denying that anyone has been hurt.

Temperament A natural mood disposition determined largely by genetic and biological influences.

Territoriality The tendency to attack violators of one's personal space.

Terror Management Theory Model for engaging in terrorist activity that sees the person as afraid of own mortality and believes engaging in terrorism will reduce this fear.

Terrorism The unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives. May be domestic or international.

Tertiary prevention Intervention strategy designed to reduce or eliminate behavioral problems or antisocial behavior that is fully developed in individuals. Treatment or counseling of convicted offenders is an example of tertiary prevention.

Theory See **scientific theory**.

Theory of mind The capacity to recognize the thoughts and feelings of other people.

Theory verification A process whereby a scientific theory is tested through observation and analysis. If the process falsifies the theory, the theory must be revised to account for the observed events.

Threat assessment Process of determining the likelihood and seriousness of harm carried out by a person who displayed warning signs, such as making veiled oral or written threats.

Three-path model Identifies three personality traits that are associated with sex offenders: sexual preoccupation, antisocial, and callous-unemotional.

Trait Relatively stable and enduring tendency to behave in a particular way across time and place. Traits are believed by some psychologists to be the basic building blocks of personality.

Traumatic brain injury (TBI) Injury to the brain occurring either in utero, during birth, or at any time in a person's life and having a significant effect on functioning. Sometimes used as an excusing or mitigating condition for violent behavior.

Triarchic psychopathy model (TriPM) Recent model focusing on callous-unemotional traits, disinhibition, and boldness.

Twins' Early Developmental Study (TEDS) Ongoing study of twins examining behavior and cognitions from early childhood through adolescence.

Typology A classification system that identifies commonalities among members of groups (e.g., serial murderers, terrorists, sex offenders) to aid in investigation of crime and offering treatment services.

Undoing A behavioral pattern found at the crime scene whereby the offender tries to psychologically "undo" the murder.

Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) The FBI's system of gathering data from law enforcement agencies on the crimes that come to their attention and on arrests. See also **NIBRS**.

Variable Any entity that can be measured.

Vengeance stalking In this type, stalkers do not seek a relationship with their victims but rather are trying to elicit a response or change of behavior from the victim.

Victimology The scientific study of the causes, circumstances, individual characteristics, and social contexts associated with crime victims.

Vindictive offender types Refers to rapists of women whose attack is driven by their central and focused hatred of women.

Volitional prong The part of the insanity defense that requires acceptance of the possibility that a defendant could not control his or her behavior to conform to the requirements of the law. The volitional prong is not recognized in federal law or the law of many states.

Weapons effect Suggestion that the mere presence of a weapon leads a witness or victim to concentrate on the weapon itself rather than other features of the crime.

White-collar crime A broad term, coined in 1939 by Sutherland, that refers to illegal acts committed by those of high social status in the process of their employment. Contemporary definitions often divide it into corporate crime and individual or occupational crime. See also **occupational crime**.

Workplace aggression A term for conduct, usually on the part of employees, that qualifies as emotional harm or minor physical harm to other employees. Distinct from workplace violence.

Workplace violence Aggressive actions, including deaths, that occur at the workplace, not necessarily caused by those who work within the organization.

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